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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

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A DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

10. Vol

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

PERSIA.

PERSEPOLIS.

Out of Egypt, there are few monuments of remote antiquity so intrinsically interesting, or which have employed so much learned speculation, as the ruins in the plain of Merdasht, which are supposed to mark the site of the far-famed Persepolis. They are found at the distance of four and thirty miles N.E. of Shiraz, in the route to Isfahan, and have consequently been described by almost every European traveller who has visited Persia. Yet, they still remain an enigma, their history, date, and object being involved in venerable mystery. Their very name has passed away; their founder is unknown; and the obscure tradition which assigns them to king Jemsheed, serves only to prove, that of nothing are the Persians more entirely ignorant than of their own history and that of their ancient monuments.

Sir W. Ousley,* who has devoted nearly half of his second volume to the historical illustration of these

* While Sir Gore Ousley was detained at Shiraz in June and July 1811, several of the gentlemen attached to the embassy were despatched in various directions to explore the country. Sir Wm. Ousley, his Excellency's brother, went to Fassa and Darab; the Hon. Mr. Gordon undertook a dangerous journey to Shooster;

remains, and Sir Robert Ker Porter, who has furnished the best description of them, will be our chief guides on this occasion, while we shall avail ourselves of the additional information furnished by *Mr. Morier*, Lieut. Alexander, and the older travellers.

The road from Shiraz passes through the *Tenguli Allah-akbar*, and, for about three miles, winds along the course of the Roknabad, to a *rahdári* or guard-house, called the tower (*burje*) of *Khelaut-pooshan*,* from its being the place to which the governors of Fars proceed in state, in order to be invested with the *khelaut*, or dress of honour, sent by the Shah, as the insignia of office. Near the gateway of the pass, some new sculptures have been executed by order of the prince-governor, on the face of a rock on the left hand side of the road, past which the stream flows. The subject of the first is, his majesty, Futteh Ali Shah, seated on his throne, with the heir-apparent near him. The second exhibits Roustum, the hero of Persian romance, on horseback, in the act of transfixing with an arrow a tiger, who has a man under him. The workmanship, Lieut. Alexander says, is by no means despicable. The country through which the road passes, is hilly and open. Scarcely a shrub enlivens the brown, arid mountains, which, here and there, are varied, by the capricious directions of the strata, into the most remarkable forms. At seven miles, the road lies over the *Kutal-i-dejgah* (hill of the custom-house), so named from a *rahdári*, where a transit duty is levied upon merchandise. A little further are remains

Col. D'Arcy proceeded to Feroozabad; Major Stone, by a new route, to Shapour; and Mr. Morier to Persepolis, where he was subsequently joined by Sir W. Ouseley.

* From *khelaut*, the dress, and *pooshan*, investing, &c. Similar towers, bearing the same name, are found near every capital

of an ancient edifice, which, according to tradition, bore the name of *Gumbed-i-Sabz*, the Green Villa, being one of the seven summer-houses erected by king Bahram Gour. Near this is the small stream called *Ab-i-Barik* (narrow water).* About seven miles further, over a rugged and stony road, lead to the town of Zargoon, distant from Shiraz, according to the reckoning of the natives, five *farsangs*, but Sir W. Ouseley ascertained it to be rather more than seventeen miles and a half.

Zargoon (Zarkan) is described as "a considerable village," and an "insignificant" town. It consists of from 300 to 400 houses, built at the foot of a rocky mountain, which intercepts the air, and renders the heat extremely oppressive. The thermometer (in July) rose, at three o'clock, to above 109° in the shade. The moskitoes (*pasheh*) here are innumerable. The town contains some linen-manufactories, but is chiefly remarkable for mules, of which it furnishes great numbers. The inhabitants, Mr. Morier says, looked really the victims of oppression; and they confirmed the impression produced by the misery of their appearance, by stating that, owing to the excessive extortion of their governors, upwards of a hundred families had recently migrated to Tehraun. The mule-drivers (*katirjees*) of the southern provinces, a "sturdy and obstinate race," are mostly of Zargoon. A snowy peak of the distant mountains, called the *Kuh Shah-peer*, is seen bearing N. 42° W. Near it are some celebrated springs; and not far from the mountain is a town of about 300 houses, called Ardekan.

* This would seem to be either the Rokabad, or one of its sources. Mr. Morier speaks of the ruin as a caravanserai.

At two miles from Zargoon, the traveller enters on the plain of the same name, a tract of excellent soil, and partially cultivated, extending nearly 15 miles E. and W. Three miles further, crossing the Bundemir, he enters the plain of Merdasht. A high bridge, called the *pul-i-khán*, has been thrown across the river, immediately behind a projecting foot of the mountain; but it is so much out of repair as not to be passed without danger, owing to a considerable chasm in it, not by any means recent. The river is here exceedingly rapid, and pours along through steep, rocky banks, with a tremendous noise for a stream scarcely twenty yards across.

The great plain of Merdasht (Marvdasht) or Istakhr, is one of the most fertile in Persia, being watered in all directions by rivulets and artificial drains, which ultimately unite in the Bundemir. The older travellers bear testimony to the richness of its products and to its former populousness. Eight hundred and eighty villages might once be counted on the plain, and more than 1500 within a compass of twelve leagues round the ruins.* Such a situation might seem to have been admirably adapted for the site of the capital. Of the many streams which intersect the plain, two only have been dignified by either classical or oriental geographers with the name of rivers; the Kour or Araxes, now called the Bundemir, and the

* The plain of Merdasht is described by Della Valle as the most fertile that he had seen in any province of Persia. Chardin eulogises it as "*fertile, riche, abondante, belle, et délicieuse.*" Kæmpfer praises its fertility, and Le Brun makes the statement relative to the number of its villages, adopted above. See Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 307, note. It appears to be the plain referred to by Strabo under the name of Celo-Persia, or hollow Persia, through which flowed the Cyrus or Kuros.

Farrah or Farwán, the Sewund river, which is supposed to be the Medus of Strabo.* The former takes its modern appellation from a dike (*bund*) constructed, in the tenth century, by the Emir Azzad ad Douleh, near the junction of the two streams, where there is a village of the same name. Rising in the mountains of Kilar (or Gilar), in Fars, it runs southward, collecting the waters of the *Shah Banan* and other smaller streams, till, after a course of 113 *farsangs*, it falls into the great salt lake of Bakhtegan, a little below Gawakoon, between 30 and 40 miles from Bundemir. Several dikes have been at different periods constructed upon this river, in order to detain its waters for the purposes of irrigation. The first is the *band* of Rasngard, or Fakhristan; "an ancient structure which, under the Seljoukian dynasty, having fallen into decay, was repaired by the Attabeg Fakhr ad Douleh Chavelí." The second is the *Band Azzadí*, or *Band Emir*, by which the territory of the Upper Kurbal is watered. The third is the *Band-i-Kazar*, at Gawakoon, which, being also in a state of ruin, was re-

* The various names applied to these rivers, have been an occasion of much perplexity to geographers. D'Anville supposed the Bundemir to be the Araxes, and the Medus to be the *Kur*. Lieut. Alexander, misled probably by his authority, says: "A small stream, dignified by the appellation of the Cyrus, and which Strabo mentions that Alexander crossed in going to Persepolis, joins the *Bundemir* stream at the village." But that the Bundemir is the *ab-i-Kur* of the oriental geographers, on which the *band* was erected, is certain, and it apparently answers to the Cyrus of Strabo. On the other hand, the Araxes which Alexander is stated to have crossed in advancing towards Persepolis, and into which Strabo represents the *Medus* as falling, must also be the Bundemir, which receives the Farwar or Sewund stream. We must therefore regard the Bundemir, Kur, and Araxes as one river. Such is the conclusion to which Sir W. Ouseley conducts us by a careful collation of authorities (vol. ii. pp. 326–34), and he may be said to have fairly exhausted the subject.

paired by the Attabeg Chavell: by this the district of Lower Kurbal is irrigated.

The village of Bundemir, which takes its name from the second of these, is about sixteen miles from Zargoon, at the further extremity of the plain of Merdasht.* A large and strong stone dam has been carried across the stream, which descends, through numerous sluices and arches, in a fall of between 18 and 20 feet, turning several mills by means of the canals which divide, and in some places undermine the village. The bridge which has been raised upon the dam, is a very substantial structure, without parapets, and does credit both to the architect and his munificent employer.† By this noble work, we are told, "an arid and barren tract of considerable extent was fertilized, and the blessings of plenty diffused among several hundred villages: some of these, but mostly deserted and in ruins, yet exist, a monument of his glory, and a reproach to his degenerate successors." To the same enlightened sovereign is ascribed the formation of a reservoir in the castle of Istakhr; on which occa-

* Mr. Morier says: "Bend Emir, called by the Persians two *farsangs* distant from Zergoon, is about *seven miles* by my calculation. Its exact bearing from the ruins of Persepolis is S. 15° W." Lieut. Alexander, however, found it a day's journey of 16 miles from Zergoon; but possibly there may be a nearer route. Bundemir belongs to the large *bolook* or district of Kurbal (improperly written Corbal), from which comes the greater part of the wine known under the name of Shiraz.—Morier, vol. ii. p. 74. Kurbal is generally transposed by the natives into Kulbar or Kulvar.

† "The *Bend*," says Mr. Morier, "has been built immediately upon the superior angle of what must originally have been a natural fall, and consists of a straight bridge of thirteen arches: to this bridge the river flows in a slow current, but, immediately on passing through the arches, it falls abruptly over the inclined wall.... into a new and more extensive bed." The height of the fall, he represents to be 30 or 40 feet. Sir W. Ouseley says, 10 or 20.

sion he is stated to have exclaimed: "I have erected a mountain in the midst of a lake, and a lake on the summit of a mountain." * From this expression it would seem, that the Kour had previously formed a lake in the adjacent plain. Azzud is stated to have turned its course at an incalculable expense, and by confining its waters within their present channel, rendered them the source of fertility to the whole district.†

The *Farwah*, or Sewund river, is said to issue from a mountain near a village called Farwah, in the district of Huberkan. After passing Sewund, it winds S.W. through the narrow vale into the plain of Merdasht; and flowing by Istakhr, falls into the Bendemir or Kour, somewhere above Fhatabad. The extent of its course is eighteen *farsangs*. ‡

The village of Bendemir is picturesquely situated; §

Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 153.

† Emir or Amir is stated by some writers to have been the proper name of the engineer, "a stranger who, being on his travels, voluntarily undertook the work." This derives plausibility from its being called also the Band Azzudi; and yet, it is more likely that it should refer to the title of the prince, who never assumed any higher style than *ameer*. He died A.D. 983. The Persians naturally rank among their greatest benefactors, those who have contributed to obviate the distress occasioned by the paucity of springs and rivers. Similar works have immortalized many ancient princes. Thus, Hezekiah entitled himself to the grateful remembrance of the Jews.—See 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

‡ See Morier, vol. ii. p. 115. Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 208. According to Ibn Haukal, "at the gate of Istakhr, it flows under the Khurasin bridge, whence it proceeds until it falls into the river Kur." Edrisi, the Nubian geographer, says: "Istakhr is situate on the river Farsah, and has a bridge called the Khurasin bridge"—from its leading in a north-easterly direction towards Khorasan. The proper name of the river is Parwah or Parsah, pronounced Farsah; and this has been corrupted into Palwar, Farwar, and Pulwar. Morier says, it is called Polbar, and written Parbar.

§ Houses and trees are prettily disposed all around, which,

the Author of Lalla Rookh has, however, attributed to this celebrated stream, more scenic beauty than appears now to adorn its banks, when he sings:

"There's a bower of roses by Bund Emir's stream,
And the nightingale sings round it all the day long."

"We neither saw rose-bowers," remarks Lieut. Alexander, "nor heard the soft warbling of the bülbül. Weeping willows hung over and dipped into the stream, which dashed with a loud, rushing noise through the arches of the bridge, sending up clouds of vapour from the white spray and foam of its broken waters.....Fish are here so numerous, that ten thousand grayling were caught in a few hours, in nets; many of a large size. Several pelicans were seen here, though I was not fortunate enough to obtain the sight of one." Like most streams in this country, Sir W. Ouseley says, it abounds with tortoises, but the Persians never eat them. He saw many in it, and two of large size were shot by his party. Several bullets were discharged, but in vain, at water-snakes of various colours. Although the water "had not a very tempting appearance," it was found pleasant, and is deemed salubrious.*

Bundemir is not, however, in the direct road from Shiraz to the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, from which it is

backed by the wild-shaped rocks of the *Nakara Khaneh*, produce a picture seldom seen in the monotonous landscape of Persia. The falling river, with its foam and impetuosity, has all the effect of a cascade; while there is a strong contrast kept up by the tranquillity of the village scenery around it."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 73.

* Ouseley, ii. 179. Alexander, p. 136. Sir W. Ouseley came upon the river in his route from Darab to Persepolis, where it falls into the lake. "From this spot," he says, "during the remainder of our day's journey (to Gawakoon), we rode along the left bank of that greenish, deep, and dirty-looking stream, which resembles in many places a broad English canal."—Vol. ii. p. 178.

fourteen miles distant. From the *Pul-i-khan* to the extremity of the plain, where the Persepolitan remains are situated, is a distance of between ten and eleven miles (nearly seventeen miles from Zargoon). Their first appearance is thus described by Lieut. Alexander.

"On awaking, we observed the pillars of the palace of Persepolis, rising grey in front of a dark hill, and about a *farsang* off. We quickly mounted, and attempted to ride towards them; but it was a couple of hours before we reached them, being impeded by the swampy ground. The ruins, from the plain, have a very imposing appearance, rising on a platform 50 feet in height, which is built of huge stones. The length of the platform is 1500 feet. Towards the north end is a double flight of easy steps of blue marble veined with quartz. At the top are four walls, two pillars between them, and the bases of two others. On the walls are the figures of winged bulls of colossal size. The whole may have formed part of a gateway. Near it is a stone cistern. Proceeding onwards is another double flight of steps, on the front of which are sculptured an immense number of figures with high caps, in procession. Having surmounted the few steps leading to the highest part of the platform, we got amongst the pillars, thirteen of which only are now standing: there are the traces of forty.* Those which exist, are very elegant and lofty, with a fluted shaft: they exhibit the appearance of very great antiquity, and are composed of greyish marble, which takes an excellent polish, and yields easily to

* Hence the name of *Chehel Minarch* (Forty Steeples), or *Chehel Sutun* (Forty Columns), by which these ruins were formerly distinguished. But they have been much more numerous. Another name given to them, was *Hezar Sutun* (Thousand Columns).—Ouseley, ii. 302.

the hammer. Proceeding southward, are seen the remains of apartments: they are square inclosures; the sides of the doors are sculptured. Near the hill, there is an immense square inclosure, which seems to have been the principal residence. Through different parts of the platform run narrow, subterranean passages; originally, perhaps, aqueducts. The marble of the square inclosures is jet black. In many parts of the ruins are square tablets, inscribed with the arrow-headed characters, which have hitherto defied interpretation. Behind the ruins, on the platform, are two sepulchres on the hill, a considerable portion of which has been scarped, and the smooth rock sculptured. At the bottom of the scarp is an opening into the rock, into which having crawled, I entered a small apartment, wherein I perceived oven-shaped recesses, which probably contained the bodies. There is a third round to the southward, which has never yet been entered. All along the crest of the hill above the ruins, are seen the remains of fortifications consisting of dilapidated stone walls. Many travellers assert, that there could have been no city of any size within many miles of the palace, from there being no remains of buildings on the plain; but the peasants are constantly turning up immense quantities of bricks in every part of the valley, from the hill-fort of Istakhar northward as far as Bundemir: consequently, there must have been an immense city here."

This general sketch will scarcely, however, satisfy our readers; and we shall therefore proceed to give them the substance of the minute and copious description furnished by Sir Robert Ker Porter, who devoted

above a week to the examination of these interesting remains.*

"The artificial plain on which the ruins of this immense royal citadel or palace stand, is of a very irregular shape. The following is the extent of each face: that to the south, 802 feet; to the north, 926; and to the west, 1425. The level on which the buildings have been erected, is become exceedingly uneven, being raised in parts by the accumulation of fallen ruins. To the N.W., considerable masses of the native rock shew themselves without incumbrance, and still bearing the marks of the original implements with which the higher pieces had been hewn down to the level required. In the same direction, just beyond the face of the artificial plain, the rock protrudes itself in vast, abrupt cliffs, but still shewing traces of not having quite escaped the pickaxe. In deeper cavities, the progress of a quarry is visible, part of the rock in some places being half hewn through, and, in others, lying in completed slabs ready for removal. Indeed, there are plain indications that this superb structure was not deemed entirely finished. The steep faces of the rocky terrace are formed of dark grey marble, cut into gigantic square blocks exquisitely polished, and, without the aid of mortar, fitted to each other with closeness and precision. The encroachments of ruins and vegetation at its base, have raised hillocks against all the sides, making rough slopes where once were perpendiculars. At a spot near the groupe of columns, its present perpendicular line is 30 feet; but there can be no doubt that, might we clear away all that hides this beautiful wall, we should find an additional depth of 20 feet. The southern

* This Author gives the latitude of the ruins, 29° 59' 39".

side, at this time, does not rise higher than 18 or 20 feet, and I think, never could have exceeded 30. To the north, it varies from 16 to 26. This spacious artificial platform consists of three separate terraces. The first, or lowest, embracing the whole length of the southern face, is 183 feet in width. Along the edge, large masses of stone remain in different spots, with fragments of a parapet. On the edge of the third or highest terrace, to the south, are decided marks of a strong range of railing or palisades. These marks cease at the top of the flight of steps connecting this terrace with the one beneath. At the top of the steps we find two large holes, cut deeply in the stone, which received the pivots of the gates that anciently closed this ingress.

"There is but one way by which the summit of this platform is attained, and that consists of an ascent by steps, situated in its western face (261 feet from the southern face, and 206 from the northern). The approach is on a scale so magnificent, that it fully prepares the mind for the forms of vastness and grandeur that are met with above. A double flight of steps, on a very gentle ascent, rise N. and S.: they measure 22 feet in width;* each step is 3½ inches in height; and in all, they number fifty-five. The masons have not required many blocks of marble in their construction, each block being so large as to allow ten or fourteen steps to be cut into its solid mass. The base these cover, is 67 feet by 22. On ascending the first flight, an irregular landing-place presents itself, 37 feet by 44, whence springs a second flight of forty-eight steps, covering 59 feet by 22. A couple of corresponding staircases terminate on the

* According to Morier, 26 feet, 6 inches.

grand level of the platform, by a landing-place occupying 64 feet, and 29 feet above the lower one. I invariably rode my horse up and down these steps during my visits.

"On reaching the platform, the first objects that strike the astonished traveller are, the lofty sides of an enormous portal, the interior faces of which are sculptured into the forms of two colossal bulls. They look towards the west, their head, chest, and fore-leg occupying almost the whole thickness of the wall in that direction; the rest of the body is left in relief. A pedestal formed of two blocks, elevates them 5 feet above the level of the platform. At a considerable height above their backs (on the sides of the portal), are three small compartments filled with inscriptions in the arrow-headed character. Whatever may have finished the top of the walls, is so totally destroyed, that not a vestige remains. The heads of the bulls are entirely gone; but enough is left of the animals, to shew distinctly what they are. Round the necks of these bucolic sentinels are broad collars of roses, executed with the most critical nicety; and over the chest, back, and ribs extends a kind of decoration, resembling short curling hair,* cut with a correctness and delicacy peculiar to Persian sculptures of antiquity. The proportions of the animals are admirable, and although the manner of their execution is dry, there is a grandeur in their forms, which perfectly accords with the prodigious scale on which all around them is designed. The breadth of the wall, facing the west, is 5 feet; its length, 21; its height, 30. The one wall (of the portal) is distant from the other about 12 feet: the intervening space is flagged with

* Some have taken these "spiral knobs" for bosses of armour.

beautifully polished slabs cut from the neighbouring rocks. On both sides, I found a cloud of initials, and names, and dates of former visitants.

"Proceeding onward to the east, at the distance of 24 feet from the portal, once stood four magnificent columns. They were all erect at the time Sir John Chardin visited Persepolis. Two only remain, and not a relic of their companions. They were placed equidistant from each other, at 22 feet. The accumulation of ruins mouldered into earth, has nearly buried the bases of those yet standing. Their capitals are singular and beautiful, consisting, as it were, of three combined into one. The shaft gradually narrows towards the top, varied by thirty-nine flutings near the cincture; each of which is 4 inches in width. The tor is 13 feet 10 inches in circumference; and thence to the top of the capital is about 45 feet. The surface is perfectly smooth, and I should be led to imagine that, when the four stood erect, they might have sustained the pedestal of some sculptured image. A space of 24 feet separates them from a second portal, differing in no way from the preceding, either in form or in dimensions, except that its length is 18 feet, instead of 21. The inner sides are sculptured in like manner, but the animals represented are monstrous. They have the body and legs of a bull, ornamented with trappings similar to those already described; but an enormous pair of wings project from the shoulders, extending high over the back, and covering the breast, whence they might seem to spring, as the whole chest is cased with the plumage. The huge feathers which compose the wings, are exquisitely cut. The heads of the animals look direct to the mountain, which is due east, and shew the faces of men; but the blind zeal of the khalifs, if not some later hand, has terribly

mutilated the features. The expression of the countenance is severe, and a long and carefully curled beard adds to the majesty of the general air. The ears are those of a bull, and from them hang large drop ear-rings of a very elegant form. On the head is a cylindrical diadem, on both sides of which, horns are clearly represented, winding from the brows upwards to the front of the crown; the whole being surmounted with a sort of coronet, formed of a range of leaves like the lotus, and bound with a fillet beautifully carved in roses. We find the hair ranged over the forehead in the usual style of the ancient Persian kings; the beard also is disposed in the way peculiar to royalty; but the hinder hair lies in long and close curls round the back of the neck, totally differing from any of the bas-reliefs in other parts of the ruins. From the top of the crown to the hoof, the animal measures 19 feet. Three compartments of inscription are cut in the wall over his body.

"This is the only specimen known to exist in Persia, of the human and bestial form conjoined."*

* An agate seal, brought by Niebuhr from Basrah, and supposed to be of the highest antiquity, exhibits the winged Sun with a human head. A similar device appears on a cornelian brought by Sir W. Ouseley from Shiraz, as well as on many Greek medals, gems, and bronzes; but "the temple of Persepolis is the only place in which such a representation is known to exist in marble." A learned French antiquary (M. d'Hancarville) infers from this circumstance, the "prodigious antiquity of this symbolic figure," which, he thinks, must be anterior to any Grecian statue, "since it must have been executed at least 600 years before Inachus, the most ancient of the kings of Greece." Travellers have been much embarrassed by these sphinxes. Della Valle describes them as composed of the body of a horse, with a human head, and the wings of a griffin. Herbert fancied one to be like an elephant, another a rhinoceros, and a third, "like unto Pegasus," or the "volant griffin" in the Orlando Furioso. Mandelslo describes the first two as "horses with harness and saddles very antique;" of the others,

Various opinions have been conceived of its meaning. Mons. Anquetil du Perron advances very cogent reasons for supposing it to be a symbolic representation of Noah! Mons. de Sacy considers it to be the emblem of Kaiamurs, the first sovereign of the Paishdadian dynasty, and he derives the name Kaiamurs from *Gaw-i-mird*, bull and man. But it is interesting to observe, how this singular hieroglyphic might be attributed to Cyrus himself, whose empire over the East was prophesied by Ezekiel under almost the same figure, upwards of fifty years before his accession. (Ezek. i. 7–10.) Daniel foretels the empire of the same prince under a similar union of the human with the bestial form, describing it as "a lion with eagle's wings," and "a man's heart was given to it." (Dan. vii. 4.) Commentators have explained the human attributes as prophetic of the wisdom and clemency of Cyrus's character. But, whatever be the real intention in the bull-man which is here placed in the ancient seat of the earliest monarchs of the East, in the gate of his palace, his attributes fully answer to the general idea of an emblematic reference to a just sovereignty.

"On turning to the right of the portal, an expanse

the hinder part, he says, resembles that of a horse, but the crowned head resembles that of a lion. Chardin describes the latter as a winged horse with the head of a man: in the first two, he discovered something of the horse, the lion, the rhinoceros, and the elephant. Kæmpfer knew not whether they represented "a camel-lion" or some other monster. Le Brun assigns them the body of a horse, the short thick paws of a lion, and the head of an ape. Niebuhr considers the winged figures as Persian sphinxes, and the others as representing the imaginary unicorn. D'Hancarville declares the winged figures to be bulls, and the other two to be composed between the bull and the lion. For these curious details, we are indebted to Sir W. Ouseley's diligence.—Vol. ii. pp. 36–8.

of 162 feet lies between it and the magnificent terrace that supports the multitude of columns from which it takes its name. One object alone arrests attention in our progress towards them: this is a fine cistern, hewn out of the solid rock, 18 feet by 16. It is now only 3 feet above the level of the rock, or rather, the earth that has collected over it. Subterraneous aqueducts filled it with water, and, as another of these channels runs in a parallel line to the west, a corresponding reservoir may have been in that direction.

"On drawing near the *Chehel-minar* or Palace of Forty Pillars, the eye is riveted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flight of steps which lead up to them. This superb approach consists of a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length of which is 212 feet: at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps; and again, about the middle, projecting from it 18 feet, appear two smaller flights rising from the same point. Here, the extent of the range, including a landing-place of 20 feet, amounts to 86. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is extremely gradual; each flight containing only thirty-two steps, (none exceeding 4 inches in height,) in breadth 14 inches, and in length 16 feet. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture. The eye at first roves over it, lost and bewildered by the multitudes of figures; but I took time to distinguish every one, and to copy them as distinctly as I could.

"The space immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments. The centre one has a plain surface, as if intended for an inscription: probably, writing may have been there, which is now obliterated. To the left of it, are four standing

figures about 5 feet 6 inches high, habited in long robes, with brogue-like buskins on their feet. They each hold a short spear in an upright position, with both hands. The fluted, flat-topped cap is on their heads; and from the left shoulder hang their bow and quiver. The nicety with which all the details are executed, renders these sculptures particularly interesting to the historian, and to the historical painter: they mark the costume of the time and the people, and their progress in the form, variety, and use of arms. In the latter instance, I cannot omit noticing the clearness with which they shew the ancient method of stringing the bow, and the manner of attaching the leather cover to the quiver, which protects the feathers of the arrows from damage. Being an old bowman myself, these peculiarities of archery were more readily observed by me.

"On the right of the vacant tablet are three figures only. They look towards the opposite four, and differ in no way with respect to their robes and fluted helmet; but they have neither bows nor quiver, carrying the spear only, with the addition of a large shield on the left arm, something in the shape of the body of a violoncello; or rather, I should say, exactly in the form of a Bootian buckler. It appears extraordinary, that none of these armed figures wear any thing like a sword or dagger; but, on examining all the sculptures throughout, I did not find the representation of what we call a sword, on any one of them. As this seems to have been the grand approach to the entrance of the palace above, doubtless the spear-men just described must have been intended to portray the royal guards: the fashion of their dress accords perfectly with the account given of it by Herodotus, (b. v.

c. xlix.) who states, that 'they were armed with a bow and a short spear, and habited in long robes, with their hair flowing full behind.' When describing the army of Xerxes, he writes: 'The Persians defend their heads with a small helmet called a tiara; their bodies are covered with sleeved tunics of various colours; upon these are plates of steel, like the scales of a fish; their thighs are protected in the same way. They are armed with large bows and arrows, the shafts of which are reeds. They carry a short spear; and for defence, use a shield denominated *gerra*; beneath it is the quiver; and on their *right side* is a dagger hung from a belt.'—In neither of these descriptions do we find a sword mentioned; but Xenophon, in his Cyropedia, particularly names it, whenever the arm of the Persians are noticed. From all this, and from never finding the vestige of a sword on any of these most ancient bas-reliefs, I am led to think, that when the authors of greatest antiquity speak of the Persian sword, they can only intend this dagger-like weapon, the ἀκινάκης of the Greeks, and the *acinaces* of the Romans, the poniard, so accurately delineated by Herodotus, being invariably worn on the right side. We find another weapon of the kind mentioned by writers as having been in use amongst the Persians; such as the *copis* of Quintus Curtius. (b. viii. c. xiv.) But I should regard this latter as the short falchion peculiar to certain tribes immediately bordering on the shores of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, who would, at times, serve in the Persian armies. It is described as curved, like the dagger of the present day, which is in use amongst their descendants.*

* Xenophon ascribes to Cyrus the first introduction of the long Median robe among his Persian followers.—Cyrop. b. viii.

"Two angular spaces on each side of the corresponding groupes of spear-men, described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull, a most spirited and admirable performance. The bull is decorated with the same kind of curled hair over its chest, back, and tail, which ornaments his similitude at the gate of the first portal, but with this difference in the additional ornaments: the collar of the animal in the combat is perfectly plain, and there is no radiated form on his breast; here, the head is perfect, and we find a single horn projecting over his forehead. The circumstance of a collar round the neck of the bull, proves him to be no wild one, and that we are not to understand the combat as accidental. But, whether it may be received as a proof, that such conflicts were brought forward before the Persian people, is another question. That wild animals of the untameable sort were not merely hunted by these Eastern princes, but preserved near their palaces, is evident, from the lion's den which we find at Babylon after its conquest by Cyrus; but by no accounts that I can recollect, does it appear, that the beasts so immured were ever used for sport of any kind after their first capture. The question remains, are they, like the bulls on the portals, allegorical figures? In this bas-relief we find the bull is in the grasp of a lion, the usual symbol for only the most royal virtues; and, as Cyrus himself was typified in the East under the form of a lion with a man's heart, and the Assyrian empire under the form of an ox or a bull, it does not seem improbable, that the conquest of Cyrus over the two great empires of Assyria and Babylonia, united at Babylon, should be typified on each side of this ingress to his palace, by the lion's

seizure of the one-horned bull, the single horn being so large and twisted as well to symbolize the union of a double power. The fire, beauty, and truth with which these quadrupeds are hewn, may appear hardly credible to one who has not beheld them on the spot; for no artist of Greece or Rome could have been more faithful to the proportions of nature, or have shewn more knowledge of the anatomy of their forms.

"On the inclined planes corresponding to the slope of the stairs, runs a kind of frieze, on which is cut a line of figures, 1 foot 9 inches in height, answering in number to the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. The figures themselves appear a lengthened rank of those already described on each side of the blank tablet; and a similar range runs up the opposite slope. As the lines of figures are so disposed as to face each other, both looking towards one centre-point, those on the right present their left sides to the spectator, by which the whole of the bow and quiver they carry, are more accurately seen. A narrow border of open roses, closely set, finishes the upper edge of the frieze, while an equal number of figures ornament the interior face of the same staircase. We can have no doubt, in casting our eyes over the numbers, the uniform dresses, arms, and positions of these men, that they are the stone effigies of the vast body-guard, the *Doryphoves*, which once held an actual station on these very spots. Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon, chose ten thousand spear-men from amongst his faithful Persians, for this very purpose; and Xenophon adds, that in his day, the royal guard was still kept on the same footing. These men had already received the distinguishing mark of honour, the Median robe, (the *kandus* of that time,) and probably the origin of the

custom,) and also the high cap worn by Cyrus himself. His description of the Great King's munificence, and his equalising his general appearance with that of his immediate followers, fully accounts for the similitude of the caps and robes, in these ranges of figures, to the head-dress and raiment of the royal personage in several of the bas-reliefs. But, with regard to the high cap, or tiara, when mentioned as a universal costume with the Persians, we should recollect, that it was of many varieties, and is not always to be considered as resembling the royal turban, or tiara. On examining the bas-reliefs, it will be found, that none of the figures wear the same high cap as the sovereign's, but those who are distinguished by the same full robe; hence, all who appear in that garb, though stationed where modern refinement would only place a guard of rank and file, may be esteemed the kinsmen and friends of the king, to whom alone he gave the privilege of wearing the form of the royal tiara.* At the extremity of the spears of the least mutilated, I observed an ornamented ball, which recalled to my mind the *Melophores*, or thousand guards of Xerxes, who bore at the end of their lances, apples or pomegranates of gold. (Herod. vii. 61.)

"I now proceed to the objects on the face of the next flight of stairs, first taking the left wing, which stretches to the east. Here again, in the triangular space formed by the slope of the steps, we find a repetition of the contest between the lion and the bull,

* The head-dress of Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, consisted of two parts; the tiara, or high cap, and the diadem, *i.e.*, the *cydaris* or *wreath*; but the materials alone were held sacred to the regal dignity. Probably, remarks Sir Robert, the curved tiara or *cyrbasia*, originated with Darius Hystaspes, when he, as well as his six associates in the death of Smerdis the Magian, bent forward their high caps to distinguish each other.

occupying a length of 23 feet. It is divided by a tablet, on which may be traced an almost obliterated inscription, which reaches nearly from top to bottom, at present 6 feet 10 inches deep, and in width 4 feet 10 inches; whence begin the lines of three rows of sculpture, all sadly defaced, but covering an expanse of 68 feet, and terminating at the top of the steps of the outward approach. Of the upper row of figures, the lower extremities alone remain, appearing no deeper down the surface of the wall than 12 inches; the rest having risen above the level of the terrace, to form a kind of parapet; but it is now totally broken away, and vestiges of it may be seen thickly scattered over the ground below.

"This deplorably mutilated row of figures commences with a chariot drawn by two bulls; a second follows it; then comes a horse, with the feet of a man appearing on its opposite side, as if in attendance on the animal; again, two others in succession; then five figures habited in short vests; and after them comes an uninterrupted suite of forty-four long-robed spear-men. It is curious to observe, how the rotation in this procession resembles that of Cyrus to his first great royal sacrifice; the chariots, and the bulls, and the led horses for sacrifice to the sun, the spear-men, &c. &c. A border carved with roses divides each row of bas-relief from the one below it. By the frequency of these ornaments, we see how indigenous the rose has ever been in this country, and how much admired from the earliest times.

"The next begins with a range of thirty-two figures, of which every alternate one is clothed in a long robe, its full, loose sleeves reaching to the wrists, and its flowing skirts to the ancles. In front, about the centre of the waist, the robe appears gathered up,

both for convenience and grace of drapery; for there, connected with a girdle, it falls in regular folds over each thigh; and where the knots of the belt are tied, is stuck a dagger, the handle of which exactly resembles that worn by the Persian of the present day. What is discoverable of the upper part of the sheath, shews a very singular form, not unlike that of the Malay *creesse*. These figures in the flowing robes, always have ear-rings and collars, and some, the addition of bracelets. On their heads they wear the high fluted tiara, covering a bushy fulness of hair, profusely curled upon the neck, and combed up from the forehead, with a termination of curls there also. The beard partakes of the same taste, and is not long, but ending rather square. The feet are enveloped in the sandal buskin. And in this range, we find the figures so habited always holding the hand of the person immediately before them, or of the one immediately behind; a circumstance which would imply their belonging to the establishment of the king, and so leading forward persons, comparatively strangers, to the presence. With the exception of one or two, they all hold in their right hands a flower resembling the lotus; and several of them have a cased bow hanging on the left hip.

"The other alternate figure is attired in a short tunic, reaching to the knees, with long tight sleeves; indeed, the whole of the dress seems so close, that not a fold appears. His lower extremities are covered by trowsers, meeting at the ancles a high shoe, at the top of which they seem to be tied; and yet there is something in their form and smoothness that gives one the idea of jack-boots. On his head is a round-topped cap, projecting at the top a little over the brow. This style of coiffure differs entirely from the fluted cap or

tiara, and resembles what we call the Phrygian bonnet. I should be led to suppose, from its simplicity, and the corresponding plainness of the habit almost invariably worn with it, that the entire dress presented by the figure who wears it, is the genuine Persian habit; I mean the dress of the people of Persia Proper, not of the empire in general. The robe and tiara described above, are evidently the Median fashions. The strap which binds the body of this ancient Persian, is very distinctly marked. He wears a second, from which depends, on the right side, a dagger of a quite different shape from that of the robed courtier. This is very broad in the blade, and the point of its sheath seems fastened to the right thigh, near the knee, by a thong. Though not much larger than the common dagger of the time, used by other nations, still I look upon this stout little weapon to have been the actual Persian sword of that early age; which all the ancient accounts describe as 'extremely short, and worn on the right side.' Some of these figures carry the cased bow, some are decorated with ear-rings, collars, and bracelets, and others have a long cloak hanging from their shoulders, and attached by strings to the breast. All carry the lotus. Twenty-eight robed Persians, armed with spears, and every one in the same attitude, close this line. These do not wear the fluted cap, but have each a fillet round his head, on which are the traces of leaves. Ten or a dozen sculptured cypress-trees complete this bas-relief, and terminate near the stairs. The height occupied by the line of figures, is only 2 feet 10 inches.

"The third and lowest bas-relief presents the same procession of robed and tiara-capped Persians, alternately arranged with their tunicked brethren, to the number of thirty-two; and, in like manner as above,

followed by a train of twenty-one guards, in the same uniform as those in the upper bas-relief. Time, assisted by the destroying mallets to which I have referred before, has cruelly defaced the middle series, after having entirely demolished the best part of the row above; but this lowest range, happily for the antiquary, has till very lately been concealed, probably for ages, under heaps of ruins at its base. In Le Brun's time, the heads only of the figures were visible; but some of the gentlemen belonging to one of our late embassies to Persia, set men to work, and were successful in bringing this more perfect specimen to the eye of observation.

"The opposite wing of this magnificent approach is, like the other, divided into compartments by a large cypress-tree. Vast fragments of this also lie on the ground beneath; the higher range of figures, like those opposite, presenting no more than 12 inches of their original surface; but enough is left to shew, at the commencement of the procession, the lower parts of men and horses. The number of groupes which occupy the spaces in this range between the cypresses, is six. The figures are exceedingly broken, but still, I could discern that every man carried something in his hand like an offering, and that almost all the parties had a horse in their train. From most eastern historians we learn, that that animal was as valuable a present to the monarchs of Persia in those days, as it is considered at present. A continuation of these remnants, becoming more explicable, but not increasing in height, completes the line along the slope of the stairs, forming its parapet till it meets the ground, and the figures appear to be as follows. The feet of several men are traceable, and the last leads a bull; then intervenes a tree; five more men follow, the

fifth leading another bull; then occurs the cypress; again five men appear, one bearing a round shield, the remainder carrying spears; then come a couple more; after whom are two bulls drawing a kind of chariot covered with lozenge ornaments; the suite is closed by a figure leading an animal resembling the ibex.

"The row on the second line begins with a robed Persian, armed with a dagger at his belt. In his right hand he carries a staff, apparently the ensign of his office, whilst his left holds the hand of a person behind him, whom he appears to be leading forward. This person precedes four others, as being their chief; three of them bear on both their hands different articles of dress; the fourth, in a similar way, carries a couple of large clips. The style of carrying any thing, as well as presenting it to a superior, appears to have been the same then as it is now; the most trifling offering being always given with both hands. The whole of this groupe of five behind the robed Persian, are uniformly habited in short tunics, bound round the waist with a simple buckle and belt. Their legs and feet are covered with a sort of hose, of the jack-boot appearance I mentioned before; and, as a long pair of stockings is amongst the raiment borne, we may conclude that this under-garment is of that character. The upper parts of the figures are too much defaced to shew any thing of a head-dress. A tree divides these from the second groupe. In this, the leading personage is habited in the old Persian tunic, with the same simple belt as belongs to the dress in the opposite wing, and without a dagger. He bears a staff, though not so long a one as the robed personage of the same apparent office in the preceding groupe; he has a collar also, to mark his consequence. With his left hand he leads forward the first figure in

a groupe of *six*. This suite are habited in a sort of wrapping surtout, the arms naked from the hand to the elbow, where they meet a short sleeve; a kind of cape with a tasseled end hangs over the shoulder, down on the breast. A helmet-like cap covers the head, from which depends a bag, very similar to what is worn in some parts of Kourdistan at the present day: shoes are on the feet. The little that is left unbroken away of the hair, appears in the bushy style of the Medes. Two of these men carry basins, and a third, something like a piece of stuff; the fourth holds a staff in his right hand, and the end of a halter in his left, by which he leads a large bull; the fifth walks by the side of the animal, with his left arm over the back, carefully guiding it; he also holds a staff. The bull is admirably sculptured, and the usual heavy, sullen step of the animal is shewn to perfection. In this, the artist has displayed the earthly creature, having copied his original of the pasture with the most masterly fidelity; while the colossal bulls, at the portals, present a contrast which fully shews his design in each. A glance at them conveys to the mind an image of the same animal, but of some supernatural order; making the like distinction between them and the natural bull, as the Greeks accomplished, when the gigantic Hercules was hewn from the quarry, giving more than mortal dignity to the common proportions of man. The same *beau idéal* is displayed in the forms of the lions; and this very distinction, so happily shewn on the same platform, may be another argument for supposing a symbolical meaning is couched under all the animals exhibiting such supernatural elevation of character.

The third groupe in rotation is preceded by a robed Persian, leading by the left hand the first man

of six in suite; the heads of the whole are totally demolished, but in other respects they are not much damaged. A tight gabardine sort of dress, with short sleeves, reaches below the calves of the legs; on their feet are short boots, neatly tied upon the instep. Their waists are bound with sashes, with fringed ends tastefully disposed on the left side. The second man carries a couple of basins; he is followed by one bearing in each hand two regular-shaped forms, evidently the skins of some small animal; the third holds a piece of stuff. Two others come forward, attending a couple of sheep with very huge horns and fine curled coats; which corroborates the idea of the foregoing skins being probably the beautiful fleeces of the young lambs. Such fleeces, from a peculiar breed, are still in great request in these countries; particularly those of the grey curled lamb of Bokhara, which, both in Persia and Russia, bring the greatest prices.

"The introducer in the fourth groupe, is one of the tunic-dressed Persians. The person he leads by the hand, seems in all things habited like himself, if we except his staff and collar of office, and the appearance of a cap falling low in the pole of the neck of the led personage. The cap has a peculiarity of curving backwards at its high top, instead of forwards, as we have usually seen on figures wearing the short tunic. On the left side of this man, hangs a cased bow, the only one in the groupe. The next person, dressed in the same way in all respects excepting the bow, appears walking by the side of a horse, which he holds by its bridle; the mane and tail are nicely tied up, and the peculiarity of its form, no doubt, marks the particularity of its breed. The succeeding four figures carry articles, apparently of horse-furniture, one of them holding a sort of saddle-cloth and stirrup at-

tached. The usual intervening cypress separates this last groupe from the fifth; and here we find a robed conductor, (indeed, throughout these bas-reliefs, this duty seems to be alternately exercised by the Median-robed Persian, and the Persian in the genuine habit of his country,) leading a person in a different costume from any of the former. The hair, as we may judge by his followers in the same general raiment, is bound by a fillet, and projects a little behind in small neat curls; the beard is very short. Both arms and legs are naked, the feet being defended by a sandal. A short tunic comes to the knee, and is open at the side, being bound at the waist by a very broad belt. A tight mantle, through which passes the arms, hangs, almost like a modern European coat, to near the calf of the leg; a tasseled end falls between the arm and the vest. Two persons in this garb conduct a bull, not at all inferior in spirit and beauty to the former; and he, likewise, is meant for a beast of earthly pastures. He is followed by three spear-men, dressed precisely like their three preceding unarmed compeers; but the foremost of these warriors carries a spear in his right hand, and a large round shield on his left arm, covering his person from the chin almost to the knee. His two followers have no shield, but each carries a spear in either hand. The cypress concludes the groupe. Along this line may be seen the extent of the native artist's skill in portraying the uncovered parts of the human figure. The fine management of these naked limbs, the truth of the muscles, and the spirit of their action, might lead one to think, that the same hand that executed them, did not touch the stiff, wooden-like legs belonging to some of the figures more completely covered; and, probably, this was really the case, the master-chisel only applying

itself to the general sketch and perfecting finish of the most scientific parts of the art.

"The sixth groupe is led forward by one of the old tunicked Persians, with his staff and collar of consequence. The front of his cap has been a little knocked off, else his head might be called in excellent preservation; the face is perfect, and shews a fine physiognomy. The man in his charge has not been so fortunate: the whole of his face is gone, having left only the beard, which is much larger than any I had seen in the other bas-reliefs, excepting those which represent royalty; but the hair in this beard is perfectly straight, and cut square at the end. The hair of the head behind appears to be turned up smooth over a roll, surmounted with a kind of skull-cap helmet, bending forward in the Phrygian point over the forehead; two flaps proceed from the helmet, guarding the ears. The dress of this man and his five followers, is exactly alike; and all sharing the same progress, more or less, towards decapitation. Their upper garments are tight, with sleeves to the wrist, and flying off slopingly behind the thighs, in a point still more like a modern coat than the one I mentioned before. A large buckle and strap confine the waist; but what makes this garment look most like a European dress, are two or three lines from the shoulder down the front of the breast, which have the appearance of lapels or facings. The first, who is led forward by the conductor, wears a cased bow at his side. The four who follow him, have a similar appendage; but the first of them carries in addition, a dagger, or short sword, held up by both hands, with the sheath and fastenings to the belt attached to it. Hence, I should suppose, from that being the only weapon of the kind which we see on these sculptures

that its steel original answered indiscriminately to the name of sword or dagger, according to the ideas of the ancient writers who described it; for, perhaps, it is as much too large for the common fashion of the one, as it is too small for the usual size of the other. The next figure carries a couple of immense bracelets or fetters, like those in a preceding bas-relief; and the two succeeding men are armed with war-hammers, holding one in each hand. The last person in the groupe wears the same dress as the others, with the exception of the belt and cased bow; his occupation is to lead a very fine horse, of a totally different description from the former. The tree terminates this line of sculpture, by the side of an inscription.

"We now commence the lower range, which is clear all the way to the very feet of the figures; at which point, I am inclined to think, the ornamented part of the stairs finished; leaving only a few feet of plain surface below, now hidden by the mouldered ruins, before we come to the original level of the top of the first terrace.

"The conductor of the first groupe in the lower row, is one of the robed Persians, with his short sword, and Median fluted cap. He is the only one whose staff of office has retained its rounded top. The three figures which immediately follow him, wear high pointed tiaras, seemingly formed of rolled linen, and answering in shape to the descriptions we have of the priests' mitres. Neither their hair nor their beards differ in any way from the common fashion of the time, excepting, that behind the ear hangs a long single braid, terminated by two large beads; their under-garments reach nearly to the ancle. Over them is a shorter vest, and a mantle with a deep cape, which falls loosely

down the back, and over the naked arms; tassels are at each corner. Sock-like boots are on their feet. After the chief of the party, who is led as usual, follow the two other mitred persons, carrying a bowl in each hand. Then comes a third figure, in the same dress as the foregoing, but without a cap of any kind; he bears a couple of immense bracelets in his hands, whose circular form is connected by the heads of serpents. The one on the right hand is perfect; but the other, in the left, can just be discerned as having been. The two remaining persons of the groupe are in charge of a chariot, which is drawn by a pair of magnificent horses. One of the men, in ampler garments than his compeers, and bare-headed, holds the bridles of the horses. His companion in the rear, dressed more like the man with the bracelets, follows, leaning his left hand on the backs of the animals, and holding a long wand in the other. The horses are without trappings; but the details of their bits, and the manner of reining them, are executed with the nicest care. The pole of the car is seen passing between the horses, projecting from the centre of the carriage, which is in a cylindrical shape, elevated rather above the line of the animals' heads. The wheel of the car is extremely light, and tastefully put together. In fact, the whole of this chariot-groupe is portrayed and finished with a beauty and accuracy that alike excite our wonder and admiration.

"The second party consists of five persons, exclusive of the tunicked Persian, who is their master of the ceremonies. The heads of these men are covered with a very extraordinary kind of bonnet, pointed and inclining forward, and appearing something cloven at the top, where an interior cap shews through the cleft. Two large corners from each side of the bonnet are

drawn back and fastened up behind; evidently to be let down at pleasure, and drawn forward for the protection of the ears and chin, like the bashlicks of the mountaineers, who use them as a defence from the wind and snow. The peasantry of the plains, too, frequently case their heads in the same manner. In all other respects, the dress of the men in this groupe, resembles that of their conductor; only, he wears the low common Persian cap, with his collar and staff of office; and in addition to their simple tunic, they have a short, scanty mantle, fastened on the left breast with a clasp or buckle in the form of a bow. Tassels ornament the corners of the mantle. The second figure which follows the leader of the groupe, is attendant on an almost gigantic horse, whose ardour he seems to check, by the tightness with which he holds the bridle. Round the animal's neck are a collar and a bell; his mane is hogged, though enough has been left on the forehead to form a tuft, which is tied like a brush; apparently a favourite ornament with these people from a very early time. The three following figures bear articles of dress; the last is almost obliterated.

"The approaching line of persons which compose the third groupe, consists of eight, all bare-headed, and in one attire; the same precisely with the unbonneted men who precede the chariot, excepting that the texture of the under-garments of these is carved in waving stripes; with the others, it is plain. Three of these persons carry variously formed bowls; two others follow, holding some folded substance in their hands, not unlike the bread of the country; two more close the party, each charged with a couple of globular forms, probably melons. The conductor of these is a robed figure.

"In the fourth groupe, we return to a succession of five persons, who are led by a tunicked Persian. They are clothed in tight vestures of the same kind, with long sleeves like his; but their waists are bound by a cord, knotted in front. They wear very full and loose trowsers, hanging in wavy masses over the tops of their boots, which reach to the calf of the leg, and are a little turned up at the toe. Their heads have neither cap nor bonnet, but are tied with a fillet. The hair and beard are quite smooth and uncurled; and these, and the groupe which follows, are the only people with the same sort of ring in their ears. Three of these persons carry bowls; the fourth supports himself by a long staff, and leads by the bridle, with his left hand, a dromedary, whose neck is decorated with a collar and bell. In comparing the general character of this animal, particularly those I have seen since my arrival in Persia, with its delineation here on stone, I found it a most faithful copy; the head is finely marked, and the bunches of hair behind his ear and below his throat, with the large, round protuberances above his knees, are accurately placed; the muscles of the limbs are so well cut, as to give an appearance of almost actual movement to the animal. The dromedaries most in use amongst the northern tribes of the empire, are commonly natives of the country about Bakou; they are valued, for size and strength, far above the camel. Some, to improve the qualities of the latter, cross the breed with a dromedary.

"The fifth and last groupe of the procession is conducted by the robed Introducer, who leads forward the chief of the party, a dignified-looking person, enveloped in a large folded cloak, which is thrown carelessly over the left shoulder, and reaches nearly down

to his sandalled feet. His hair is uncurled, and bound with a fillet. The rest of the party are almost naked, their only covering being a small piece of garment resembling a short petticoat, which is confined on the hip by a thick roll of some sort of stuff or linen. The first of them bears on his shoulders a pair of large scales, which contain four small bottles. The next man brings four more bottles, set in two basins. He is followed by one who guides an animal, which I immediately recognised to be the gour or wild ass. Another attendant stands behind it, while the last person in the groupe brings up the rear with a pair of implements like mallets in his hands.

"Here end all the remains of the bas-reliefs on this division of the edifice, from which we may collect any idea of what might have been the subject of the whole representation. Having already noticed a considerable resemblance between certain objects in these successive groupes, and the first grand procession of the great founder of the empire, I shall offer an abstract of Xenophon's account of the solemnity, before I proceed to my own remarks on the subject.

"'But now,' says the historian, 'we will relate how Cyrus first marched in grand procession out of the palace; for the majesty of this procession seems to have been one of the means by which he held his government in such high consideration. First, therefore, he arrayed himself, and his commanders, and other chosen officers, in the splendid robes of the Medes, that they might all appear beautiful and noble. There stood first before the gates, four thousand guards, drawn up four in front, with lances in their hands; two thousand on each side of the gates. The Persians stood on the right hand, and the other allies

on the left of the way. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, first came forth certain bulls, very goodly beasts, four abreast, devoted to paternal Jove, and to such other of the gods as the Magi directed. Next to the bulls, horses were led, for a sacrifice to the sun. After these proceeded a white chariot, very costly, its seat of gold adorned with a crown, and sacred to Jove. Then came another white chariot, sacred to the sun, and decorated in the same manner. After that, a third chariot, with horses in scarlet housings; and behind it, followed men, bearing fire upon a large altar. After these, Cyrus himself appeared, clad in his royal robes and diadem. When the chariot of Cyrus advanced, the four thousand guards led on before, and two thousand attended on each side; the chief officers of his person, gallantly mounted and finely clothed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of three hundred, followed after. Then were led the noble horses maintained for Cyrus himself, with their bridles of gold, and caparisoned in housings wrought with raised stripes; and these horses were two hundred. After them marched two thousand spear-men. Then came the first formed body of Persian horse, to the number of ten thousand, marshalled a hundred deep, under Chrysantes. After these, marched a second ten thousand, under Hystaspes. They were followed by the like number, in the leading of Datarnas. Then came the Median, the Armenian, the Hyrcanian, the Cadusian, and the Sacian horse. And after these troops, went the chariots, ranged four abreast, under the command of the Persian Artabates. Upon this occasion, Cyrus established equestrian and other games amongst his chiefs and followers; and to the victors he gave oxen, and cups, that they might sacrifice and feast. The

method of this procession, then settled by Cyrus, continues to this day; excepting only that the victims make no part in it when the king does not sacrifice. Every nation thought they did themselves an injury, if they did not send Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own: and every city did the same.' (Cyrop. b. viii.) We are told, that Cyrus received such presents in the way of tribute from the nations at large; but from the Persians alone he took them as free gifts. In the preceding quotation, we may trace some affinity between its solemn procession and bringing of presents, with the series of subjects just described in the bas-reliefs on the palace-walls. I do not mean to say that they were intended as a commemoration of this, or perhaps any other of Cyrus's personal solemnities of the kind, but my reference shews the antiquity of the custom and its details. He was much less likely than his successors, to erect that sort of monument to the honour of his conquests and institutions; and nothing is more probable, than that these magnificent registers of a great empire were chiselled from the rock, by the command of his not unworthy successor, Darius Hystaspes. He mounted the throne of Persia hardly ten years after the death of Cyrus. Ctesias asserts, that the tomb which Darius ordered to be made for himself, was excavated in the mountain near Persepolis; but, whether he chose his last rest to be there, or in the sacred caves at Nakshi-Roustam, does not affect the probability of his having devoted some part of his long reign, and the labours of his numerous artists and artisans, to the embellishment of this ancient metropolis. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had begun many public works, both here

and at Susa, employing the captives he had brought from Egypt, in the decoration of his two favourite cities. The usurper Smerdis, who followed the short reign of Cambyses, had hardly time to seat himself on the throne, ere he was dispossessed and slain by the son of Hystaspes, the friend and kinsman of Cyrus. Drawing his claim to the sceptre, or rather confirming his hold of it, by that affinity, what is more likely, than that the avowed restorer of the ancient royal line should thus embellish the native palace of his great predecessor, by commemorating on marble, the very institutions which he had made the principles of his own government? The length of his reign allowed him ample time for the prosecution of the most elaborate works, and the extent of his resources afforded him liberal means of carrying the most magnificent plans into execution.

"That the design of the artist who composed the bas-reliefs, was not to display a religious procession, seems clear from the nature of the articles borne by the different groupes of the train; and as Darius adopted the style of Cyrus in receiving presents from his own countrymen, instead of tribute, I am not diffident in assigning the sculptures in question entirely to Darius; supposing them to represent the feast at the vernal equinox, when the Persians would present their gratuities, and the governors of provinces, with their delegates, would bring in the annually collected tax from each, with a due proportion of offerings.*

* For this ingenious idea, the Author acknowledges himself to be indebted to M. Heeren, a French writer. This custom is still perpetuated in the festival of the Nou-roos, which is supposed to have had its origin in the reign of Jemshed; and there is a remarkable passage in the book of Job, which has been thought to allude to a similar ceremony.—See Job i. 6; ii. 1.

"We learn from Xenophon, how the usual attendants on the Persian sovereigns were disposed; and we find that a certain number of the chosen guard were always stationed at the different doors of the palace. The seven figures grasping spears, and standing as in front of the outer flight of steps, probably represent these favourite sentinels; their appearance being military, and their situation perfectly unconnected with the train of groupes drawn along the line of the left wing of the staircase. All the groupes face that part of the stairs which leads on to the terrace; and therefore, we must consider this approach as pointing immediately to the presence of the Great King. The procession of personages on the left wing appear to be nobles and high officers of the empire: those in the Median robe and fluted tiara were probably of the highest order, (that which Cyrus denominated the *alike honoured*,) while collars, bracelets, &c. were dispensed to those whose situations might claim less conspicuous distinctions. Not one among this succession of persons carries the short staff, the badge of royal ushers, as we see it held in the hands of their compeers in the opposite wing. Hence I should consider these to be nobles and great officers of the empire present at court, but not (officially) assisting at its ceremonies. In this train, the tunicked and the robed have all the cased bow or the dagger at the belt; which appears to have been as indispensable to the dress of ceremony in those days, as the sword is in our own times, both in Persia and in every court of Europe." In the bas-relief upon the tomb at Nakshi-Roustum, we see that, even at a religious solemnity, arms were not excluded, for the principal personage who stands before the altar of fire, leans on a bow. Almost every one in this procession holds in his hand

a figure like the lotus, to which the early Persians attached a peculiar sanctity.*

"The very mutilated range of figures above these lotus-bearing nobles, and on the upper line of the staircase, is preceded by a file of military; and being in part composed of horses, chariots, bulls, and other objects likely to be selected as fit oblations at the vernal feast, I have no doubt that a continuation of a similar train went along the exterior inclining wall of the steps, in the manner of the corresponding bas-reliefs still existing down those to the west. It would be a vain task to attempt assigning to the particular parties divided by the marble avenue of cypress-trees, each its separate country, according to its different costume. Sufficient variety, however, presents itself in the several groupes, to make it evident, that they came from parts of the empire as distinct in climate as different in the fashion of their garb; some being so lightly clothed as merely to wear what decency demands, and others covered up from the sock to the chin.....We find the most valuable animals the tributary countries would produce; the horse, the sheep, the bull, the dromedary, and the *gour* or wild-ass, so precious in the eyes of a Persian prince as an object of chase. Others present specimens of manufactures in articles of dress and arms, and some carry vessels of honey, perfume, and spices. Yet, it is likely that all the vases and bowls were not appropriated to hold-

* This flower was alike sacred in Persia, India, and Egypt. It was an emblem of fecundity, of beauty, and of purity. The Egyptians introduced it into the architecture of their temples, where it is seen forming the varied capitals of their vast columns. It is the *fleur-de-lace* of the arms of France; and Sir R. K. Porter remarks, that, in all pictures of the salutation of the Virgin, this flower is introduced. "It has, in fact, been held in mysterious veneration by people of all nations and of all times."

ing these lighter kind of oblations, but were masses of gold or silver. Herodotus mentions (lib. iii. 96.) its having been a custom in the East, to melt the precious metal, and pour it into earthen vessels; when the liquid gold or silver cooled, the mould was broken, and the metal came out in the shape it had received. Counting the number of groupes which fill the space between every two cypresses, I found eighteen on this face of the wall, and two at the commencement of the slope on the steps, which makes up exactly the twenty governments into which Darius divided his empire; a coincidence we may regard as an additional corroboration of the idea, that these bas-reliefs represent the delegated tributaries of that partition.*

"On ascending the platform on which the palace of Forty Pillars once stood, nothing can be more striking than the view of its ruins, so vast and magnificent, so fallen, mutilated, and silent,—the court of Cyrus, the pavilion of Alexander's triumph, and the memorial of the wantonness of his power! This immense upper platform stretches N. and S. 350 feet, and from E. to W. 380 feet. The greater part is covered with broken capitals, shafts of pillars, and countless fragments of building, some of which are richly ornamented with the most exquisite sculpture. The distribution of the pillars comprised four divisions; consisting of a centre phalanx of six deep every way, an advance body of twelve

* "Two of the cuneiform inscriptions on this part of the platforms, have been so far translated by Professor Grotefund as to shew that Darius is the subject of both. One (on the wall at the entrance) runs thus: 'Darius, the brave king, the king of kings, the king of nations, the son of Hystaspes, the descendant of the sovereign of the world in the constellation of Möre.'" Another is to a similar effect; the sovereign of the world is Jemsheed. If this rendering may be depended upon, the date of these sculptures is no longer matter of hypothesis.

in two ranks, and the same number flanking the centre. The advanced division, composed of a double line of six columns, is 20 feet from the landing-place, and meets the eye immediately on ascending. One only is now standing; the shattered bases of nine others still remain, but the places only are left of the other two which completed the colonnade. About 38 feet from the western edge of the terrace, appears the second double range of columns, the most northern of them being 100 feet from that face of the height; but, on the western side, they seem on the brink of a precipice; for there, the upper terrace rises stupendously from the plain. Five of the twelve columns in this western division are still erect; the capitals are in tolerable preservation, and the bases of the whole are equally perfect. From hence to the eastern range, of a similar number, is a distance of 268 feet. Four of these are standing, and the pedestals of four more are yet undemolished; but the rest have been totally destroyed, or lie buried under masses of ruin, which become hillocks at this point; spreading very far, and indeed so deep, as to form a regular slope to the walls of a spacious edifice, standing further eastward on the great platform; by which circumstance, the face of the terrace in this quarter is almost completely lost.

"The form of the columns which compose the three distinct colonnades, is the same in all. Besides the admiration which the general elegance of their form and the exquisite workmanship excited, I never was made so sensible of the impression of perfect symmetry. The total height of each column is 60 feet; the circumference of the shaft, 16 feet; and its length, from the capital to the tor, 44 feet. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions. At its lower ex-

tremity begin a cincture and a torus; the former, two inches in depth, the latter, one foot; whence devolves the pedestal in the form of the cup and leaves of a pendent lotus. It rests upon a plinth of 8 inches, and in circumference measuring 24 feet 6 inches; the whole, from the cincture to the plinth, comprising a height of 5 feet 10 inches. The capitals which remain, though much injured, are yet sufficient to shew that they were all surmounted with the double demi-bull. The heads of the bulls forming the capitals, take the direction of the faces of the respective fronts of the terrace; and I think there can be no doubt, that the wide hollow between their necks received a beam, meant to support and connect an entablature, over which has been placed the roof. I do not see the purpose of these three distinct colonnades at equal distances from the grand central quadrangle of pillars, unless they were covered piazzas. That pillars so terminated were intended to be connected, is made evident by those on the fronts of the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam. But, as the ruins that lie scattered near these divisions, seem, by far the greater part, to consist of fragments of the fallen columns themselves, I should be of opinion, that the superstructure was of different materials; probably some sort of timber with a thin coating of stone.*

* In the general disposition of these colonnades, the Author supposes that a considerable degree of resemblance may be detected to the plan of the palace of Solomon, called, "the House of the Forest of Lebanon;" and at all events, the description given of that building proves, that different sorts of timber were used in the connecting parts of the noblest structures, long before the era of Cyrus. The account, especially in the Authorised Version, is somewhat obscure: but thus much is clear: that "the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits and stones of eight cubits; and above these were costly stones, squared to a measure" (Boothroyd's Version), "and cedars. And the great

"At a distance of 60 feet from the eastern and western colonnades, stood the central phalanx of columns, in number thirty-six; but no more than five at present exist entire. Therefore, adding these to those still standing in the three other groupes, there are just fifteen remaining erect among the fallen host which lie in all directions, broken or mouldering to dust.* This central groupe is arranged in rows of six deep on all sides, forming an exact square. They are placed at the same distance from each other as the columns in the other divisions, and their dimensions are similar in point of circumference, and in the depth of the pedestal, as also in the general particulars of their ornaments; but they are only 55 feet in height. Their shafts, which are fluted like the others, are about 35 feet in length; the capitals are of a quite

court round about was of three rows of hewn stones and a row of cedar beams, both for the inner court of the house, and for the porch of the house."—1 Kings vii. 10—12.

* If Lieutenant Alexander be correct in his statement, two have since fallen. Sir W. Ouseley has collected in a note, the various accounts of their number given by former travellers, which, could they be depended upon, would shew the progress of dilapidation. When Della Valle visited these ruins in 1621, 23 columns were standing. Herbert, in 1627, and Mandelslo, in 1638, saw but 19. Kempfer, in 1686, and Niebuhr, in 1765, 17. Franclin, in 1787, counted only 15, which still remained on their pedestals in 1818. Lieutenant Alexander, in 1826, saw only 13. "One column, of many that stood on the plain, not far from the terrace, and opposite its southern angle," had been pulled down a few years before Sir W. Ouseley's visit, by some Eelauts, in the hope of finding any iron or lead that might have been used in the joinings of the blocks. (Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 236.) Of the total number of columns originally included in the palace, every traveller gives a different calculation. Don Garcias de Silva Figueroa, in 1619, calculated that there had been six rows, of eight columns in each. Sir T. Herbert says, 100; Thevenot, 100; Chardin, 12 rows of 10 each; Kempfer and Le Brun, 72; Niebuhr, 71; Franklin, 71; Morier, 72; Sir W. Ouseley, "at least 84;" Sir R. K. Porter, 60.

different character, being of the same description with that in the great portal. The two lower divisions are evidently constructed of the hallowed lotus: the upper compartment has only two volutes. The middle compartment (which is one division of the lotus) appears to have had some extraneous body introduced into the opening between it and the lower part; and the angular and unfinished state of that side of the capital seems to testify the same. Here, then, the connecting line must have run, whence the roof could spring. I remarked another circumstance, which may corroborate the idea of a roof having been here: there is a manifest appearance of some immense body having fallen against the interior of the capitals, and fractured them to a very ruinous degree, while their outward faces are nearly without a scar. Hence I would conclude, that the whole of these central columns have been attached to the support of some covering.

"But there is one peculiarity observable in the middle range of twelve, pointing N. and S., that gives support to a very interesting idea. All their pedestals rise some feet higher than any of those by which they are surrounded; the stone work being rough and unfinished, and projecting in strong unshaped blocks, as if to sustain an additionally elevated pavement. To an eye which had lately witnessed a vernal procession to the foot of a Persian* throne, the present scene seemed well adapted for a similar celebration; and as the sovereign is now, and by every account always has been, seated above the level of his courtiers, on this very marble pavement, or flooring of some costly wood, which I have supposed formerly covered these rugged pedestals, probably stood the throne.*

* "It is curious," remarks the Author, "to turn again to the Book of Kings, to compare this supposed site of the throne of Jemsheed,

"The nearest building (now standing) to the palace just described, appears on an elevation of about seven or eight feet above the level of the plane of the colonnades, and occupies a length of 170 feet by 95. We approach it from the west by a double flight of stairs, which are almost in complete ruin; but fragments on and near them shew that they also have been decorated with sculptured guards and other figures. The side to the east is so heaped with fallen remains, covered up with the earth of centuries, that it is impossible to find any trace of a corresponding range of stairs there. To the south, the whole face of the terrace which supports this building, is occupied with another superb flight, the landing-place of which embraces nearly 48 feet by 10. Its front is divided by a tablet bearing an arrow-headed inscription, on each side of which stand spear-men of gigantic height; their heads and shoulders alone are now visible above the accumulated rubbish round the base of the edifice.

"To the north of this building, after ascending its terrace, we find an open space of 65 feet in width, on

with what is said of the situation of the throne of Solomon." The passage referred to is thus rendered by Dr. Boothroyd: "He then made a porch with pillars: its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth thirty cubits: and the (area of the) porch was before those pillars, and over them were thick planks. He next made a porch for the throne, where he might judge, (hence called) the judgment-porch: and it was covered with cedar from the floor to the ceiling. And his own apartment where he sat, was a court-hall behind the porch, of like workmanship." 1 Kings vii. 6—8. "Moreover, the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold. And the throne had six steps, with a footstool of gold, fastened to the throne, and arm-stays on each side of the seat, and two lions standing by the arm-stays; and twelve lions, on either side (six), stood upon the steps. The like had not been made in any kingdom." 2 Chron. ix. 17—19. This display of royal magnificence was several centuries before the era of Darius, and might well excite the emulation of a Persian monarch.

which appear the foundations of some narrow walls, probably belonging to what had been the front of the edifice, now fallen and swelling the heaps below. On each side of this space, 40 feet towards the S., stand two lofty entrances, composed of four solid upright blocks of marble nearly black: within the portals, two guards are sculptured on each side in bas-relief. They are habited in the Median robe, armed with a long spear, and, instead of the fluted tiara, their heads are bound with a broad band, which I should suppose was metal. In front of the foremost guard appears a long cylindrical form, which he seems to grasp behind with his left hand: it is constructed of perpendicular rod-like shapes, capped at the top with a flat surface, which is parallel to the chin of the figure. It seems possible, that this questionable object may be intended for the ancient shield called the *gerra*, which is universally described as formed of the osier or branches of the willow. On the immediate verge of the landing-place from the western flight of steps, we enter a portal of these long-shielded guards, and, at a very few paces onward, pass through a second into a room 48 feet square. Two other doors open from it to the north, two to the west, one to the south, and originally two to the east; but one only remains on that side, fragments alone of the second marking where its frame-work had been. On three sides of the room, we found several niches, each excavated in one solid stone to a depth of 3 feet, 5 in height, and 6 in width. They appear to have been exquisitely polished within, while upright lines of cuneiform characters run along their edges. Four windows, 10 feet high, open to the south; they embrace the whole thickness of the wall, namely, 5 feet; and at present, from the accumulation of ruins on the floor, are hardly a foot above

it. The doorways have all, on each side, duplicate bas-reliefs of a royal personage with two attendants, one holding an umbrella. Compartments with inscriptions are over the heads of all the groupes. Three other bas-reliefs exhibit a single combat between a man and a lion, a man and a griffin, and a man with a non-descript creature.

"There is another division (apartment) of the same building, 30 feet by 48, open to the south, and terminating, on each side towards that point, on the landing-place of the superb stairs, by a couple of square pillars, of one block of marble, about 22 feet high: these are covered with a variety of inscriptions, cuneiform, Kufic, Arabic, and Persian. The Arabic was written, A.H. 881. The whole of the ground within the shell of this building, is greatly raised by the crumbled masses of its fallen roof. Faint traces of a double colonnade are still visible along the open space between the western brink of the greater terrace and the western face of this building.

"I have now mentioned an ascent of three terraces from the plain; first, the grand platform which supports all the others; secondly, the *Chehel Minar* terrace; thirdly, the terrace that sustains the edifice just described. A fourth elevation of the same kind, presents itself at about 96 feet to the south of the preceding; its summit is on a level with that of the third terrace, but three of its sides are much obscured by the mounds at their base. Along its northern verge, parallel to the before-mentioned structure, rise the heads of a line of figures equal in size to those on the stairs of the terrace of the double chamber: these figures seem to be armed with the bow and quiver only, no trace of a spear being to be seen. A flight of sadly mutilated steps, in two ascents of fifteen

each, is found at the north-western corner: on these are vestiges of much fine bas-relief decoration. Having reached the plane of the terrace, I saw a square of 96 feet: 33 feet of the western side was occupied by the depth of the approach just described, whence ran along, in two direct lines, the bases of ten columns, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter. Were the hillocks of buried ruins removed, I doubt not we should find the remnants of a piazza along every side. At the south-western angle of this terrace, is an additional square elevation, the whole depth of which, from the summit to the base, is 62 feet: along its upper surface are the lower parts of twelve pillars in three rows, of the same diameter as those in the neighbouring colonnade.

"Immediately beyond this comparatively small terrace, rises a fifth and much more extensive elevation. But, before I commence the details of this fifth terrace, I must hazard a few suggestions on one of the most interesting spots of the whole magnificent platform.

"From the southern extremity of the eastern colonnade on the terrace of the *Chehel Minar*, and over all the heaped fragments which slope from that point down to the great platform, is an expanse of 315 feet, measuring in a direct line from the colonnade to the northern front of a building on the fifth terrace. The whole of this space lies open without a wall or pillar; but its level is interrupted by an immense mound of ruins....I would hazard the opinion, that this immense heap covers the mouldered relics of a division of the palace answering to that immediately to the south (on the fifth terrace); probably, the more magnificent of the two, as it would be so much nearer the great hall of audience, and likely, from that cir-

cumstance, to have contained the banqueting chambers. Here, in that case, may have stood the very palace which fell a sacrifice to the drunken revelry of the Macedonian conqueror....Certainly, not a trace of fire is discernible on any of the adjacent walls; and it may be alleged that, if so considerable a building in their vicinity had been consumed to ashes, the ravages of the flames must have reached and marked some of them. But, on perceiving how unconnectedly all the edifices stood, not merely separated by spacious areas, but divided by detached terraces, we might easily imagine how one of them might be burned to the ground, without a spark reaching any of the others. Besides, the solidity of the walls of these palaces is calculated to confine the fire as in a furnace, while it continued to devour all that was combustible within. The internal materials of the destroyed palace, according to Quintus Curtius, were cedar and other consumable substances: these, with the splendid hangings * and carpets, would, when once the brand was set to the building, hasten its destruction. The next objection might be, that no trace of such solid walls is left. But the stone would be so injured by the action of the fire, that we may readily conceive of its rapidly crumbling to decay, and falling in upon the already prostrated roof. Besides, we learn from Plutarch, that the madness of Alexander's intoxication subsided almost as soon as the wanton act was committed, and that he made every effort to extinguish the flames, or prevent them from spreading. In this attempt, it is likely that part of the edifice itself might be battered in to smother the fire. The foundation of the mound would thus be raised at once, and the casualties

* See Esther i. 6.

of successive ages could not fail to heap it with earth, till it assumed the rounded form in which it now appears.*...That the ruin was not cleared away for the purpose of rebuilding, is not a surprising circumstance, when we consider the brevity of Alexander's life and the periods of confusion which followed his death. The city gradually fell into neglect and consequent decay. A long succession of strange princes, Greek and Parthian, naturally inclining to prefer any city as their residence before the capital of the ancient race, promoted the abandonment of these walls and towers, which the cruel devastation of the Arabs in after ages utterly accomplished. Hence, it is probable, that this very spot has remained in almost the same state, from the night of the destruction of the stately palace, which took place 329 years B.C., to the present day.

"On the terrace to the south of this mound, (the fifth in the order of description,) stand the remains of one of the most regularly planned structures of the whole platform. Its site is also the most elevated, shewing, even now, upwards of twenty feet above the level of that vast foundation. From its dimensions, and the disposition of its numerous apartments, with its contiguity to the destroyed part which I suppose to have contained the festival halls, and the passages

* Quintus Curtius, with his customary exaggeration, represents Alexander as burning to the ground *the whole city*, not leaving a vestige to mark where it stood, and which was only, he affirms, to be traced by the course of the Araxes! So far from this being correct, (and its absurdity has brought the whole story into question,) we learn from both Strabo and Arrian, that Alexander inhabited the royal palace of Persepolis after his return from India. A hundred and sixty years afterwards, Antiochus Epiphanes formed a project to pillage the city of Persepolis and its temple.—See 2 Maccabees, ix. 2.

leading to the high court of ceremonies (the *Chehel-minar*), I am induced to believe this the dwelling quarters of the monarch. Hence, it is deeply to be regretted, that its state is nearly the most ruinous; though enough remains to allow the ground-plan to be traced with the greatest precision, and also to shew the bases and plinths of its pillars, with fragments of beautiful sculpture scattered about in sad confusion. The principal doorways and huge marble window-frames are yet in their places: their lofty sides and ponderous lintels resemble, though with the finest workmanship, our Druidical monument at Stonehenge. Beginning at the southern side of this terrace, we find, at the eastern and western ends, two flights of narrow steps, descending to a lower level of 30 feet. These ways of ingress appear, from their style, to have been private; probably appropriated only to the inhabitants of the place. The several faces of the building are at present marked only by their foundations, with the exception of one window to the west, and three to the east. They open from a couple of corresponding wings, which divisions are each subdivided into three spacious apartments; the outer ones alone communicating with the pillared courts. In the centre of those courts or quadrangles stand the plinths of four small columns, not more than 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, but placed at the distance of 6 feet from each other, and 16 feet from the door; this leads into a noble hall, 90 feet square, the pavement being marked with the sites of thirty-six pillars, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter. A door on the opposite side of the hall corresponds to the one already mentioned, both conducting into similar open quadrangles of four pillars. Another portal leads to the south, and a fourth and fifth to the north, into a large vestibule, the

whole width of the hall, which was supported by eight similar columns, as their plinths still remain to testify. Two doors from the vestibule, pointing east and west, lead into six smaller rooms; and, from similar foundations, I conclude that they joined others still more to the north.

"The windows are each formed of four large blocks of marble, six feet thick, (which is the depth of the walls,) four feet eight inches in height, and three feet six in width. On the inner faces of those that give light to the rooms, are duplicate bas-reliefs, occupying the whole surface, and consisting of two figures in each. The first figure is clothed in the long robe and buskins; on his head is a kind of cowl, which passes over his mouth, and hangs down upon his chest and back. His face is much mutilated, and so are his hands, in which he appears to be carrying a cup. He is followed by a man in a short tunic and a singularly shaped cap, which comes over his mouth and beard: with his left hand he grasps the horn of an animal resembling the mountain goat of the country, but the horn issues from the middle of the forehead, in form like that of the ibex....The leading person in all the groupes is dressed exactly like the man with the cup: and those that follow are in the habit of the man who holds the goat. One of these leaders supports a tray on both hands, on which rests a shape not unlike a skin of wine: the persons following him carry each a covered vessel, resembling dishes now in use for *kabobs*. This suite of apartments, I should think, might have been originally appropriated to the private table of the sovereign and his family. On the broken remnants of other windows are found similar lines of figures. Among the least defaced, I found two habited in the Median robe, their visages uncovered:

one holds in his right hand a sort of censer, and in the other, a vessel resembling a pail, probably to contain the aromatic gums; the man who follows, has a little glass bottle in the palm of one hand, and in the other, carries a piece of linen.

"The frames of the doors have all one bas-relief; namely, a royal personage, followed by two attendants bearing an umbrella and a fly-chaser. Wherever this is found, there are three small compartments of inscription over it. The outer doors and those in the wings are ornamented with the two guards armed with the spear only. In this part of the building may be seen, in various places beneath the pavement, what was the subterraneous aqueduct: it passes in a direct line under the centre of the great hall due East, where it received its supply of water from an immense tank, yet visible at the foot of the rocks in that quarter. From the same centre, the great hall, it strikes out again in a northern direction, being traceable to the cistern near the grand portals of the bulls on the first platform; and doubtless it has many other branches, now lost under the accumulated ruins. This channel is very ruggedly hewn out of the solid rock; and it is this dark way which some former travellers, not apprehending its real purpose, have described as a secret passage communicating with other mysterious excavations in the body of the mountain, and leading to subterranean entrances into its tombs. A close examination of its channel appeared to me to leave no doubt of its (real) use.*

* "I made an attempt to pierce into the great subterranean passages that traverse the ground on which Persepolis is built, and of which Chardin has given so full an account; but I was not more successful than he seems to have been in his first trial. I had several people with me with candles and lanterns, but we found our-

"At the sides of the open court stand the remains of its once magnificent approaches. Near that to the east, ten or twelve feet from the landing-place of the stairs, rise, from a hollow beneath to a level with the pavement, four enormously large and strong supports, not unlike roughly-formed pedestals. The flight of steps they face, is a double ascent: they are in a state of almost complete decay, having a scarcely legible inscription and bas-reliefs of guards, with duplicates of the combat between the lion and the bull, all in the same broken condition.

"About sixty feet further to the north, appear several colossal masses of stone, formerly the sides of large portals leading into a square edifice, small in proportion to the size and number of its entrances; for, from the situation of the four doors, it could not have been more than ninety-six feet square. Three of the doorways are pretty entire. On the interior face of the one to the east, are three figures twelve feet in height, a repetition of the king and his two attendants. The face of his majesty is mutilated, but his air is singularly stately and majestic. A long beard is disposed with the nicest care upon his breast, and the abundant mass of hair which covers his neck, is not less scrupulously curled. His tiara has a smooth surface, but partakes of the general shape worn by his

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selves stopped short by a very narrow passage, after having walked some forty paces upright. We then crept through this on our hands and knees, and again came to a higher part. Again we proceeded, and then were obliged to crawl, until there was only room to put one's head through, when we thought it time to return. This is so much like Chardin's account of his first adventure in the dark passages, that I am inclined to think we did penance on the same spot. Of this I am certain, that it is not the famous passage in which he walked at his ease for near an hour, and then came out for fear of losing his way."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 78.

robed nobles and guards. In his right hand, he carries a long staff with an ornamented top; in his left, a lotus. The broad belt and Median robe completes his raiment. His attendants are clad in the long robe, with the metal fillet round their heads, and rings in their ears: one is carrying in both hands an umbrella over the head of the great personage, while the other waves the fly-chaser in the same direction, grasping in his left hand what probably is intended for the royal handkerchief. The fine finish of this bas-relief redoubled my regret at the demolished state of the faces and hands. One large stone, 16 feet by 8 or 9, contains the groupe. Another block of smaller dimensions surmounts it, on which is seen a figure whose dress and outline of form resemble those of the personage below. His left hand holds a ring; his right is raised and open. He issues from a circle, whence diverge two floating forms, something like serpents, with their heads hidden behind the figure. A pair of immense wings spread themselves on each side of the circle; in that respect differing from the radiated vehicle of the aërial being so often seen on the tombs of Nakshi-Roustam....On the portals are duplicate representations of the same royal personage; but here, he is seated on a chair of state, holding a staff in one hand, and a lotus in the other. An attendant is waving the fly-chaser over his head, and the aërial figure above described, hovers near him. These portals open opposite to each other in the four sides of this quadrangular building: in the centre, I found the plinths of four columns, ten feet equidistant from each other, and four feet in diameter. From their smoothness, it does not appear that they have been surmounted with any other materials....This place seems very likely to have been dedicated to religious

uses, and was probably the private oratory of the king. I should suppose, that between these four pillars stood the altar that contained the sacred fire.

"At about 160 feet to the S. E. of this little building, upon the level of the great platform, appears another pile of ruins. On drawing near, I found not only foundations and scattered fragments, but the frames of doors and windows, and niches in the walls, some upright, and all distinctly traceable. A quadrangular building of 42 feet constitutes its chief structure: another, separated from it only by a wall, extends 30 feet towards the S., where it is completely open. These two apartments would appear to have comprehended the whole edifice, did we not see a continuation of the foundation of walls along the southern front, with the fragments of columns, architraves, and other architectural adjuncts to the support of a roof. At the extremities of the walls which point to the S., are two single stones, 18 feet in height, 5 in thickness, and 3½ in width, with large square holes near the top, as if for the reception of a beam. A couple of doorways have bas-reliefs of the double guard, and a portal of considerable width leads from the southern apartments into the inclosed quadrangle, on which we found the walking figure of the king, with one attendant carrying a parasol. The square apartment has received its light from a range of lofty windows: the casements of three are tolerably perfect, as well as several niches in the solid wall. Two entrances from the east and west are ornamented with bas-reliefs of a combat between a man and a lion. Two others perforate the wall to the north, but one portal only is standing; its sides are sculptured with the spear-men. The ground within these apartments, as well as that without, is raised and rendered very uneven by the

fallen fragments of their more ruined parts. No trace of any inscription is to be found in the building, nor does it appear to stand, like those to the west, on any terrace of its own.

"At 190 feet to the north, stands a structure next in extent, as a single building, to the *Chehel Minar*. It is a perfect square of 210 feet. Two doors enter it from every side; but those from the north have been the grand portals, being 13 feet in width, whereas all the others are only 7. Between them are seven large windows, whose side blocks measure 10 feet, the original depth of the walls: on the other sides, between the doors, is an immense niche. At 40 feet from the northern front, almost parallel with its east and west corners, rise the mutilated forms of two colossal bulls on pedestals, 18 feet long by 5 feet in height: these face the north. At 270 feet from them, in the same direction (but not the same line), appear two others, looking due S., which have formed the sides of a grand gateway, the style and dimensions much like those of the great portal on the first platform: it was probably the entrance into some spacious outer court. A little further north, we see an enormous insulated column terribly broken.

"To return to the square building. The sides of the principal doors are richly adorned with sculpture; and in the most elevated compartment, we find the kingly personage seated on his chair of state, his feet resting on a footstool. Over his head are remains of a bas-relief, representing a canopy supported by slender pillars, the whole profusely decorated with fretwork, fringes, and borders of lions and bulls. There can be little doubt, that the attendant spirit had, as usual, surmounted the groupe, but it was entirely broken away. In this representation of the royal personage,

his dress is particularly simple, having neither collar nor bracelets: in his right hand, he holds the long staff or sceptre, and in his left the lotus. Behind him stands the usual attendant with the fan and handkerchief, his face muffled. A second figure, in the short Persian tunic, follows, bearing the royal bow and battle-axe. A third person stands behind, on the other side of the pillared recess which incloses the king. His dress is the Median robe and fluted tiara, and he holds in both hands a long wand. Before the feet of the throne are two gracefully shaped censers, with chains to their covers; and a muffled attendant approaches, bringing a small pail, which probably was to contain the prepared aromatics. Immediately behind the censers, and in front of the sovereign, appears a man in the short tunic and plain bonnet, his left hand grasping the short staff of office, and his right held to his mouth, to prevent his breath exhaling on the august personage before whom he bends.* Beneath the royal groupe, and divided from it by a long horizontal border studded with roses, are five ranges of attendants, (ten in each,) and separated from each other by a similar border. A frame of this rose-work incloses the whole bas-relief like a picture. .....These five ranges of guards placed over each other, gave me an impression, that the platform on which the royal chair stood was placed on an elevation of five steps.

"Just beyond the great northern front of this building are two portals, pointing E. and W., their

* "Xenophon mentions, that, in addressing a superior, the speaker generally held his hand to his mouth, that his breath might not be disagreeable to his auditor. Possibly, the serving-men have their faces muffled up, that the royal viands might not be breathed upon."

sides sculptured with the double guard: were the earth cleared away from the base, these figures would be 12 feet high. The whole way between these portals is thickly scattered over with fragments of columns, architraves, &c., which leave no doubt that a covered colonnade overshadowed this principal face of the building. The doors that open from the southern side, have the same sculptures as those on the northern side. Here also, on the higher compartments, sits the royal figure in the usual garb, but attended by the fly-chaser alone. The canopy over his head is quite entire, displaying the most exquisite workmanship in its fretted fringe, roses, and other ornaments. Lions and the unicorn bull fill two rows of it, the first range being separated by the serpent-winged emblem, as in the mutilated canopy on the other side. The aërial figure surmounts the whole; but, instead of a ring, the *former* * holds the lotus. Three rows of figures, with a broad frieze between each row, fill the space between the royal seat and the ground: the first consists of four persons upholding the platform on which the throne is placed, in the manner of caryatides; the second row, of five men, uphold the intermediate frieze in the same way; of the third, one figure only, an Ethiopian, is visible. The whole is enclosed in a frame-work of double pillars, to which the canopy is attached, bearing a close resemblance to the royal elevation on the tombs at Nakshi-Roustam.

"On the four portals pointing east and west, is repeated the bas-relief representing a single combat between a human figure and various animals. The scale is colossal. The man who contends with the

* The attendant spirit.

animals is usually called the pontiff-king; a title which, in my mind, forms a clear text for the explanation of the whole. He is represented as a personage of a singularly dignified mien, clad in long robes, but with the arms perfectly bare; his hair, which is full and curled, is circled with a low diadem, and his sweeping, pointed beard is curled in the style worn by royalty alone. He is in the act of grasping with his left hand the strong horn that grows out of the forehead of his antagonist, while he thrusts his short sword composedly into the animal's body.' -In the first bas-relief, the creature is a monstrous combination of the body and limbs of a lion with the head and neck of an eagle, covered, half way down its back, with immense plumage like scale-armour. In the corresponding sculpture, the head seems to be that of a wolf, the fore legs and body those of a lion, and the hinder legs are certainly those of an eagle: the neck is scaled or feathered with a prickly mane, and it has wings stretching nearly to its tail, which is extremely long, and formed of a chain of bones like the *vertebræ* of the back. The remaining adversaries, exhibited on the other two doors, are of a more natural appearance, being a horned lion and a unicorn bull.....A Persian standing at our side, pointed to these combats as representations of actual combats between Jemsheed, or Roustum, or Isfundeer, and the emissaries of evil in those hideous forms. The hero, I suppose to be intended for Darius Hystaspes, or his son and successor, Xerxes. In consequence of the death of Zoroaster, who had been massacred in the great sacerdotal city of Balkh, by Argasp the Scythian king, Darius took on himself the title of archimagus; and after avenging the murder of his prophet on the Scythian nation, we are told by Porphyry, that he

commanded that the name of that sacred distinction should be inscribed on his tomb.*

"Going out at the eastern portal, where the king and the tailed monster kbep guard, the mountain itself was before me. The slope commences at 200 feet from the side of the edifice, rising from the platform which has been cut from its base. Ascending the height for above 600 feet, I arrived at one of the excavated tombs, which stands in a direct line with the great building of the pontiff king....Another excavation is seen more to the south, and higher up the mountain....Near the south-eastern angle of the platform, and on the slope of the hill, I found the extensive reservoir which formed the grand fountain for the reception of the waters of the mountain, whence they flowed in a variety of subterranean channels through the body of the platform to the cistern, and diverging thence again, supplied the buildings on the several terraces....Before I took my final leave, I rode over the ground round the base of the great platform, to search for relics of the city beyond its lines. Few remain. The first that presented itself was a stately doorway or porch, standing singly on the plain, at a short distance from the rocks:

* See vol. I. p. 69. In all the Persian legends, Sir R. K. Porter remarks, "the countries N. of Elborz are typified under the figures of the simoorg, eagle, or griffin: and it is not improbable, that the monster with the skeleton tail, and which is very like the martichoras of Ctesias, may be the *ghoul* of Istindeer." In his expedition against the capital of Argasp, he is stated to have had to pass through seven enchanted gates. "The first was defended by two wolves: the second, by two enormous lions: the third, by a dragon: the fourth, by a ghoul, or demon devourer of the dead: the fifth by a griffin: the sixth, by an ever-flowing cataract: the seventh, by a lake and boundless mountains: all which marvellous impediments he surmounted, and having gained the city, killed Argasp the king."

the inner faces of its sides are sculptured with figures in long robes, now nearly broken away. To the S.W. of the platform is a heap of beautiful fragments, apparently the ruins of a temple or some structure of consequence, which the views of Chardin and Le Brun have distinguished by a noble and solitary column, standing up from amid its fallen companions, like a hero over his mighty dead. But it is now laid beside them; and the long grass alone waves its green banner above the prostrate pillars.* The last object of any consideration is an unfinished tomb in the base of the mountain southward of the platform, and not far from the ruin just described. The architectural character of this sepulchre is precisely the same as the others above; but its situation is singular in being so near the ground: had its lower divisions been completed, they would have risen hardly more than four feet from the level of the plain. I found some difficulty in approaching it, scattered masses of rock blocking up the way; and when I surmounted them, and stood by the half-hewn work, which appeared as if the sculptor had just taken away his tools to come again to-morrow, I could scarcely believe that what I looked upon had been so left nearly 2000 years ago. The upper compartment alone has been finished, containing the bas-relief of the king, the altar, and the hovering figure.... Full of the recollections of Cyrus who had planted this empire, and of Alexander who had torn it from its rock, I turned from the tenantless tombs and desolated metropolis. All were equally silent,—the monuments of a race of heroes whose spirits live in their actions, and of two princes at least whose

* This is probably the column referred to by Sir W. Ousley.—See note at p. 45.

existence was foreshown, and their names stamped on the imperishable tablets of Holy Writ." *

Little requires to be added, from the pages of other travellers, to this clear and satisfactory account of the field of ruins; but the learned diligence of Sir W. Ouseley has supplied some historical illustrations which deserve notice in this place.

The whole of the magnificent platform is now ordinarily styled by the Persians, *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, Jemsheed's Seat or Throne; a term often used to denote a royal palace, as the *Takht-i-Kajar* at Shiraz, the *Takht-i-Sulieman* near Mourghaub, and the *Takht-i-Rustum* near Isfahan. This popular name seems to have superseded only within the last century, that of *Chehel Minareh* or Forty Pillars, by which they had been commonly designated. Chardin refers to authors who had styled them *Takht-i-Kai-Khosrou*, the Throne of Cyrus; while Kaempfer and Le Brun speak of them as bearing the denomination of *Khaneh-i-Dárá*, the Mansion of Darius. The names of *Chehel Sutún* and *Hezar Sutún*, applied to them by some oriental writers, have already been referred to. To this title is sometimes added the name of Istakhr, as that of the city and territory. There can scarcely be a doubt, Sir W. Ouseley thinks, that the author of the Dabistan alludes to these Persepolitan remains, when he mentions an idol temple at Istakhr, called *Haft Sár*, the Seven Walls or Ramparts.† The word

* Porter's Travels, vol. i. pp. 599—633. In giving the contents of 100 quarto pages, we have found it necessary to prune, in some degree, the luxuriance of the Author's style, but have adhered to his language.

† "A name," remarks the learned Traveller, "which Kaempfer's plan would seem to justify: for it represents the Takht as comprising only seven distinct edifices, whereas even now there are vestiges of more."

Istakhr is of very doubtful etymology. According to one tradition, that city was founded by Caiumers or Kaiomurs, or, according to another, by his son, whose name was Istakhr. Hyde and Kæmpfer derive the word from an Arabic root, which would make it signify, the Marble Palace;* but a Persian lexicographer explains it as signifying a pond, lake, or reservoir. Istakhr, we are told, "was the name of a castle in the province of Fars, so called from an immense cistern which it contains;" it signifies also, "that castle in Fars which was the royal residence of Darai (Darius), the son of Darab." The name occurs repeatedly in the *Shah Nameh* of Ferdousi; it appears under the form of *Stahr* in the Armenian History of Moses Choronensis; and Istakhr is noticed as a most ancient city by the early Mussulman writers. On the other hand, no such name as either Istakhr or Persepolis has been discovered throughout the Zendavesta; but Sir W. Ouseley hazards the conjecture, that this city is referred to under the names of *Var-jem-gird*, *Jem-gird*, or *Jem-kand*, the City, Fortress, or Mansion of Jem (Shem?) surnamed Sheid, the luminous or splendid.† Had the capital borne the

* "*E rupe desumptum seu rupe constans*, saxeum palatium, nomine deducto ab octava conjugation eradicis *Sachr*, *i.e.*, rupes."—HYDE.

† "Ferdousi, having mentioned the jewels which profusely decorated the throne and person of Jemshid during the great festival called *Nawrūz*, compares him, when seated in royal state, to the sun shining amidst the heavens. According to the *Sein-al-Akhbar*, it was on the *Nawrūz*, or vernal equinox, that Jemshid, having triumphed over the blacks and the *dives*, or demons, caused immense quantities of jewels obtained as spoils from the enemy, to be piled upon his throne so that all might behold them. As the sun shone through the windows on those jewels and the gold, his whole palace was illuminated by their reflected brilliancy; and on this account he was surnamed *Sheid*, which, in the Parsi dialect, signifies splendour; and the sun, for this reason also, is called

name of Istakhr in the time of the Macedonian conqueror, it is not likely, he contends that they would have rejected it for the compound appellation of Persepolis, "the City of the Persians," which looks like a translation of the native name. That original name, Sir W. Ouseley conceives to have been *Parsagarda*, the City of Pars, the Son of Pahlav; or rather, the City of the Parsees or Persians; and he has laboured to shew that Persepolis and Parsagarda were the same city.* Against this ingenious hypothesis, however,

Khir-sheh.... Thus, Theophilact, an historian who flourished about six centuries after Christ, relates that the Persian king Hormisdas, sitting on his throne, astonished all spectators by the blazing glories of his jewels; and King Agrippa, as we learn from Josephus (Ant. lib. xix. c. 7.) was almost regarded as a god, so powerfully did his ornamented dress reflect the morning sunbeams."—OUSELEY, ii. 15, 16. See also a curious paper on glories, in App. No. 2.

* Both Persepolis and Pasargadæ, the learned Traveller argues, were situated on the river Kûr, and if not absolutely identical, must have been very near each other. Mr. Hoeck supposes that they were the names of places so near, as to be, in fact, parts of the same city, Pasargadæ lying eastward, and Persepolis westward of the river. Strabo states, that Alexander, having burned the palace of Persepolis to avenge the Greeks, immediately went to Pasargadæ; and Arrian says, that Alexander, having visited the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, returned to the palace which he had destroyed. There is strong reason to suppose, however, that the site of Pasargadæ and the tomb of Cyrus are correctly fixed by Mr. Morier at Mourg-aub, distant from Istakhr about thirty miles. Pasargadæ is said to have owed its origin to a camp which remained on the spot where Cyrus, with his Persians, conquered Astyages the Mede: (a similar origin is assigned to Grand Cairo, and many other cities in the East;) and the word has been explained as signifying Ἱππων στρατοπεδον. This, remarks Sir W. Ouseley, will be the meaning, whether we read *gerd*, with Strabo, Arrian, and others, or *garde* with Pliny: *gedah* or *kedah* signifying in Persian, a house or dwelling, as *mei-kedah*, a wine-house; *atesh-kedah*, a fire-temple. He prefers, however, as the proper reading, *garde*; *gurd*, or *gird*, signifying in Persian, as in many other languages, a walled city, e.g. *Darabgerd*, *Ramgerd*, &c. So, we have Stuttgard, Belgrad,

there lie many objections not easily disposed of; and it is certain, that the native historians speak of this ancient capital under no other name than that of Istakhar, or Istarakh.

At what era a city was first founded here, can only be conjectured; but we may safely conclude, that the natural advantages of the situation would recommend it, in the earliest ages, as the seat of empire; and there is nothing improbable, therefore, in the supposition that King Jemsheed himself held his court at Istakhr.* An Arabian writer of the ninth century, (Tabri,) gravely states, that King Solomon occasionally left the holy city of Jerusalem, to reside at Istakhr of Pars, where the vestiges of his palace yet remain. Ibn

Novogrod, Gardiki, Karth-age, &c. In the first member of the word, Πασας is supposed to be a mistake for Πασαρ, as it is sometimes written. Yet, it is scarcely credible, that Strabo and Plutarch should not know how to spell the national appellative. According to this hypothesis, Persepolis was a Greek translation of Parsa-gardæ: although the original word was not understood by the Greeks! It seems more probable, that Pasa is a different word, erroneously confounded with Parsa. Ptolemy places a Pasacarta in Parthia. See Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 316—334. May not Persepolis have been a dedicatory title bestowed upon Istakhr by the Macedonian conqueror in honour of Perseus?

* It has been mentioned above, that some of the Persian writers cited by Sir W. Ouseley ascribe its foundation to Calumers. Thus, in the *Nizam-el-Tuarikh*, a work of the thirteenth century, it is said, that Calumers "founded two cities: one Istakhr, wherein he chiefly resided; the other Damavand. Istakhr was the capital of his grandson Hushang, and was so considerably enlarged by Jemshid, that it extended from the borders of Khafreg to the extremity of Ramgerd, a space of twelve *farsangs*; and there he constructed an immense edifice, of which the columns and other vestiges remain to this day; and they are called *Chehil Minareh*." The same story is repeated by Fazlallah Cazvini, who adds Balkh to the cities said to be founded by Calumers, but represents Istakhr as his chief residence. Hamdallah, the Persian geographer, repeats the tradition, interposing the name of Istakhr, the son of Calumers, between that monarch and Hushang.

Hankal, in his Oriental Geography, speaks of Istakhr as the most ancient and celebrated city in Pars, where the sovereigns of that region always resided, until King Ardasheer removed the seat of his empire to Jûr or Gûr (Feroozabad). Solomon, the son of David, he tells us, came in one day from Taberiah (Tiberias), as tradition relates, to Istakhr, where was a *masjed* which still bore his name. Among the chief wonders of Pars, he enumerates several lofty structures which tradition assigned to Solomon and the Dives; and here, he adds, "are sculptured figures and columns; and the forms of those mansions once occupied by the tribe of And are, even now, presented to our view in this edifice, which resembles, in magnitude, that visible at Baalbek."

Ferdousi states, that, when Kai Kobad was called to the imperial throne, he set out from his northern residence near Mount Elborz, and proceeded towards Pars, in which was "the key to the treasures. Istakhr then became his dwelling-place; it was the glory of his nobles." Here also, King Kai Kaûs is said to have received Kai Khosrau on his arrival from Isfahan, and afterwards resigned to him the throne.*

* In the *Mojmal al Insab* (Collection of Genealogies), written in A.D. 1333-4, Istakhr is said to have been founded by Kai Kâûs, who "lived in the time of Solomon, with whom he observed terms of peace; and he was safe from the sword of Solomon; and he requested of him that the dives should, at his command, be employed on works in the city of Istakhr; and all those edifices which now remain in the territory of Fars, are vestiges of Kâûs: but some attribute them to Jemshid." (OUSELEY, ii. 277). A similar account is given by a Persian writer of the thirteenth century, the author of the *Mojmel al Tawârîkh*, who gives from the Chronicle of Tabri, the tradition, that these structures were erected for Kâûs by the dives at the command of Solomon. "But Solomon," he adds, "was contemporary with Khosrau, according to another account; and Hamdallah Isfahani denies to this edifice (the throne

When, in the reign of Dara (Darius), the Persian dominions were invaded by Sekunder (Alexander), "armies so numerous went forth from Istákhr, that their lances obstructed the wind in its progress;" but these being defeated, the conqueror is described as entering in triumph, "Istakhr of Pars, the royal crown, the glory of that country." Shapoor II. is stated to have made Istakhr his residence, although he occasionally visited Teisfun (Ctesiphon); here, also, was the court of Yezdejird I. Hormuz III., who reigned towards the close of the sixth century, passed two months of every year at Istakhr, "when the nights were shortest, the air of the place being so cool and pure that he could not prevail on himself to leave it." But early in the seventh century, it had apparently ceased to be a royal residence, since Khosrou Purveez is stated to have bestowed the government of Istakhr on one of his chiefs.

of Solomon) the origin above assigned; for it exhibits many figures of huge sculptured in stone, and there are not any living creatures more odious than swine to the children of Israel. And he further says, that it contains inscriptions in Pahlavi, which a certain *mobed* (priest of the fire-worshippers) was once brought there to read: and among those inscriptions, some declared, that *the edifice had been constructed in the time of Jem*, on such a month and day." (*Ib.* 358). Zâb, the father of Kai Kobad, it is subsequently stated, died at Istakhr, and was entombed at the mountain foot: also Kai Kobad himself, although some accounts make him to have died at Balkh. Kai Kâús died at Istakhr, and was there deposited in the sepulchre of his father: also Ardashir, son of Babek, and his son Shapoor, and the last Darius. (*Ib.* p. 361.) It is remarkable, that Kai Khosrau, who is supposed to be the Cyrus of the Greeks, was not buried at Istakhr. "According to some traditions," says the Nizam al Tawârik, "Solomon, on whom be the peace of God! attacked Kai Khusrau, who fled from Istakhr to Balkh, where he was slain." But the same historian mentions, that Kai Khusrau resigned the throne to Lohrasp, and retired from public life. (*Ib.* p. 371). Lohrasp himself is stated by Mirkond to have abandoned Istakhr through fear of Solomon, and to have resided at Balkh! (*Ib.* 390).

According to the author of the *Nizam-al-Tuarikh*, when Zerdusht, in the reign of Gushtasp, invited mankind to renounce the Sabian, and to adopt the Magian worship, he resided on *Nefisht*, a mountain of Istakhr. "In that mountain and its vicinity," it is added, "are the sculptured figures and tombs of most of the ancient Persian kings. Among the Persians prior to Islam, there were three kinds of sepulture: some bodies were interred in (natural) caverns; some in *dakhmahs* formed in mountains; and others, the bones being separated, were placed in jars or urns under ground. Then Gushtasp, having become a disciple of Zerdusht, went to Istakhr, and established his residence on that mountain." From another chronicler we learn, that Gushtasp, on his return from Balkh to Istakhr, caused a *dakhmah* (vault) to be made, in which he deposited, with much reverential ceremony, the book Zend, and appointed a body of persons to guard it. "This book, according to Mirkhond, consisted of twelve thousand ox-skins, so tanned as to resemble thin leaves of paper, on which the doctrines of Zorouster were written in letters of gold and silver." The place at Istakhr where these sacred writings were deposited, is by other historians called *Der Nebisht* or *Zerbisht*, "that is to say, the library;" and when Sekander (Alexander) arrived at Istakhr, he commanded translations of all the books to be made, and sent into Greece, and they were deposited in Macedonia, and the *Dernebisht* was burned.*

"When the grandson of Gushtasp, King Bahman, bequeathed the crown to Khamáni or Humai, who was both his daughter and his wife, his son Sásán re-

* Ouseley, ii. pp. 348, 378, 384, 410.

tired from court, and in the vicinity of Istakhr led an obscure pastoral life." It was into the river Kour in the territory of Istakhr, (although some accounts transfer the scene of the transaction to a river in Balkh,) that Khumani threw the box or ark that contained her infant son Dara (Darius), who was saved and brought up by a miller. To this same queen is ascribed the erection of some of the structures at Istakhr: according to some writers, she built the palace of *Chehel-minar*, while others make her to have rebuilt the whole city. Among other edifices, she is stated to have built a great mansion that stood in the midst of Istakhr, which the Musulmans converted into a *masjed* or mosque; but this mosque had fallen into decay in the thirteenth century.*

When Ardasheer Babegan raised the standard of revolt against the Parthian monarch, Istakhr is stated to have been the residence of a king, probably a viceroy, named Jauher, (some make him to have been the son of Ardavan or Artabanes,) who was put to death by order of Ardasheer. The seizure of Istakhr made him master of all Fars, and he was soon able to gain possession of Kerman and Isfahan. On one occasion, having gained a great victory at Merve, he sent the heads of some of his vanquished enemies to be placed over the gate of the fire-temple at Istakhr. In the fourth century, twelve thousand families were removed, partly from Istakhr, and partly from Isfahan, by Shapoor II., to repeople the deserted city of Nisibis. Yezdijerd, the last of the Sassanian dynasty, is stated to have been concealed at Istakhr, when called to the throne A.D. 632; but the territory of Istakhr is meant, in which the castle of Fahender might be in-

* See authorities in Ouseley, ii. p. 340, 371, 374, 391.

cluded.* In the year 644, Istakhr capitulated to the Mohammedan forces; but four years after, the people revolted and slew the Arabian governor. In consequence of this insurrection, the Khalif Othman sent troops from Basrah to Istakhr, and great multitudes of the inhabitants were massacred. In this same century, Shiraz was founded, and soon became, what Istakhr had been, the capital of Fars.† Frequent mention is subsequently made by the Mohammedan writers, of the castle of Istakhr, which appears to have been used as a state prison so late as the year 1501, when the ex-governor of Shiraz was confined in it; but that fortress must not be confounded with the city, which, after having long been on the decline, was ultimately destroyed by the fanatical Arabs.

Such is the sum of the information laboriously compiled by Sir W. Ouseley from the oriental writers, with regard to this interesting site. Little stress as can be laid on the confused traditions which they agree in reporting with regard to its early history, there can be no doubt, we think, that the foundation of Istakhr must be referred to the Kaianian dynasty. Its embellishment was, doubtless, the work of different successive princes. To no one would the sculptured palaces be with more probability refered, than to Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt. Yet, Susa continued to be the favourite residence of the Persian monarchs in the reign of Bahman or Ardisheer Diraxdust,‡ B.C. 461. To this monarch and his daughter Homai, we should be inclined to ascribe the principal edifices. The subject of the principal sculpture, there can be little doubt, is the institution of the Neo-roor, which dates from the time of Jemsheed or

* See vol. I. pp. 129, 349. † Ouseley, II. pp. 346, 7. 371.
‡ See vol. I. p. 64.

Cyrus, who is probably the monarch intended in the first bas-reliefs;* but the pontiff-king is more likely to be Darius Hystaspes, the buildings being doubtless of a later date than the original *takht* or platform.†

The two tombs excavated in the mountain immediately behind the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, are between 300 and 400 yards apart. The front of each, finely sculptured, consists of two compartments. In the lower one, which is about 70 feet wide, is carved a

* That the Cyrus of Xenophon is the Jemsheed, or rather one of the Jemsheeds, of Persian tradition, seems in the highest degree probable. It has already been remarked (vol. i. p. 43), that, in the Kai Khoosro of the Persian annals, it is impossible to recognise the character of the hero of Xenophon and the restorer of Jerusalem. It is difficult to imagine that, of so beneficent a sovereign, no traditional vestige should be left in the country over which he reigned: but yet, unless Cyrus be Jemsheed, his existence has left no trace behind. Nor is it less unlikely that the Jemsheed of tradition should be a personage altogether fabulous, like the Jemsheed of Ferdousi. The fact seems to be, that the name is titular, not personal; and we are strongly inclined to believe the words *Jem-sheid* and *Kour-sheid* (from which the Hebrew Koresh seems derived) to have similar meaning; *Jem* being perhaps the same word as the *Shemsh* or *Semes* of the Hebrew Scriptures (but foreign from the Hebrew) which signifies, the sun.

† With a view to assist in determining the true era of the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, the learned Author offers the following "negative observations," subject to correction from future travellers. Among these ancient monuments he did not perceive, 1. any object appearing to be a vestige of the Arsacidan kings; nor, 2. any vestige of the Sassanian dynasty, besides two Pahlavi inscriptions; 3. nor any representation of a long or crooked sword; 4. nor any human figure with a full face; 5. nor any human figure mounted on horseback; 6. nor any figure of a woman; 7. nor any sculpture representing ships, or alluding to naval affairs; 8. nor any arches; 9. nor any human figure sitting cross-legged; 10. nor any human figure in a state of nudity, nor any object in the slightest degree indecent; 11. nor any vestige either of wood or of brick; 12. nor any remains of gilding; 13. nor any insulated statue or figure in full relief; 14. nor any figure that has ever actually been an object of idolatrous veneration.—Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 273—286. Most of these negative remarks are strong indications of high antiquity.

false door between two columns surmounted with capitals of the double unicorn; from which issues a beam supporting an architrave, frieze, and cornice. On this entablature rests, in the upper compartment, "a kind of stage, not unlike the Israelitish ark of the Covenant," on which is placed a blazing fire-altar. Before it stands the pontiff-king, or some officiating priest, his right hand uplifted, and his left hand grasping a bow; and between this person and the altar, hovers the mysterious *ferouher*, or attendant spirit, issuing from the winged globe or circle. "As the same subject is repeated in seven different places, and always on the fronts of tombs, we may," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "with some reason conjecture, that it related to those whose bodies were therein deposited,—in their general character, regal or pontifical. The king appears with the same countenance and dress, and in the same attitude, on all the seven tombs: and each contains receptacles for three bodies. It can, therefore, scarcely be supposed, that the royal figure was designed to represent, like a portrait, any particular personage. It is not impossible, that these excavations were prepared by some ancient monarch as sepulchral monuments for his descendants during many generations." * Each chamber is about 20 feet wide, 15 or 18 feet deep, and 10 or 12 feet high: the most southern was found deeply covered with stagnant water.

About three quarters of a mile southward, is the third tomb, (first described by Niebuhr,) which has never been finished, although apparently the most ancient. "On inspecting the first projection of the mountain (in that direction), my eye," says Mr. Morier, "was

* Ouseley, ii. p. 39.

attracted by some square, loose stones, evidently cut for the purposes of masonry, that were strewed on the acclivity; and, on turning the angle of the projection, I was surprised to see a tomb, similar to the two on the mountain, except that it was much more decayed, not so much ornamented, and without any appearance of an entrance. The upper part of the front is built with square stones, similar to those which first caught my eye; the remainder is cut into the rock. What makes it most remarkable, is a collection of large stones, which seem to have been purposely so placed before it in intricate avenues, as to form a labyrinth, which, there is reason to suppose, from the many fragments in its vicinity, was roofed with stone, and then covered over with earth. No other part of the monument, therefore, was intended to be seen, except the square front on which the figures are sculptured; and we may thence conclude, that these tombs were never entered but in a secret manner, and that the avenues to them were through subterraneous passages, but so constructed, that none but the privileged could find their way through them." *

In many parts of the great plain of Istakhr, are seen fragments of marble columns, doorways, and other vestiges of structures, similar in style to those of the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*; together with small niches cut in the rock at such a height that it is difficult to imagine, how or for what purpose they were executed. At length, after proceeding northward for a mile and a half or two miles, the traveller arrives at what now bears the name of *Naksh-i-Rejeb* (the portrait of Rejeb or Rajab). This is a chamber cut in the rock, but open at top; on the face opposite its entrance, and on

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 86.

each side, are sculptured numerous figures, one of which is supposed to represent the imaginary hero, Rajab; but the subjects of all the tablets relate to the early monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty, particularly Ardasheer and his son Shapour. One large tablet has been supposed to represent Ardasheer resigning the symbol of empire into the hands of his son, as seen at Shapoor;* and another apparently alludes to the same participation of empire between two equestrian figures. Several inscriptions in Pahlavi are found here.

About four miles from the *Takht* are the sculptured tombs absurdly called (like many similar monuments) *Naksh-i-Rustam* (the portrait of Rustam). The tombs, which are four in number, are all contained in the space of about 200 yards, on the surface of the steep and craggy rock. The top of the rock has been levelled, so as to form a platform about 20 feet square, on which is an elevated seat or throne, 9 feet by 6; it is ascended by five steps. The shaft of a column 6 feet high, stands upon the summit of the rock, at the angle towards the N.W., nearly over the first and most northern piece of sculpture. The entrances into the tombs appear to be from 30 to 40 feet above the level ground: Sir R. K. Porter says, 60 feet. They were excavated, Sir W. Ouseley is of opinion, by the same race of kings who constructed the *Takht*; but the chisel has been actively employed to commemorate princes of the Sassanian dynasty.† The figures on the tablets are, like those at *Naksh-i-Rejeb*, larger than the natural size, and in spirited relief, though

* See vol. I. pp. 93, 394.

† "To these tablets, the earliest date that I would assign, is the third century, while the four tombs above them appear to me coeval with the *Takht*, and by many hundred years more ancient than the Sassanian sculptures."—OUSELEY, ii. 295.

some are much injured. The subjects are much the same as those at Shapoor. The supposed Ardasheer again appears on horseback, delivering the circlet of royalty into the hands of his illustrious son; and there is an exact copy, on a larger scale, of the conqueror bestowing mercy on a suppliant captive, supposed to be a Roman. The names of *Artasheir* and *Shapuhri* are sufficiently conspicuous in some Greek and Pahlavi inscriptions at this place, which have been deciphered, after Niebuhr's copy, by M. de Sacy. One very remarkable inscription, of at least 120 very long lines, presents, legibly expressed in Pahlavi characters, the name of Varahran.

The fullest account of these sculptures is given by Sir R. K. Porter, to whose pencil the public are indebted for spirited copies of the whole. In the first which presents itself towards the east, the personage on the left is, he says, undoubtedly a woman; and the correspondence of the design to a Sassanian silver coin in his possession, enabled him to identify the personages represented, with Baharam Gour and his favourite queen. Another of the bas-reliefs, in which the same monarch appears with huge tassels or bags attached to his shoulders, as well as to a staff behind him, he supposes to refer to Baharam's stratagem in his encounter with the khakan of Tatary: he had ordered his troops to provide themselves with bladders filled with stones, the noise of which threw the enemy into confusion.* The bas-relief supposed to represent Ardasheer delivering the circlet to Shapoor, Sir Robert would assign to a Greek chisel; which the Greek inscriptions render not improbable. That which ap-

* See vol. i. p. 106. The battle is said to have been fought near Rhey: and an unfinished bas-relief on the rocks above that city, appears to refer to the same event.

pears on the horse of the supposed Shapoor, is thus translated by M. de Sacy: "This is the figure of the Servant of Ormuzd, the God Ardasheir, king of the kings of Iran, of the race of gods, son of the god Babek, king." On the shoulder of the horse bearing the personage who bestows the circlet, is an inscription which the same learned professor translates: "This is the figure of the god Jupiter;" * the word Διος being substituted for Ormuzd, the supreme deity of the Persians. It would therefore seem, that this bas-relief is designed to represent Ormuzd delivering the ῥάβδιον, or wreathed symbol of empire, to Ardasheer, the restorer of the native monarchy and the Magian faith. But for the inscriptions, Sir R. K. Porter admits, that the explanation usually given would seem more probable, as the equestrian figure designed to represent the god Ormuzd, has nothing about it that suggests the idea of deity; but, clumsy as is the allegory, the inscriptions must be supposed to tell the real design of the artist, unless we suppose them to be of later date than the sculpture. †

The tomb least difficult of access, is the last on the left, over a tablet representing an equestrian combat. "Up to the low and narrow doorway of this tomb," says Sir W. Ouseley, "we were, not without much trouble, dragged by our servants; for they, climbing circuitously, had ascended to the summit of the mountain, and thence let down a rope, to which was fastened the long silk sash of Colonel D'Arcy, who first entered the excavation. ‡ I followed by the same

* Ταυτα το σχηματα Διος Θεου.

† Porter, vol. i. pp. 526—563.

‡ Capt. Sutherland had previously entered one of the tombs in 1808, the one furthest to the northward, (Morier, i. 120) which he found to be 37 feet in length and 9½ in height. This appears to be the

means, and found myself in a chamber 35 feet long, 7 feet broad at each end, and 6 feet in the middle. This measurement does not include the depth of three arched recesses, hollowed, like the chamber itself, in the solid rock, and forming sepulchral vaults 9 feet long by 5½ feet broad. Immense slabs of the same rock cover the vaults: these it would have been impossible to lift, or even move, without the assistance of several men. There is a fracture in one vault, made probably by the violators of these tombs, who, we may suppose, while taking out the body in search of treasure, raised and propped the stone cover, until, having accomplished their object, they let it fall in its original situation. Through the aperture it was easy to ascertain, that this vault contained nothing more than some pieces of stone. Within this chamber, of which the ceiling is arched, like the recesses, and about 10 feet where highest, all parts are of the plainest execution: we could not discover one letter of an inscription, not one figure, nor even a stroke of the chisel that might be reckoned ornamental.

same that Sir W. Ouseley describes. The second and third, according to his Persian companion, had also been explored; but the fourth (the last on the right of a person approaching the mountain) was believed to have escaped violation from its inaccessible height, and was supposed to be still replete with treasure. Chardin bribed a servant to climb up and examine one of these tombs, but did not himself venture: he says: "*Nul Européen n'y est jamais entré, que je sache.*" Neither Le Brun nor Niebuhr had sufficient courage. Sir R. K. Porter, however, in 1818, performed the ascent. He describes the chamber he entered, as blackened all over by smoke either from lamps or fires. Every one of the covers of the tombs, he says, has been broken near the corners. He had a light introduced into all three, by which he was enabled to ascertain that they were alike empty, not containing even any loose dust. The entrance of the chamber appeared to have been originally closed by a stone door, the deep holes which received their pivots being still visible.—Porter, i. 521—3.

"The next object of our examination was a remarkable edifice opposite to this tomb. It is a square of about 23 (24) feet, and nearly 30 feet (Sir R. K. Porter says 35 feet) high, constructed of white marble in a most substantial manner. Of the flat roof, one great stone has been dislodged from its place by the violence of man or an earthquake, and now projects near a corner of the front wall facing the mountain. Some violence has also effected a fissure in the lower part of that wall, immediately under a small door-way, up to which we climbed, about 11 feet from the ground, and introduced ourselves into a square chamber, 12 feet 3 inches square, and probably 20 feet high. The ceiling is composed of two immense marble slabs. The walls are without any sculptures or ornaments whatsoever. In the front wall, externally, are many small oblong perpendicular niches; and a multiplicity of niches of the same size, besides a few of larger dimensions, appear in each of the other three faces; but none sink deep into the stone, nor can they ever have admitted light or air. For this extraordinary building, as for most of their ancient monuments, the Persians readily find a name: our guide called it the *Kerenadi Khaneh*, or Station of the Trumpets; another man, the *Nakareh Khaneh*, or Kettle-drum House; and a third assured me that it was the Kaabah of Zaratusht (Zoroaster)."* Mr. Morier does

* This edifice, Sir W. Ouseley remarks, would naturally suggest to a Mohammedan the idea of the *Kaabah* at Mekka, which is so called from its cubical form, the word signifying a die. There is another place called the *Nakara Khaneh*; a rock of very singular shape near Kurbal, but without sculptures. The designation appears to rest upon no other foundation than the tradition, that the drums and trumpets of king Jemsheed in his palace of *Chehel Minar* could be heard at that place, distant nine geographical miles in a straight line!—Morier, ii. 73.

not hesitate, indeed, to call it a fire-temple; and he says, that the inside exhibited signs of fire. Sir R. K. Porter describes the walls as black with smoke. The larger niches, resembling windows, are described by the former Traveller as "closely fitted with a stone." "A cornice, enriched with dentils, passes round the summit; and in the lines where the stones have been fitted, oblong, perpendicular incisions are made at regular intervals. The people call it a pigeon-house." Sir R. K. Porter describes it as "built with marble from the adjacent rocks, each block being 3½ feet in width, but varying in length. One single slab forms the cornice of the northern face, which is 22 feet 8 inches long; an amazing mass to have been placed where it now is. Accumulated earth and rubbish have doubtless diminished the visible height of the building. Ten layers of marble blocks are now all that we see, which give the edifice an elevation of 35 feet. The portal is 5 feet wide and 6 feet high, leading through a wall of 5 feet 3 inches thick. The grooves for the pivots of its doors are deeply cut, both at the bottom and the top, where they were fastened to the sides of the wall; so that the ponderous stone divisions must have met in the middle, and shut close. *The circling marks of their movement are strongly worn in the marble floor.*"*

Not far distant, following the abrupt turn of the rocks towards the East, are "two fire-altars,"† four feet and a half square, and between five and six feet

* Porter, vol. i. p. 562. This is probably the *serjid*, or "temple of Solomon," referred to by Carvini (Ouseley, ii. 367), which was at the foot of a mountain, and "*within the city*."

† Morier, i. 128. Ouseley, ii. 293. Kæmpfer supposes them to have served as beacons, and Della Valle styles them pedestals. See a view of them in Porter, i. 566.

in height, narrowing upwards: they are formed from a protuberance of the rock. On the top of each is a square cavity, eight inches deep, supposed to be the receptacle of the sacred fire. The eminence on which they stand, is called *Sang-i-Suliemun*, Solomon's Stone. Further on, in the recess of the mountain, are twenty holes or windows of different sizes, but all of the same pattern, with inscriptions over them, differing apparently in character, Mr. Morier says, from all that he had previously seen. About a mile from *Nakah-i-Rustum* in an easterly direction, is seen a large rock, about 200 feet in circumference, which has been divided into two channels as if designed to form part of an aqueduct; but it is evidently an unfinished work. From this rock, Mr. Morier crossed to the other side of the plain, which is here intersected by numerous artificial water-courses, and came to some ruins called *Takht Taous* (the peacock throne), and *Harem Jemshed*. "They are situated in the centre of an extensive spot, which, from the configuration of the land around, in elevated terraces and mounds, appeared an artificial inclosure. The wall, indeed, in many parts could be distinctly traced on the summit of the mounds. On arriving at the ruins, I found them to consist of a solitary pillar with a double-headed sphinx for its capital, besides, strewed on the ground, a great quantity of shafts, bases, and capitals of the same dimensions, and all of the same description as those at Persepolis. Several large blocks are arranged about it, as the fragments of some building. The column is fluted like the Doric, but with lines more closely connected: it is 1 foot 8 inches in diameter at the bottom, and 6 inches less at the top, a little above 17 feet in height, and the base, including a torus, 2 feet more. A little further on is

the ruin of a large pillar not fluted, and the fragments of a sphinx-capital. *Naksh-i-Rustam* bore N. 50 W. from this place."*

Sir R. K. Porter says: "The height of the pillar, judging by its (seven) fallen companions, is 20 feet 6 inches. The capital is in the form of the head, breast, and bent fore-legs of a bull, richly ornamented with collars and trappings, united at the back to a corresponding bust of another bull, but leaving a cavity between sufficient to admit the end of a square beam." They are of a dark grey marble, beautifully fluted. "A few yards to the N.E. are found remains of thick walls, and the yet unmutilated marble work of several door-frames. Indeed, the whole surface of this immense terrace is covered with mounds of ruins and noble architectural fragments. It appears evident that two distinct edifices have stood here; apparently a temple and a palace; and we perceive it to have been a fortified place. Its situation admirably adapts it for such a post, commanding the entrance into the great valley, and the foundations of the walls and towers are yet standing. Its northern bank is washed by the Kur-ab, and at the foot of its southern slope, between it and the mountain, passes the road, which was formerly closed in upon the present fortress of the valley, by an enormous gate; the architecture and solidity of the walls shew the antiquity of the structure and the importance of the situation."†

All the way from this place to Persepolis, the rock bears marks of the chisel: in some places, it is intersected by long channels as if for water-conduits, and in others, carved into various shapes as if it had been fitted to the purposes of habitation; but Mr.

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 141, 2. † Porter, vol. i. pp. 514, 15.

Morier was unable to discover any sculptures in this direction.

Other caverns and sculptured rocks are found, however, near the village of Hajji-abad, situated close to the foot of that range of mountains, at the eastern extremity of which are the sculptures of *Naksh-i-Roustam*.* The place is called *Zendan Jemsheed*, the prisons of Jemsheed. The first cave is apparently natural, not of any great depth, and exhibits no traces of art. The second to the left of this, is a deep indentation into the mountain, at the entrance of which, the rock has been smoothed and cut into five tablets, on three of which are Pahlavi inscriptions. The third cavern to the right of this, is celebrated for its great depth, but appears to have nothing artificial about it.†

In the plain of Merdasht, to the northward, are several conspicuous masses of rock, insulated from the surrounding mountains. On the top of one of these are the remains of the fortress which still retains the name of Istakhr. It is visible to the eye from the *Takht*; but, owing to the numerous dikes and canals which intersect the plain, Mr. Morier found the distance between three and four *farsangs*. After proceeding nearly three miles southward to cross the Polbar (Farwar)

* "The valley, or rather dell of Hadjee-abad cannot be more than two miles from end to end: the most western extremity being formed by the rocks of Nakshi Roustam, which stretch from the village of Hadjee-abad in a direction N. 60° W. The whole of the northern side of the valley is one succession of perpendicular cliffs, pile above pile, almost entirely of white marble, their uneven summits taking the boldest and wildest forms, broken into yawning chasms, and divided by deep rents, torn by the rushing waters." —PORTER, vol. i. p. 513.

† Morier, vol. ii. pp. 80, 81. Two of the inscriptions are given by Sir R. K. Porter, vol. i. p. 513.

river at a bridge, he came to a village situated at the foot of the insulated mountain called *Koh Rengeed*, where he obtained a guide to the "Rock of Istakhr." The rock rises abruptly to the height of about 500 feet from a steep conical hill, which appeared to be itself nearly 700 feet in height. Mr. Morier ascended on the N.W. side, winding round the foot of it, through more shrubs than are to be seen in any other part of the surrounding country.* The path is narrow, steep, and intricate, but might be ascended, he thinks, by mules or asses. The remains at the summit consist of part of a gate, the ruins of several turrets, four reservoirs, and the wrecks of many walls. The rock has, at its summit, a gradual inclination from both sides towards the centre, forming a furrow, in which the reservoirs have been constructed. Near the largest of these is a solitary fir-tree, with a few scanty shrubs.

The view from this eminence commands a great extent of country. The range of mountains bounding the plain of Shiraz to the south, are seen bearing S. 10° W.; and the Peera-zun bearing S. 35° W. Westward, the eye wanders over a region of high mountains, of which the snowy summit of the *Koh Shiahjeer*, bearing N. 75° W. is the most prominent feature. In

* In ascending the hill of Istakhr, Mr. Morier remarked, that his old guide placed, here and there, a stone on a conspicuous bit of rock, or two stones upon one another, uttering, at the same time, a prayer for their safe return. "This action appears," he remarks, "to illustrate the vow which Jacob made, when he travelled to Padan Aram, in token of which he placed a stone and set it up for a pillar." Gen. xxviii. 18—22. It is common in many parts of the East, we are told, particularly on a high road to a great town, when the town is first seen, for the traveller to set up his stone, with a devout exclamation, in token of his safe arrival.—Morier, ii. 56.

the foreground rises another insulated rock, similar to that of Istakhr, on which are the ruins of the castle of Shahrek, looking like an immense square turret on a tumulus.*

This latter castle is evidently so called after the viceroy or governor of Istakhr, named Shahreg or Shahrek, who was slain in defending the city against the Arabs in the seventh century.† At that time, the city and neighbouring country is said to have furnished troops to the number of 120,000 men; but after repeated engagements, the city was taken by storm, and given up to pillage. The present castle of Istakhr is doubtless that which is said to have been subsequently erected by the Arabian general Ziad, and in which Azzed ad Douleh constructed his famous reservoir. The *Koh Ramperd* appears also to have had its fortress, called *Saled abad*, which was distant, according to Ebn Haukal, one *farsang* from that of Istakhr.‡ Hamdallah, the Persian Geographer, represents Istakhr as extending from the borders of Khafreg (a village of that name) to the extremity of Ramperd; a distance of fourteen (others make it twelve) *farsangs*. "It was ten farsangs in breadth; and in this space were comprehended buildings, and cultivated fields, and villages; also, three very strong castles, on the summits of three mountains; one, the castle of *Istakhr*; the second, *Shekestch* (broken);

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 88.

† See Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 343, 347.

‡ Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 340. It could not be at that distance from the *Nesch* (district) of Istakhr, as erroneously stated in the printed work, since it is said: "This castle, which is at Ramperd, is the *Nesch* of Istakhr, stands on a lofty mountain of difficult access, from the summit of which to the castle is about one *farsang*. The village of Saled-abad is mentioned by Sir R. Porter as occurring in his route from Sewund to Persepolis, not far from Hadjiabad.

the third, *Shangwan* (or *Sangwan*, called also *Sepidan* and *Saknaun*); and these were called *Seh Gumbedan*, or the Three Domes."*

The *Kúh e Nefisht*, by which is evidently meant the steep and lofty rock overlooking the Takht, is described by the same writer as being "in the vicinity of Istakhr;" that is, of the castle so called. This rock is now sometimes called the *Shah Kúh*, a title exactly corresponding to the Βασιλικὸς ὄρος (royal mountain) described by Diodorus, as distant from the palace eastward, 400 feet (4 *plethra*), and as containing the sepulchres of the kings, up to which the bodies were drawn by some mechanical contrivance.† It is also called *Kúh e Takht* and *Kúh Rahmet* (the mountain of mercy), but never Istakhr. The modern town of that name is said to have been small: in the tenth century, it was equal in extent to "two-sixths of a *farsang*," or about a mile, standing in the immediate neighbourhood of the citadel which commanded it; and the Khorasan bridge was at the city gate.‡ If, therefore, the *Takht* was within the ancient city, it

* Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 379, and 314, note.

† Ctesias relates, that Darius Hystaspes caused a tomb to be constructed for himself on the double or two-topped mountain (δίκρος ὄρος); but, when it was completed, the Chaldean soothsayers warned him not to enter it. His father and mother, however, impelled by strong curiosity, went to the mountain, and forty priests were employed to wind them up by means of ropes to the entrance: while they yet hung between earth and sky, the sudden appearance of some serpents on the rock so terrified the priests, that they let go the ropes, and both were killed. Although the circumstance appeared accidental, Darius put all the forty priests to death. Whether this tomb be one of the excavations in the steep rock at *Nakh-i-Rustam*, or the single sepulchre in the *Kúh-e-Takht*, discovered by Niebuhr, Sir W. Ouseley professes himself unable to determine. It turns upon the question, which better answers to the epithet of the two-topped mountain.

‡ Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 348, 9.

probably marks the southern extremity of Persepolis, as the fortress of Istakhr may be supposed to do its extent in the opposite direction; and all the intermediate plain may have been comprised within its original circuit. A complete survey of this celebrated plain is still a *desideratum*. The narrow pass by which Alexander entered it, has not been ascertained;* and after all the labours of Niebuhr and Chardin, Kæmpfer and Le Brun, Porter, Ouseley, and Morier, much yet remains to be investigated by future travellers and learned antiquaries, before the chorography and monumental remains of Persepolis can be considered as having received adequate illustration.

We must now suspend for a short time our description of the route to the northward, in order to accompany Sir William Ouseley in his journey to the borders of Kerman, in search of the supposed Passagarda, which some writers had placed at the modern town of Fassa.

FROM SHIRAZ TO DARABGERD.

The road from Shiraz to Fassa runs from the Saadi gate, over a plain, on which are scattered several mud-walled villages, to the *rahdari of Pul-i-Fassa* (the Fassa bridge), at the foot of a small hill: here, the route to Ferouzabad turns off to the right. A broad and deep stream is crossed at a ford, and the road, which is generally flat and good, thence runs along the foot of the *Kûh Karabagh*, having, on the left, an extensive plain, which becomes in winter the *Derya-i-*

* Those *pylæ*, or straits, where the Persians resisted Alexander, Sir W. Ouseley is "inclined to place fifteen or sixteen miles from the *Takht*, or about half way between that ruined edifice and *Mâlu* (*Mâyem*), the chief town or district in the village of Ramgerd."—Ouseley, ii. 330.

Nemek (the lake of salt). At certain seasons, the water of the lake approaches very near the steep, rugged rocks that project from the mountains, and form various indentations into the plain. About twenty miles from Shiraz, is seen an extraordinary insulated mountain, called, from its detached form, *Kúh Gurikhtah*, on which are said to be ancient ruins, "probably one of those castles once very numerous in Fars." About seven hours (24 miles) from Shiraz, Sir W. Ouseley halted at the caravanserai of Mahalí. The general direction of the day's route was S.E. A few trees at the village of Vaziribad (seven miles from Shiraz), and two handsome *banan*-trees, about thirteen miles beyond, were the only trees seen throughout this tract. A few spots naturally verdant, yielding beautiful flowers and fragrant shrubs, alone diversified the sterility of its general aspect. The lake appeared from 20 to 25 miles long, and is said to be about 12 *farsangs* in circumference; but its extent varies with the season.

The second day's route was to Servistan, distant between seven and eight *farsangs* in an easterly direction. At about three *farsangs*, the great arid rock above mentioned, bearing the name of *Kúh Gurikhtah*, rises abruptly from the bare plain, which here changes its name from *Kaffah-i-Mahalu* to *Kaffah-i-Servistan*. The latter place, though large and populous, is considered only as a *dihy* or village. It derives its name, apparently, from the cypresses for which it was once remarkable,* although but eight or ten are now to be seen; but other trees abound here, and the gardens are proverbially good; the place is not, however,

* *Sero* or *Sarv*, the cypress, and *stán*, place or country. By a change of *s* into *h*, and of *r* into *l*, very common in Persia, it is vulgarly pronounced Silistan.

deemed salubrious. Dreary and depopulated as is the whole tract between Servistán and Shiráz, (a few Eelauts were the only human beings seen after leaving Mahaha,) the botanist and mineralogist, Sir W. Ouseley says, might find abundant employment.

At five miles from Servistan, on the third day, Sir W. Ouseley crossed the deep bed of a river nearly dry, and, one mile further, a small running stream: the road then entered the hills, passing over a *kutel* or mountain road, uneven and stony, but prettily wooded with small trees, which led into a spacious plain, bounded, on the left, by the *Kúh Hherman*. Two ruined caravanserais were passed, and, at about seventeen or eighteen miles, the foundations of some buildings. A few miles further, the learned Traveller turned out of the road to the left, and proceeded, by a most rugged and difficult path, to visit a ruined fortress called the *Kalaa âtesh kadah* (Castle of the Fire-temple.) "The castle exhibits little more than stones in vast and shapeless masses: of the original masonry, some vestiges remain at the bottom, and some on the summit of the hill, where a wall is still visible, and a few towers appear on the almost perpendicular sides. A spring of admirable water fills a reservoir just below the castle." The fire-altar, which gives name to the castle, is found 200 or 300 yards from the fountain. It is a single upright stone between 10 and 11 feet high, and 3½ feet square at the bottom; not quite so broad at top. On the southern and western sides are traces of Pahlavi inscriptions, each within a circular tablet sunk about an inch into the stone. On the top, is cut a deep hollow, designed to receive the vessel containing the sacred fire. A rude low wall or fence of large stones incloses the altar, having a narrow entrance on the south.

The first view brought strongly to the Author's recollection, the Druidical remains he had seen in Wales and Ireland; and a few old trees seemed to represent one of those sacred groves which were, in early ages, attached to religious structures.

The *munzil* or halting-place, this night, was at *Tang-i-Kerm* (or *Kevran*), a few miles from the fire-temple, and reckoned eight *farsangs* from Servistan. This is a mud-walled village, about a mile in length, with many flourishing gardens. The traveller has now entered upon *Shebangarah*, considered in the fourteenth century as an independent district. Over much of the country through which the day's route lay, small bushy trees were rather thickly scattered, with fragrant shrubs and flowers, some of which seemed equally rare and beautiful.*

From Kerm, the route, changing from an easterly direction to nearly S.S.W., continued for some way along the stony bed of a river, which conveys to Fassa, during winter, a considerable body of water. A stream from the fountain of the fire-temple, conducted between artificial banks at a level of many feet above the river-bed, runs for several miles along the road. At five miles, close to the road on the right, are some walls and towers of a small castle, and a poor village, "all built of mud, ruined, and deserted." At between ten and eleven miles, the course of the road turning more directly S., the author reached Fassa, distant from Shiraz, according to his account, twenty-six *farsangs*, or about one hundred miles.

"My examination of this town," says Sir William,

* Among these, Sir W. Ouseley mentions the *sheba*, "a plant, as its name imports, of nocturnal colour, which is said to be so powerful that it causes a vertiginous affection resembling intoxication."

" was soon completed, for its narrow lakes are not numerous, and half the mud-built houses of which they are chiefly composed, seem untenanted and falling to ruins; the few buildings of brick are not in better condition; the people, generally, wear an aspect of poverty and misery; and on leaving Fassa, I might almost have used the words of Pietro della Valle, who says, that he found in it nothing worthy of remark but the palm or date-trees, which are not seen in more northern parts of the country, the oranges, and the double narcissuses. He duly celebrates, however, that majestic, beautiful, and most venerable cypress which I had admired at the distance of several miles. It has not, probably, increased since his time (nearly two centuries ago), either in height or bulk, for it was then very aged, and its trunk would fill the expanded arms of five men; neither does it exhibit many symptoms of decay, yet it is said to have been, for above a thousand years, the boast and ornament of Fassa.

The only ancient edifice is a large brick building, " perhaps three hundred years old, of which the upper story seemed originally designed as a habitation for the living; the lower part was a receptacle for the dead, the floor being checkered with many tombstones." Of the epitaphs, many were Arabic; but none were of an age that entitled them to notice. There is a spacious and handsome *medrasseh*, built not many years ago, but already in a neglected state; and an old mosque, which, like every other building in the place, is going rapidly to decay. Sir W. Ousley explored several places in the neighbourhood, in the hope of discovering some vestiges of ancient monuments, but without success. Yet, Fassa, according to the native writers, once equalled Shiraz in magnitude, and was preferred to that city, on account of

the superior purity of its air and water. In the tenth century, it was famous for its manufactory of hangings, rich embroidery, and cloth of gold. It is said to have been founded by Bahman, the father of Darab I.* Whoever was the founder, it is quite certain, that this place has no pretensions to be regarded as the Pasargadæ of Cyrus.

About two miles S.W. from Fassa, a broad and deep ditch incloses an area above a mile square, within which rises abruptly a vast mound, apparently artificial, which bears the popular name of the *Kalaa-i-Zohák* (or Dhehák). The tradition is, that "one of the most ancient kings, being desirous of erecting a castle here, caused the clay and sand which compose this heap, to be brought from Hindostan, as the foundations formed of the local soil had proved insecure." The view from the elevated summit of "this acropolis," to which our Author climbed by a difficult path, is uncommonly grand. At its foot runs a small stream: Some holes in the side, made, perhaps, by jackals or other beasts, are supposed to terminate in caverns, in which treasures of incalculable value are guarded by talismans and dragons. Vestiges of buildings, though not visible on the heap itself, are numerous in the plain below. A little beyond, and about a mile to the right of the road, is the village of Dastah.

"At four miles from Fassa," Sir W. Ouseley continues, "we discerned, also on the right, and crowning the summit of a hill, an object which resembled, on a distant view, one of our British Druidical crom-

* Or, according to Tabri's Chronicle, by Darab, "the father of the Darius whom Alexander conquered." Another tradition ascribes its foundation to Fasar, the son of Tahmurus Divebund: having been destroyed, it was repaired by Gushtasp, and, in later times, rebuilt by Atabeg Javeli. It is written also Bas and Fasa.

lechs. It lay above a mile off our road,....and is called *Khaneh-i-Gabran*, the mansion of the fire-worshippers. It is a mass of stone, or rather of the hardest cement, in which stones of different kinds and colours are thickly incrusted; of an irregular oblong form, about 50 feet long, and 12 or 13 high, with a passage through it,....about 4 feet high, and smooth on the sides and ceiling, and in some places considerably polished." Art has evidently been employed, but no sculptures or inscriptions were discovered. For several hundred yards about this spot, numerous vestiges of stone and mortar buildings, with foundations of walls, are seen; and near the entrance of the outer inclosure is a deep well. The steep and rugged mountain on which this singular monument is found, is washed at its base by a clear rivulet.

At five miles from Fassa, the road passes the village of Sahraroud; at three miles further, it leaves that of Mohammedabad on the left, and runs to the foot of the *Kúh-e-nokreh* (silver mountain), where is a mine which formerly was worked.* Here there is a small brook; also the bed of a large river, which the route crosses further on, passing between two steep rocky mountains. It then enters upon an extensive plain, in some parts very highly cultivated, and several villages occur. At four *farsangs* (about 17 miles) from Fassa, the Author reached Zahedan, a village of about 300 houses, supplied with water by artificial conduits.

The next day's journey was a tedious ride of twelve hours to an inconsiderable village called Khusuieh; a

* This mine had probably been abandoned, like many others in Persia, because the produce was found inadequate to the labour of working, or, as a peasant expressed it, *deh khaneh, neh khaneh*; the expense was ten, the profit nine.

computed distance of 10 *farsangs*,—Sir W. Ouseley says, not less than 40 miles. Of these, thirty-four presented such a scene of desolation as cannot easily be imagined; for, after passing the mud hovels of Nasrabad, the Travellers saw neither habitation nor human being. The rugged road extended with a dreary sameness over long tracts of barren plain, or passed among stony hills, where it was often so narrow as scarcely to admit a loaded mule. There occurred neither river nor running stream, not above ten or eleven* trees, and only one well of bad water.* "We had now entered," continues our Author, "the vast *sahra* or uncultivated plain of *Gerdeigán*, bounded, on both sides, by lofty mountains, where, it is said, king Baharam Gour frequently indulged in his favourite pleasure of the chase. At 12 or 13 miles from Zahedan, our road lay among the tomb-stones of an *Iliat* cemetery: one exhibited a Persian epitaph, neatly and recently cut, and another, some rude characters. The Iliat tribes return with their flocks at certain seasons, to those spots which they had before occupied. A little beyond this cemetery, we passed the dry bed of a river; at 20 miles, we rode through another river bed, very deep, but likewise without water. Six or seven miles further, we stopped at the *Châh-e-kuch*, a well that gives its name to the plain. Here we filled with water two leather vessels (called *mataveh*); but these were exhausted before the end of our journey. Several of the party thought themselves fortunate in discovering among hollows at the

* Soon after leaving Zahedan, a road turns off on the right (southward) to Jahrom (written sometimes Gerom and Jaarom, and pronounced Jahroom), a town of Fars, said to have been founded by Bahman the son of Isfendyar, and which, in the tenth century, was famous for its silk stuffs. It had a strong castle called Khoreheh. The climate is very hot.

foot of rocks, a stagnant puddle, of which they attempted to drink; but, the green surface being slightly stirred, the mud and water appeared so animated by insects, that we would not allow even the thirsty mules and horses to imbibe them. From this, we proceeded along the desert; then, for some miles, over a *kutel* or hilly country; and at length, saw the date-trees of *Khesuich*, a mean village, where I was lodged in the mud-built castle. The best room had been prepared for my reception, its former tenants, five or six soldiers, having removed their carpets to the roof. These men were stationed here, that they might protect the inhabitants and travellers from robbers, who had lately begun to commit depredations in this district."

Khesuich belongs to the territory of Darabgerd, from which it is distant five *farsangs*, or about 18 miles. At a mile and a half from the village is seen the *Kóh Múm-i-Ay* (Mummy Mountain), so called from the black bituminous matter which oozes from the rock, in a cavern near the village of Ayi, and which, on account of its supposed medicinal properties, the Persians deem more precious than gold.* A

* It is to be regretted, that the learned Traveller was unable to visit this cavern. A writer of the tenth century, describing the place, states, that numerous officers were stationed there to guard it. Once a year only, the door of the cavern was opened, and the mum which had distilled during the year, (a quantity equal in size to a pomegranate,) was taken out, and sealed up, to be deposited in the royal treasury. "The soil of Ayi," says Casvini, "a village in Shebangkeh, is most remarkable for this production: it has therefore been called after that place, mum-i-Ayi, or the wax of Ayi.—It has the property of curing faintness, palsy, convulsions, epilepsy, and vertigo; it is also useful in hoarseness of the tongue, inflammation of the throat, fractures of the limbs, spasmodic affections, and palpitations." Some of this precious catholicon was brought by Mirza Abul Hassan, in 1809, as a present from the

very bad road over steep hills leads down into the plain of Bizdoon, which is almost inclosed by mountains, and is shaded by date-trees. A bridge of twelve arches, near a village of that name, crosses a stream which in winter must be considerable. At eleven miles is seen the mud-built castle and village of Juzjan, and at fourteen miles, the *Kalaa-now-Darab*, or new castle of Darab; both on the right: about these places were many date-trees and extensive corn-fields. Here, Sir W. Ouseley was supplied, by a hospitable *Eelaul* of a neighbouring camp, with milk and curds, and some excellent cheese.* When within three miles of Darab, he turned off on the right, to visit the *Kalaa-i-Dehiayeh*, the name given to an extensive piece of ground inclosed within a deep and wide fosse and a rampart of earth, in the midst of which rises a huge, rugged, insulated rock, at least 20 feet high. In the sides of this extraordinary rock are several caves, some natural, and others probably artificial, two of them communicating by a door-way cut through the solid stone. There are numerous remains of buildings about this place, which deserve, Sir W. Ouseley says, a more minute examination than he could bestow upon them. But the greatest curiosity is an irregular cluster of

Shah to the Queen of England. A man at Isfahan would not accept less than nine *tomauns* (about 8*l.*) from a gentleman in the British ambassador's suite, for as much as could have been contained in a walnut-shell.

* This cheese was "pressed into balls not larger than an apple, and white as snow," which became in a few days extremely hard. One, which the Author kept for several months, when bruised and diluted with water, formed a cooling and pleasant beverage, slightly acid. "Coagulated milk, thus indurated by compression and exsiccation," is said to last a considerable time: and Pliny, on the authority of an old tradition, informs us, that Zoroaster lived twenty years in desert places, on this cheese—"*Caseo sta temperate ut nonnisi tolerem non sentiret.*"

large and rude stones, on a rising ground in another part of the inclosed area, which, from its appearance, "a British antiquary might be almost authorized to pronounce Druidical." Some of them are from 20 to 25 feet high. One, very tall, stands nearly in the middle; another, towards the west, resembles a table or altar, being flat at the top; and under two or three are recesses or small caverns. The arrangement of these stones, the learned Traveller thinks, may be partly, but could scarcely be altogether natural or accidental. According to the accounts of the natives, the citadel of Darabgerd once stood in this spot, the city having extended at that time thus far. Sir W. Ouseley strongly recommends the site to the investigation of future travellers. He left it by a path near some walls and arches, still 20 feet high, the remains of an ancient aqueduct; and passing on his left the little village of Dehiayeh, proceeded by a pass between two rocky hills, about a mile and a half from Darabgerd, into the fine and rich plain on which the town stands.

Ferdousi, giving an account of the foundation of this city, informs us, that "king Darab, having gone forth one day to visit his horses pasturing in the low grounds,* ascended a hill, whence he beheld a vast and deep river, or body of water; and he desired that expert mechanics should be brought from India and from Greece, who were instructed so to direct the course of this water, that a stream might flow through every district. Those ingenious men having opened the mounds or dikes, Darab commanded that a city should be built; and when it was girded round with walls, they named the place Darab-gird. The monarch then kindled a fire on the summit of a mountain, to which

* The site of the city is said to have been previously called *Aspân Fargan*, horse-pasture.

crowds of persons resorted, worshipping the flame *Azer*; and they procured the most skilful artists of every description, by whom the city was embellished." Cazvini states, that the city was perfectly circular, as if the plan had been delineated by a compass; and in the midst of it was once a well-fortified castle, with a very deep ditch; but this was in ruins in the fourteenth century. Sir W. Ouseley feels persuaded that this castle must be the *Kalaa-i-Dehayeh*, with its surrounding rampart and its broad ditch, once easily filled by means of the aqueduct; and the large rock in the centre of the inclosure, is what a native writer describes as a mountain in the midst of the city, which resembled a dome, or a building with a vaulted roof. "It was, perhaps, on this rock," he adds, "from which he could easily have beheld every part of the recently founded city, that the illustrious Darab terminated his labours by the solemn performance of a religious ceremony, and probably the establishment of a new fire-temple; though the circle of rude stones, situated likewise on rising ground, may indicate the vestiges of a consecrated structure."

The modern town is reduced to a mere village: half the houses appeared deserted or in ruins, and the greater part of the area which it once covered, is now occupied with gardens and orange-groves.* The climate is very warm, and it was once, according to native writers, a very flourishing and delightful place, with the drawback of having the worst water in the province, and being subject to frequent visitations of

* Pietro Della Valle, who passed through this city nearly 200 years ago, mentions its numerous population, its date-trees, and the running stream that filled a small circular fish-pond in the town: "there is nothing else," he says, "in Darabghierd, to be seen or observed."

the plague. The only monuments of antiquity in its neighbourhood, are, the castle of Dehayeh, a *Naksh-i-Rustem*, and an excavation of a very remarkable character, called the *Caravanserai-i-Deeb*, about four miles to the S.E. of the town, of which Sir W. Ouseley gives the following account.

"Having left the town, we proceeded about a mile in a south-eastern direction, to the decayed brick edifice with arched windows and niches, called *Kabr-i-Pashang* (the burial-place of Pashang), whom our guide was willing to believe the ancient hero of that name celebrated in the Shah Namah; but it was evidently the monument of a Musulman saint: close to it, on the very road, were numerous graves covered with well-cut stones, bearing Arabic and Persian epitaphs, which proved the cemetery to be at least from 400 to 500 years old. Near this spot were tombs of several *imám-zadehs*, now fallen to ruins. A little beyond those, was a heap of stones, on which lay one about two feet in length, simply ornamented with a plain, carved line: it probably marked a modern grave, and is worthy of notice only as being supposed the work of remote ages, and ascribed to some female personage whose history I was desirous of tracing; for, throughout this part of the country, remains of conduits, bridges, and causeways, towers, caverns, sculptures, and almost every thing that wears the semblance of antiquity, are denominated *sál-i-dukhter* (work of the daughter), and are regarded as memorials of some unknown damsel or virgin. We saw on our left, a few miles distant, vestiges of the castle called *Kálad-i-Rúma*,* and at three miles passed a deep well or pit. The person

* This site would appear, from its name, to invite the visit of future travellers, as tradition seemingly ascribes it to the Macedonian Greeks.

who constructed it, was probably commemorated in an inscription rudely chiselled on a stone impending over its mouth. Still more barbarously executed (perhaps by Iliáts) were some characters on the natural rock, not far from this well. We advanced about a mile further by a most rugged path, and having passed on the left an aqueduct, a mill, and some other buildings, turned off towards the right. Our road had been hitherto that which leads to *Deh-i-Kheir*. We alighted soon after at the *Caravanserai-i-Deeh*.

"It is a spacious chamber, hollowed with admirable ingenuity and by means of prodigious labour, into the very heart of the mountain. Its roof seems formed of arches, supported on (thirty-six) square pillars, of no large but not ungraceful proportions; the roof, however, the pillars, the arches, and the walls, are all of the solid rock. It receives a little light at the entrance, an ample and handsome door-way in the side of the mountain, and from a square aperture in the centre of the roof, where the rock is ten or eleven feet thick. The chamber itself is a square of 70 feet, regularly divided into four parts by the rows of pillars intersecting one another. Twenty-one or twenty-two feet may be considered as its extreme height between the arches.....Near the door were inscriptions carved in the Arabic character, not very ancient (about A.D. 1305 or 1350). In the wall terminating the main aisles on the left and right, and opposite the door, were niches not unlike the fire-places in European houses, and sculptured with some degree of elegance. Inscriptions in the same character as those above mentioned, served for ornaments, and filled the frames or borders.....Having ascended the rock over the chamber, I examined the opening through which it partially receives both light and air: this is 10 feet

5 inches square. Near it lay a large stone that seemed, from its cubical form, to be what once filled the aperture."*

To the right of this chamber, is another small square excavation, with an arched door-way in the face of the mountain; but Sir W. Ouseley had not leisure (owing to the impatience of his guides and the alarm of robbers) to ascertain whether it communicated with the grand excavation. To the left of this are three natural caves, and the mountain contains many others. He thinks it not improbable, that some of these may be connected with the first by secret passages. The inscriptions and pointed doorways are in the modern Saracenic style, and have no pretensions to high antiquity; but the excavation can scarcely have been the work of Mussulmans, or have been originally designed for the purpose which its modern name indicates. It may have been a place consecrated to Mithraic rites; and certainly deserves the attention of future travellers.

From this mountain, the learned Traveller crossed the country nearly in a straight line for about three miles, over fields and rocks, through streams and extensive groves of date-trees; and at length arrived at the sculptured rock, where, in the gigantic figure of the supposed Rostam, he recognized another monument of the glory or vanity of Shapoor. The sculptures, in bold relief, occupy a tablet about 20 feet high and 36 feet in length, cut in the rocky face of a steep mountain, over a basin of excellent water abounding with fish. Shapoor is on horseback; close to him is seen his usual emblem of victory, a dead body extended on the ground; before him is a crowd

* Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 138—140.

of Romans, and he lays his left hand on the head of their captive chief. A youth extends his arms towards the neck of his horse, as if imploring mercy. The Romans, all bare-headed, fill the right end of the tablet, and on the left are four ranks of Persian guards, most of them wearing the pointed cap. No inscriptions were discoverable. Judging from the Author's sketch, the sculpture is extremely rude, the work of a very inferior artist, no regard being paid to either proportion or perspective. A little beyond this place, he came out on the Fassa road.

Darabgerd was the termination of Sir W. Ouseley's progress towards the south-eastern regions of Persia. He returned to Shiraz by a different and unusual route, which had nothing but its novelty to recommend it. He proceeded two *farsangs* W.N.W. through a fertile plain, covered with fine corn-fields and date-trees, and watered by numerous water-courses and conduits: he then passed a decayed village, and keeping close to the hills on his right, halted at a circular, vaulted edifice of brick, resembling in shape a bee-hive, erected on a platform of stone work, and called *Mal-i-Gabran* (a work of the Guebers). It is situated on an eminence, near a delightful spring that starts from some rocks among a variety of reeds, rushes, and small trees, at the foot of steep and lofty mountains rising almost perpendicularly above it: it is called the *Chasmeh-i-gulabi* (rose-water fountain). The building, which is doubtless ancient, had lately served to shelter cattle. A fine stream issues from the fountain. Further on is an Ilâti cemetery, and on the right is a large mountain of singular appearance, called the *Kâh-e-nemek* (hill of salt).* All the

* Carvini speaks of a mountain in the territory of Darabgerd, yielding salt of seven colours. This salt, another native writer

plain in this part glitters with particles of salt. The ruins of a castle are seen at the distance of about three miles, with some caverns. At about five *farsangs* (20 miles) from Darab, the Author reached the village of Madavan. Here, the thermometer, at three o'clock, stood at 78° in the shade, and rose to 123° in the sun. Myriads of flies of various descriptions infest the place; some resembling the common English sort, some of the dragon kind, exceedingly beautiful; others of a pale yellowish green, as large as bees; with a multiplicity of very formidable wasps and horse-flies (*zembur*), that give notice of their approach by an extraordinary hissing noise. Fly-flaps, neatly made of chip or straw, were lying in almost every window, both at this place and the three preceding stages.

The next day's stage was to Iretch (or Eredje), a distance of about five and twenty miles, by a very bad road. Passing two or three ruined or decayed villages, the Author came, at four miles, to a narrow pass between perpendicular banks of yellowish clay, 80 or 90 feet high. A little beyond this, is a second chasm in the mountain, still more narrow, between lofty rocks. A stony *kutel*-road leads down into the plain, in which, at ten miles, is the village of Derakun, a collection of mud-hovels inclosed within walls of the same material. This plain, called the *Sahra-i-Kara-bulagh* (plain of the black district), is said to be at some seasons covered with water. At between thirteen and fourteen miles is an extensive cemetery, and near it, remains of a well-built aqueduct. The road then changes from

says, "the people fashion into trays, and whatever else they wish, and send into distant regions. In all other countries, salt is produced from the bottom of the earth, or from the concretion of water, but here it appears in the form of entire mountains." Quicksilver (*zibeh*) is said to be found in the same place. See authorities in Ouseley, ii. 134, 135.

N.W. to a N.E. direction, descending into a vale between mountains and rocks of stupendous magnitude. At length, the Author came to the narrow pass of *Tang-i-Iretch*, four miles beyond which he arrived at his *manzil* or halting-place.

Within thirty or forty years, this was a much more considerable village, and it was once a town of some importance. Its name is said to have been that of a son of king Darab. Many walls and towers still appear on its fortified mountain, at an astonishing height among the ledges of rock; and there is also a succession of reservoirs, one below another, communicating by sloping conduits of masonry, with an aqueduct extending above a mile along the plain: so far may be traced the vestiges of the town, which is now reduced to a long line of mud-built houses, shaded by many trees. There is a *masjed*, now no longer used for religious purposes, which must have been handsome. "This day," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "afforded another lamentable proof of the depopulation and decay which have latterly prevailed in Persia. During the course of at least five and twenty miles, we saw not above six or seven people of the country; and the two villages that we saw, bespoke poverty and misery. Works, however, of considerable extent and utility, may be traced in various parts both of the mountain and the plain. We saw remains of arches and foundations of houses, walls of excellent stone-work supporting banks of earth, and fragments of aqueducts, all attributed to that beneficent but unknown damsel."

On the third day, soon after passing a *gumbez*, or circular tower, and some ruins, the road began to wind among the hills in a direction N.N.W., the rugged *kutel* in many places requiring not less circumspection than the worst passes between Bushehr and

Shiraz. At the end of about nine miles, it led out into the plain of Savonát. Proceeding about four miles further towards the W.N.W., the Author arrived at that village, after a journey of nearly fifteen miles.

Astahbonát, pronounced Savonát, though it ranks only as a *dhey* (village), seemed more populous, and offered a greater show of bustle and business, than either Fassa or Darab, which claim the rank of *shahr* (city). Linen (called *kerbas*) is manufactured here, and a great deal of earthenware of a superior description. The materials are procured from stones of the neighbouring mountains, some of which are reduced, after undergoing a process not described, to an impalpable white powder.* They glaze the clay with much neatness and very expeditiously; and the principal artist had succeeded in imitating fine porcelain so exactly, that Sir W. Ouseley found it difficult to distinguish his ware from the Chinese originals, both of the blue and white pattern, and painted in flowers and figures. This man was, however, very poor, and complained of being deterred from prosecuting this branch of his art, by the exorbitant price of some particular colours.

In the fourteenth century, Cazvini described Savonat as a town abounding in trees, enjoying a temperate climate, yielding fruit of every kind, and copiously watered by several streams. In its territory there was a strong castle, which, during a contest between

* Sir W. Ouseley suggests, that Pliny possibly alludes to the mountains near Savonat, in giving his account of the substance found in Carmania (Kerman), which furnished the murrhine vases or cups so highly esteemed among the ancients. (Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 2.) That the murrhine vases were but a kind of porcelain, is the opinion of many able antiquaries.

the Seljookian princes and the people of Shebangareh, was destroyed by the Atabeg Javeli, but was afterwards rebuilt.* "Of this description," says Sir W. Ouseley, "I was able to ascertain the general accuracy. Some remains of the castle are still visible; the gardens of Savonát yield grapes, apples, and a great variety of fruits; the air was exceedingly pleasant, and comparatively cool, for, at one o'clock P.M., Fahrenheit's thermometer rose only to 70° in the shade. Indeed, the *Súr al-Beldán* enumerates this place, with Idge, Istakhr, and others, among the towns belonging to the *Sard-sir*, or colder division of Pars. It appears accordingly, that the palm does not flourish here; and Savonát is, I believe, several *farsangs* beyond that imaginary line which restricts, as many Persians have told me, the actual growth of dates to the *Garmsir*, or warm regions. There is a sufficiency of water, although it does not seem to flow in such quantities as when Hamdallah wrote, nor is it remarkable for salubrity. Savonát has probably suffered less than any other town in Pars, from that pernicious system of government which spreads desolation so widely throughout this province. To what fortunate circumstance it owes this partial exemption, I have not learned. Of its houses, five or six only seemed untenanted or in decay. Its population was numerous, and wore an air of industry and comfort. To this, without doubt, the manufactures (of linen and earthenware) contributed in a high degree; and one of inferior note may be

* There is a large *masjid* in the town, ancient and wanting repair, but still frequented by a few dervishes, which was said to be a thousand years old; and from several inscriptions on the walls in the Kufic character, this appeared to the Author no exaggeration.

added. Here are made spoons (*kashuks*) of the box-tree (*shimshâd*) and rose-tree or pear-tree (*gulabi*) wood; some with long and very slender handles, most ingeniously carved and ornamented with open work; the hollow part of considerable size, and rendered so thin and elastic, that the sides may be pressed together as if formed of paper.* Such are the spoons used by people of the highest rank: a coarser and cheaper sort is fashioned from the same materials, or wood of a similar grain."

"There are many trees of extraordinary bulk and age; but the glory of the place is a majestic *chinar* of ample foliage, 26 feet in circumference near its base, and perfectly straight to a considerable height. Although four hundred years old, according to the local tradition, it was sound and in the fullest bloom. A seat or bank had been constructed near its foot, insulated by a little trench, through which a stream of water perpetually flows.†

The next day's stage, from Savoonat to Kheir, was performed in four hours; the distance being between fifteen and sixteen miles. For the first six, the road lies over the level plain; it then skirts the mountains on the right, in a direction W.N.W., the heights of the *Kûh Hharman* being within view on the left, though at a distance, probably, of more than 30 miles. At thirteen miles, the road bending more N.W., is seen the village and mud castle of Meimun, at the foot of a steep mountain, and near it, a small vaulted

* The hollow part floats on the surface of the sherbet, like the punch-ladle formerly common in England, the long handle resting on the edge of the vessel; and the Persians drink out of these spoons, holding them near the bowl, as goblets are never introduced at dinner.

† This description may serve to illustrate the beauty of the simile, Psal. i. 3. "He shall be like a tree planted by the water-courses."

edifice called *Kadem-gah-e-Kheir*, "the footstep of Kheir:" it is probably the tomb of a Moslem saint. At length, proceeding in a direction N.N.E., the traveller comes in sight of the great salt lake of Bakhtegan; so denominated from a village of that name, now in ruins, to the east of Kheir.

Kheir (or Kheireh, pronounced Kheil) is a small village, and near it are two or three clusters of mean houses with mud walls, and a few trees. It is the last village in this direction before entering upon the inhospitable desert which extends to within ten miles of Gawakoon, distant fifty miles. At about half-way is the ruined caravanserai of *Khan-e-Kerd*. The road lies in a W.N.W. direction, close to well-wooded hills on the left: on the right is the lake, covering the plain, which is bounded by mountains, and varies from eight or ten to fifteen or sixteen miles in width. At six miles from Kheir, a warm spring, slightly brackish, gushes from a rock under the mountains on the left, and forms a small stream that runs into the lake. Near the caravanserai, a few huts were occupied by some Eelauts, who informed the travellers, that the place was nearly abandoned, from dread of the wild beasts which haunt the wooded mountains, and of the flies which, every summer, destroyed many mules and horses. Multitudes of wasps and horse-flies seemed to attest the latter part of the statement; and the rubbish of the half-finished caravanserai, harbours snakes, scorpions, and lizards of beautiful and extraordinary colours.* Near a small mud-built

* "They ventured sometimes to approach very near me, peeping with a most inquisitive look; but they seemed equally timid and active; for, on the least motion of the head, even the twinkling of an eye, they vanished among the stones and shrubs."—"The quick-eyed lizard," Lord Byron, with his usual felicity of expression, describes it.—Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 176.

Imám-zadeh, a fresh stream flows towards the lake, full of the largest and ugliest frogs that our Traveller had seen, and noisy in proportion. Within a mile of the caravanserai, was a *rabdari*, with a solitary guard! The plain, which is partially encrusted with salt, now expands; and the lake is, probably, at some seasons, five or six *farsangs* broad.* At seventeen or eighteen miles from the *Khan-e-Kerf*, where the salt lake ends, and vegetation begins, the traveller enters the once populous district of Kurbal. In a cemetery near two ruined villages, Sir W. Ouseley found some tombstones neatly carved with Arabic and Persian epitaphs. Here, the Bendemir falls into the lake, and the remainder of the stage to Gawakoon, lies along the left bank of the stream.

Gawakoon is an inconsiderable village. Three miles and a half beyond, the Bundemir is crossed by a long bridge, (the *Pul-i-Gawakan*,) where it suddenly falls seventeen or eighteen feet.† The route then lies over a level plain, intersected by numerous drains, in a direction still W.N.W., to the village of Bundemir; a stage of five *farsangs*. During nearly the whole journey from Kheir, a distance of between seventy and eighty miles, the road had traversed a level country, bounded on each side by ranges of lofty mountains.

* Its variable limits may in part explain the discordant accounts given of its extent. It is denominated the lake of Bakhtegan by the old eastern geographers, but is now generally called, from the principal town in its vicinity, the *Derya-i-Niriz*. Its extent, according to Ebn Haukal, is 20 *farsangs* in length: another writer, cited by Sir W. Ouseley, makes it 12 *farsangs* in length, 7 in breadth, and nearly 35 in circuit. "It extends to the confines of Shakel (or Sabek) in Kerman. Adjacent are tracts of soil impregnated with salt." It appears to have been unknown to the Greek and Roman geographers.

† Here must be the *Band-i-Kaisar*, by which the Lower Kurbal was watered. See p. 5 of this volume.

From Bundemir, Sir W. Ouseley crossed the plain of Merdasht to the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, a distance of three hours; and thence returned, in about nine hours and a half, to Shiraz.*

We must now resume our route to the northward, which was suspended at Persepolis, and conduct the reader

FROM SHIRAZ TO ISFAHAN.

THE direct road to Isfahan, which is practicable only in summer, leaving on the right the plain of Istakhr, runs to Fute-abad, "a miserable village," three *farsangs* from the *Takht*; and thence, through Mayen to Yezdikhaust, where it unites with the winter road. It is the latter which we are now to follow.

At Hadji-abad, the territory of Merdasht or Istakhr terminates, and we enter upon the district of Hafreg, containing twenty-one villages.† A few miles further, near the village of Seidoun, the rocky range terminates towards the east, and the road, bending to the left, follows the course of the Sewund branch of the Kur,‡

* Ouseley, vol. ii. ch. 8 and 9.

† According to Mirza Joon, the territory of Merdasht begins at one *farsang* from the *Pul-i-Khan*, and comprises twenty villages fallen to ruin, and thirty still inhabited. One of these is Kenâreh, one mile S. of the Takht, containing nearly 200 families. Another is Mirkhasgoon, near which Sir W. Ouseley passed in his way from Bundemir to the Takht.—OUSELEY, vol. ii. pp. 408, 107. Mr. Morier mentions a village called *Rish-mey-Joon*, as the residence of the governor of Merdasht, whose district, he says, contained seventeen villages.—*Second Residence*, p. 62.

‡ "The river, which, through all its wanderings, generally bore the name of Kur-aub, and near whose banks we had so long shaped our course, at the point where the vale of Sewan (Sewund) expands into a plain, divides into two branches; one flowing through the country at the back of the Persepolitan hills: the other fills a rocky channel in the valley of Hadjee-abad, retaining its own celebrated title till it is lost in that of the Bund-emir."—PORTER, vol.

to the village from which it takes its name. The valley of Sewund is surrounded with rugged hills, and, like the plain of Merdasht, is covered with the liquorice-plant, of which the camel is very fond. The village of Sewund, distant about three *farsangs* from the *Takht*, is situated on an eminence at the foot of an abrupt part of the mountain, at some distance from the river. During the excessive heats of summer, when water becomes scarce, the inhabitants remove into the valley, and live in tents of black hair-cloth, or rude booths covered with furze and branches of trees, on the banks of the stream.* Snipes, ducks, herons, and litterns frequent this part of the valley.

The next stage is to Kemeen, not long ago a flourishing village, but ruined by the extortions of the late governor. It is pleasantly situated amidst gardens and vineyards. Within one *farsang* of it are vestiges of an old mud-built edifice called the Red Tower (*Gumbez-i-Surkh*) supposed to be one of the seven villas or hunting-seats erected by Bahram Gour. Nothing, however, remains to indicate either its importance, beauty, or antiquity. Immediately opposite to it is a deep cavern, with two or three interior caves, whence issues a particularly translucent spring. It is called the Cave of the Forty Daughters; and innu-

i. p. 113. The Sewund branch, according to Morier and Ouseley, is generally called the *Rood-khaneh Sewund*, and also the Falfar (Palwar). See p. 5 of this volume, and Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 421. In his way to Hadjee-abad, Sir Robert K. Porter passed the village of *Seiad-abad* (perhaps Seidoun), in which seems to be preserved the name of a castle on the *Koh Rangard*, one *farsang* from Istakhr. See p. 87.

* "On coming near the village, we saw him (the governor) extended under a shed fast asleep on the ground, with a spear stuck at his bolster-head, which now, as in the days of Saul, marks the spot where a man of consequence reposes. 1 Sam. xxvi. 7."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 116.

merable old lamps still left in the place, give support to the tradition, that it was formerly inhabited by a succession of holy persons. Sir Robert K. Porter states, that he crossed no fewer than *forty* beautiful little rivulets in the pleasant little vale of Kemeen, all bearing their tribute to the broader stream, which winds among the deep hollows of the hills, collecting on one side numerous mountain streams, while it is drained in almost the same proportion, on the other, by channels of irrigation.*

From the plain or valley of Kemeen, which is about a *farsang* in width, a narrow pass of two miles, running eastward between two abrupt chains of mountains, leads into the plain of Moorgh-aub. Then, turning suddenly northward, the road runs in that direction about 14 miles to the village of Moorgh-aub; distant from Persepolis, according to Sir R. K. Porter, "forty-nine measured English miles." Within two miles of the village, the traveller's attention is arrested by some remarkable ruins on the right, which mark the site of some considerable city. The learned world are indebted to Mr. Morier for the first suggestion that these are the ruins of

* Porter, vol. i. pp. 484, 510.—There are two roads from Sewund to Kemeen. That which was taken by the British Envoy, made the distance (according to Sir W. Ouseley) 17 miles. Mr. Morier mentions a shorter road "through the *Teng Parou*, a pass so narrow that it will not admit of the passage of a loaded mule." Sir Robert K. Porter, in travelling to Shiraz, passed through Kemine, and halted at "a cluster of fortified houses," called *Buchun*, at the southern side of the vale, 4 *farsangs* from Mourg-aub. The next day, a stage of 4 *farsangs* brought him to *Sewan-pa-ine*. An hour further up the valley, S. 45° E., is *Sewan-bala*, a village most romantically seated among the rocky promontories. The former must be the Sewund of Morier, and the Sivend of Ouseley.

PASARGADÆ.

"PROCEEDING over the ploughed fields," says this Traveller, "which nearly overspread the whole of this plain, I came to the bed of a river (lying N. and S.), and, on its banks, a village called *Meshed Omoun*. There is here a fort, and a few low houses, in which females only were left, as all the men had gone out to greet the Envoy. About a mile further are situated the collective ruins, called by the people of the country, *Mesjed Madré Suleiman*, the Tomb of the Mother of Solomon. The first object is a pillar erect, a plain shaft, without a capital, 10 feet 5 inches in circumference. Near it are three pilasters, the fronts of which are excavated in deep niches, and the sides inscribed with (cuneiform) characters. From the pieces of masonry around, the pilasters appear to have enclosed a hall, the interior of which was decorated with columns. But I resigned the hope of ascertaining the plan of its original form, when I saw two similar masses; one at the distance of 150 yards, with a corresponding inscription; and the intermediate space, and indeed the whole plain, strewed with the fragments of marbles.

"Having sketched these objects, I continued my way along the plain to the west, towards two buildings, which at a distance appeared scarcely worthy of notice, but, on a nearer inspection, proved full of interest. The first is a ruined building of Mohammedan construction, which is now turned into a caravanseral. The door was once arched, and on the architrave are the remains of a fine Arabic inscription. The other is a building of an extraordinary form. It rests upon a square base of large blocks of marble, which rise in seven layers pyramidically. It is in

form a parallelogram; the lowest range of the foundation is 43 feet by 37; and the edifice itself, which crowns the summit, diminishes to 21 feet by 16 feet 5 inches. It is covered with a shelving roof, built of the same massy stone as its base and sides, which are all fixed together by clamps of iron. Through a fissure in the door, I could perceive nothing within but a small chamber blackened by smoke. Around it, besides a great profusion of broken marbles, are the shafts of fourteen columns, once perhaps a colonnade, but now arranged in the square wall of mud which surrounds the whole remains. To the present day, all the space within the enclosure is a place of burial, and is covered indeed with modern tomb-stones. On every part of the monument itself are carved inscriptions which attest the reverence of its visiters; but there is no vestige of any of the characters of ancient Persia, or even of the older Arabic. The key is kept by women, and none but females are permitted to enter. *...If the position of the place had corresponded to the site of Passagardæ, as well as the form of this structure accords with the description of the tomb of Cyrus near that city, I should have been tempted to assign to the present building so illustrious an origin.* That tomb was raised in a grove; it was a small edifice covered with an arched roof of stone; and its entrance was so narrow, that the slenderest man could scarcely pass through: it rested on a quadrangular base of a single stone, and contained the celebrated inscription: 'O mortals, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, founder of the Persian monarchy, and sovereign of Asia: grudge me not therefore this monument.' That the plain around *Meshed Mudré Sulieman* was the site of a great city, is proved by the ruins with which it is strewed: and that this

city was of the same general antiquity as Persepolis, may be inferred from the existence of a similar character in the inscriptions on the remains of both; though this particular edifice does not happen to display that internal evidence of a contemporaneous date. A grove would naturally have disappeared in modern Persia; the structures correspond in size; the triangular roof might be called arched, in an age when the true semi-circular arch was probably unknown;... and in the lapse of 2400 years, the absence of an inscription would not be a decisive evidence against its identity with the Tomb of Cyrus." *

In his Second Journey through Persia, the Author contrived to force the narrow door, and to gain an entrance into the tomb, unseen by his guides. "On the side facing the *kebleh*," he says, "the wall is sculptured with ornaments surrounding an Arabic inscription; and in a corner, we found a collection of dusty manuscripts, mostly transcripts of the Koran, besides a number of little offerings of tin lamps, &c., which are generally seen in the religious places of the Mussulmans. The body of the saint, we were told, is deposited within the roof of the building." †

This discovery of an Arabic inscription, supposing it to be coeval with the structure, would be fatal to the conjecture which assigns it a high antiquity. Mandelslo, who travelled in the seventeenth century, speaking of this sepulchre, which he describes as a little chapel of white marble upon a high square of free-stone work, adds: "Upon the wall of the chapel there are yet to be seen, in Arabian characters, these words, *Moder Suleiman*. The inhabitants say, that Solomon's mother was interred there; but the Car-

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 163—5. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 117.

melite Friars of Shiraz, with more likelihood of truth, told me, that it was the sepulchre of Wallada, the mother of Soliman, the fourteenth khalif of the posterity of Aly." This extraordinary piece of information does not, however, appear to be sanctioned by any native writer, and was probably a random conjecture. *All* the various edifices which bear the strange title of the temple, tomb, or throne of Solomon's mother, cannot have been intended as monuments to the memory of the khalif's mother; nor is there the slightest reason to suppose that the old lady's body was ever transported from Kufah or Damascus into the heart of Persia. Two native writers cited by Sir W. Ouseley, one of whom ranks high both as an historical and a geographical authority, adopt the vague popular tradition which ascribes this monument to Bathsheba. The one referred to could scarcely have been ignorant of its real founder, had either the annals which he examined, or any inscriptions on the tomb or the adjoining caravanserai, assigned it to a prince of the Fatimite dynasty.* The other writer (Hafiz Abru), having described the *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, adds: "There is likewise another place in the district of Istakhr, on the road to Aberkûh, called the *Meshehd-i-Mader-i-Suliemun*, on whom be peace! Here also are stones of considerable size, and sculptured in a wonderful manner; the work, as it is related, of those *jinn* (genii) who were subservient to Solomon, on whom be peace!"

* Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 432—8. Hamdallah Mastowfi, the writer cited, does not appear, however, to have entered the tomb: since, after citing from the *Fars Nameh* (a scarce work of the twelfth century), the declaration that no person can enter or look into it, from the apprehension of being punished with blindness, he adds: "But I never discovered that any one had ventured to make the experiment or ascertained the fact."

Both these writers speak of the tomb in question as being near the meadows of *Cáfán*, but make no reference to the other ruins, or to the city of which they are the vestiges. That many of these are of high antiquity, is unquestionable; and an inscription in the cuneiform character, copied by Sir Robert Ker Porter, which occurs on almost all the pillars at this place, seems to place it beyond doubt, that this is the actual site of the ancient Cyropolis or Pasargadæ. Professor Grottefund gives it the following translation: "*Dominus Cyrus rex orbis rector.*" If this translation may be depended upon, we may safely assume, that the *mesjed*, to whatsoever use it may subsequently have been appropriated, once contained, or covered, the remains of that great monarch, whom Mohammedan tradition has confounded with the Son of David,* and who is doubtless the true Jemsheed of the Persian legend.

Sir Robert K. Porter, who deserves great praise for his unwearied assiduity, devoted two days to the examination of these ruins; and we are indebted to his pen and pencil for the most minute and accurate description of the tomb. "This interesting monument," he says, "stands on an eminence not far from the foot of the hills that bound the plain to the S.W. A wide area, marked outwardly by the broken shafts of twenty-four circular columns, surrounds the building. Each column is 3 feet 3 inches in diameter; and they are distant from each other, 14 feet. Seventeen columns are still erect, but heaped round with rubbish, and barbarously connected with a wall of

* Sir Robert K. Porter suggests, that, possibly, "some palace or village, or even the grave of Mandane, the mother of Cyrus, might have distinguished this city; and to the memory of her name may have succeeded the legend of the mother of Solomon.

mud. Within this area stands the tomb. The great base on which it rests, is composed of immense blocks of the most beautiful white marble, rising in steps: at the bottom of the lowest step, two sides of the base measure 40 feet; the other two sides, 44 feet.* A succession of gigantic steps completes, in a beautiful pyramidal shape, the pedestal of this royal tomb, majestic in its simplicity and vastness. At the base of the lowest step, a sort of skirting-stone runs round the foundation, almost even with the ground, and not striking very deep into it below; probably to what was the ancient level of the earth....The door opens into the north-western side of the tomb, the whole width of the side being 16 feet 10 inches, of which measurement the entrance occupies 2 feet 10 inches. The height of the door was exactly 4 feet. Four layers of stones composed the elevation of this superstructure; the first gave the sides of the entrance; the second served as its lintel; the third presented a simple projecting cornice; and what may be called the fourth, formed its pediment and sloping roof. Just over the door are two parallel ledges, which I should suppose held an inscription. When I entered, I found the thickness of the walls to consist of one solid single mass of stone, measuring 5 feet from the outside to within. The chamber is 7 feet wide, 10 long, and 8 in height. The floor is composed of two immense slabs, joined nearly in the middle of the chamber. Immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured; the marble surfaces are cruelly broken; and in the

* The steps are of irregular height: the first rises 5 feet 6 inches: the second, 3 feet 6 inches, receding 2 feet; the third, 3 feet 4 inches; the fourth, 1 foot 11 inches; the fifth and sixth, 1 foot 10 inches, and of the same breadth. Sir Robert's measurements slightly differ from those of Mr. Morier.

floor particularly, deep holes are left, which plainly shew where large iron fastenings have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless, their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building, similar depredation being marked in the marble of the wall. I searched every where for some trace of a cuneiform inscription, but in vain. The place where such a one is most likely to have been, is on the right of the entrance, where it has probably been obliterated to make room for the present open scroll in the Saracenic taste. It is composed of a narrow border, thickly ornamented with flowers; and interwoven with this intricate line of work, there are certainly Arabic characters, which, I do not doubt, form the inscription that has been read *Meder-i-Sulieman*. The lines containing this border, extend along the whole of that side of the wall.....Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammers of the barbarians, interrupts the even polish of the other three sides. The roof is flat, and nearly black; so are all the sides of the chamber, excepting that which faces the door; and that, with the floor, is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of this monument, which, from the simplicity of its form and the solidity of its fabric, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature till the last shock."

According to Arrian, who wrote from the testimony of one who had visited the spot, the tomb of Cyrus was within the royal paradise of Pasargadæ. The basis of the tomb was of a quadrangular shape; above, was a small edifice of stone with an arched roof; within was the golden coffin of Cyrus, over which was a canopy with pillars of gold, and the whole was hung round with purple hangings and Babylonian carpets. In the same inclosure was a

small house built for the magi, to whose care the tomb had been originally entrusted by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, and the charge was transmitted from fathers to sons.* The holes in the floor and at the upper end of the chamber, are just in the positions, Sir R. K. Porter says, to admit the iron fastenings of the golden coffin. Had it been cased in a stone sarcophagus, he remarks, doubtless that would have remained; and the absence of any coffin makes against the supposition that it has been used as a burial-place for any moslems. With regard to its situation, the paradises of the ancient kings of Persia, like those of the Sefi monarchs at Isfahan, were spacious gardens, or rather parks, adjoining their palaces; and the fertile and well-watered plain amply warrants the supposition, that this monument was once surrounded with a grove and garden. In what is now called the Caravanserai, distant about 200 yards to the northward, he supposes that we may recognise the house of the attendant magi, the guardians of the sepulchre. The Saracenic porch and inscription shew that it has

* Arrian, b. vi. c. 29. (Rooke's Transl. II. 122.) There is some obscurity in the account. The golden coffin is stated to have laid upon a bed: if that was the case, it could not have been fastened to the floor in the manner supposed. A canopy is perhaps intended. Cyrus is represented to have been interred in his royal robes of Babylonian workmanship, a chain round his neck, with bracelets, ear-rings, and a sword, all of gold, adorned with precious stones. A costly table was also placed in the tomb. When Alexander came, all was gone except the bed and coffin. The latter had been stripped of its cover, and the body cast out: the robbers had also endeavoured to break it to pieces, but were forced to leave it behind. Aristobulus was directed by Alexander to restore the monument; to replace in the coffin the parts of the royal body which still remained; to provide a fresh cover for the coffin, and new ornaments to the bed: and to have the entrance into the little edifice walled up with stone, and the royal signet applied. The latter part of the commission would seem not to have been executed.

been applied to the use indicated by its present appellation, in times much later than its origin; but on examining the lower part of the building, the same style of architecture is discernible as that of the tomb. It is a quadrangle of about 60 or 80 feet. A great gate appears to have opened into it from the S. E. A range of small dark chambers, even with the ground, run along the four sides of the square, each having its door, scarcely 4 feet high, opening into the quadrangle.*

At the distance of about a mile N. E. of the Caravanserai, is found an immense mound or terrace, from which rises a square marble pillar 15 feet high. The elevation is a parallelogram 150 feet by 81, and is divided by two rows of pedestals of irregular dimensions, all of the dark rock of the country, except the third in the range to the N. E.: this is of white marble, and being larger and higher than the rest, has, perhaps, sustained a shaft or statue. There appear to have been two entrances, facing the N. E. and S. W. At about 6 feet from the N. E. front, rises the square column, which appears perfectly distinct from all the others; it is formed of a single block, and, on examining it, Sir Robert was delighted at discovering a bas-relief occupying nearly the whole of the side fronting the N. W., and surmounted with the same inscription in the arrow-head character that is found on the other marbles. The sculpture consists of a full-length figure, in profile, clad in a long, close-fitting robe, trimmed with a border of roses and a waving fringe, beautifully carved. The face is much broken, but shews a short bushy beard, curled with the greatest

* Sir W. Ouseley supposes the Caravanserai to be not above 600 years old, but adds: "I suspect that the more ancient ruins have contributed materials towards its construction."

regularity: on the head is a close cap or helmet, coming down almost to the neck, and from it issues a very singular ornament, doubtless of an emblematical import.* From the shoulders issue four large spreading wings; two extend upwards above the head; the others, opening downward, nearly touch the feet. The chiselling of the feathers is exquisite. The figure, from head to foot, measures 7 feet, and stands upon a pedestal 2 feet high and 5 feet wide. It faces the terrace; the hand is uplifted and open, as if in the act of benediction; and this writer supposes it to represent the tutelary genius of the country, wings being the peculiar symbol of ministering spirits.†

Half a mile to the N.W. of this elevation is a low mound, to which the inhabitants of the plain have given the name of the Court of the *Deevs*. It bears evident marks of having formerly been ascended by steps. From the centre rises a perfectly round column, between 30 and 40 feet high, and measuring 10 feet in circumference: it is composed of four blocks of polished marble, the lower one comprising half the height of the whole. As no fragment of a capital is discernible, it has probably been higher. The base is totally buried in the surrounding rubbish. A spacious marble platform supports the column, the square area of which is marked by four pillars, distant from each other 103 feet. Those that denote the N.W. face of the building, are not much dilapidated, but

* Sir Robert calls it a horned mitre, and the lower part of the ornament has certainly the appearance of branching horns, supporting some sort of crown. A very similar head-dress occurs in some of the bas-reliefs in the great temple at Philæ.

† The figure strongly reminded Sir Robert of the descriptions of the cherubim and seraphim in the Old Testament, more especially, Exod. xxv. 18—20; 1 Kings vi. 23—91; and Isa. vi. 1, 2.

the ruinous state of the place alone shewed where the opposite ones had been, by baring their foundations. The most northern of the pair in the best preservation, is composed of three stones surmounted with a sort of cornice, the whole being 15 feet in height. The three stones are all concave on the side facing the N.E.: on the contrary side, is an inscription near the top, corresponding exactly to that found on various parts of these ruins. The other column is much broken, there being only two blocks remaining: its inscription faces the other, looking N.E. * A third mass of marble, in a yet more mutilated state, stands 30 feet in front of these, dividing exactly the middle of the face of the square: its inscription is on the N.W. side. Sir R. K. Porter searched in vain for the trace of a wall that might have connected the corner pillars. "Hence," he says, "I conjecture the place to have been completely open to the air; and, from the loftiness of the centre column, it seems hardly possible for it to have had a roof. In viewing the plain from the elevation of this mound, it appeared one rich velvet of vegetation, without the interruption of the smallest unproductive spot, rendered barren by the fallen rubbish of any decayed stone buildings. I mention this as an extraordinary peculiarity, that, among so many fine ruins, there should be no trace of minor ones between."

Rather more than a quarter of a mile further N.W., rises a solitary square pillar, consisting of two stones, 12 and 8 feet high, surmounted with some broken work like a ledge. The faces of the column are nearly 4 feet wide. In the western face, the stones are hollowed into deep niches; the other three sides are beautifully smooth, and on that to the north is a short inscription of four lines in the arrow-head character,

clear and sharp, and perfectly uninjured. Due north of this, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, is a square tower-like building, supposed to be an ancient fire-temple. It is built of immense blocks of marble; but the extent of the edifice does not seem proportioned to the magnitude of the component parts, each face measuring not more than 9 feet in width, and its height appeared under 50 feet, there being fourteen layers of stones, each measuring 3½ feet. Something like a door marks the north-west front, and the remains of a projecting cornice finishes the top. It bears a general resemblance to the fire-temple at Nakshi Roustam; only the latter is higher and narrower, but the blocks are of the same width.*

At the distance of a quarter of a mile N. E. of this structure, and not far from the road to Mourgaub, is what appears to have been the grandest elevation: to this, the natives have given the name of the *Takht-i-Sulieman*, which we might almost venture to translate, the seat of Cyrus. What now remains, is an elevated terrace or platform of hewn stones, raised nearly to a level with the summit of a rocky hill against which it is built. The materials are of white marble, put together with exquisite nicety, the blocks being carefully "clamped" to each other on their horizontal surface, and beautifully chiselled. The great front, looking N.W., measures about 300 feet in length, and 38 feet 6 inches in height, being formed of fourteen layers of blocks 2 feet 9 inches thick, but varying in length and breadth. The sides of the plat-

* This is the building which Sir W. Ouseley's rustic guides called *Zindan-i-Sulieman* (Solomon's Prison), and which, he says, "was once exactly like the square edifice at Nakshi Roustam." Mr. Morier also remarked its exact correspondence, "in dimension, structure, and ornament," to that fire-temple. See p. 81.

form, from the front to where they touch the hill, measure 293 feet. At the distance of 72 feet from the front, they form a deep recess. This casing has been filled up at the top, so as to form a level area, with pieces of the native rock, a dark limestone. The marble must have been brought from a distance; and on each block, Sir R. K. Porter remarked a peculiar figure, near one of the corners, which he supposes to have been intended to guide the mason in placing them.* This platform, as well as all the other buildings, has suffered much from the rapacity of depredators, who have torn away the masonry to obtain the iron by which it was bound. Wherever this was effected, large holes are left, which the present inhabitants attribute to the footsteps of *devs*. The top of the platform is strewed with fragments of rock from the hill, and is very much sunk in the centre. This Traveller was unable to discover any marble fragments or any traces of either columns or other superstructure. From its position among the heights, and its accessibility on all sides, the idea of its having been a place of strength, he says, is untenable; and on no point of the adjacent cliffs are there any vestiges of fortification. "The hill unquestionably commands the entrance to the plain of Mourgaub, but the strong natural barriers which the mountains present to the south and the north, rendered additional walls unnecessary.†.....

* Mr. Morier says: "The stones are cut into regular squares, with an *ado-relief* upon each: and at the section of the lines which connect the stones, are holes, cut at regular intervals, the purposes of which we could not divine. They might, however, lead to the conjecture, that these walls, like those at Ecbatana, were ornamented with plates of metal."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 110.

† The author supposes this to be nevertheless the spot which Pliny calls the Castle of Pasargadæ, and which was occupied by the magi. But the tomb of Cyrus was within that castle. (Plin. vi. 26.)

Why may we not consider this immense platform as the spot on which the altar, priests, and royal party stood, during the ceremonies of their religious convocation?"*

Sir W. Ouseley thinks, that "the terrace may have supported a wooden fabric, or a pavilion, capable of containing the king sitting in state upon his throne. From such a situation, the monarch would be conspicuous to multitudes of vassals and troops assembled on the subjacent plain, to behold his splendour during the *Nouroze* or other ancient festivals." Had the terrace been intended to support any permanent fabric, there would, probably, be found traces of some reservoir or aqueduct to supply the palace or fort with water, as at Persepolis. When it is considered, that Cyrus was a warrior, accustomed to live in camps; that it is still the custom in this country, to desert, during the heats of summer, the walled town for the tented plain; and that the throne of the present Shah is not unfrequently set up in a moveable pavilion; it will appear, we think, no improbable supposition, that the original design of both the *Takht-i-Jemsheed* and the *Takht-i-Suliman*, was merely to serve as a stage or platform for the pavilion which inclosed the royal throne. The halls of *Chehel-Minar* were the work of after-times. At Mourghaub, no palace appears to have risen upon the spot consecrated by the recollections of the illustrious monarch who here held his state; no sculpture commemorates the scene. The reason is obvious. Pasargadæ does not appear ever to have been a royal residence. In these plains, Cyrus

He may be right, however, in supposing that Pasargadæ was a holy city consecrated to the colleges of the magi, rather than a capital, or the seat of empire.

* Porter, i. pp. 483—508.

encamped, and here he founded a city; but the Persian capital was Persepolis, and the royal residence of his successors was transferred according to the season, at Persepolis, Susa, Babylon, and Echatana. There they had their palaces, as the Pharaohs of Egypt had theirs at Memphis, Sais, or Taphnanes; but of those structures, no more trace remains, than was left by the summer pavilion on the shifting, sandy plain. The tomb and the pyramid remain, the durable land-marks of history, and the speaking moral of the scene.*

Mourghaub † is described by Mr. Morier as a large and pleasant village, with a fort and many inclosed gardens: near it are springs of fine water which irrigate the whole plain. The surrounding hills were covered with vines, and the village itself had an appearance of renovation, surprising to a traveller accustomed to the aspect of ruin and decay which characterises Persian scenery. Its walls had been repaired, and new houses here and there rose conspicuous. The district had, for nearly 600 years, been in the possession of a family of Arabian origin, whose chief, Aga Khan, still maintained himself in his

* With regard to the identity of Mourg-aub and Pasargadæ, Sir Robert K. Porter remarks, that the latter was in the vicinity of the Kûr or Cyrus; that, according to Pliny, it was to the east of Persepolis, and Mourg-aub is much to the N.E. of the plain of Merdasht; that, after Alexander had taken possession of the capital, the city of Cyrus fell into his hands; yet, in his subsequent march to Echatana, in pursuit of Darius, he passed through Pasargadæ, which must therefore have been northward of Persepolis. These circumstances, taken in connexion with the inscriptions, seem to be decisive of the true situation of the city of Cyrus.

† *Murgh*, Sir W. Ouseley informs us, denotes in Persian, the verdant herbage with which the plain is covered; hence, *murgh-zar* signifies pasture-land. This word, pronounced *morgh* and compounded with *ab*, water, gives the name of the village. But the plain itself bore, in the thirteenth century, the name of Cilin. Mourghaub is also the name of a river and district in Khorasan.

government. To this circumstance, and to the superiority of the Arab character over the Persian, this Traveller is disposed to attribute the comparative prosperity of the district. In the neighbourhood of Moorgaub are lead mines; and the son of the Aga informed Mr. Morier, that a *mann* (7½ lbs.) of the ore was worth 20 *abassees* (about 8*s*). Mourgaub is about five miles from the ruins. Several other villages are scattered round the plain, which, when Sir R. K. Porter travelled, was "in the most fruitful cultivation." *

A very bad road, with three rough *kutels* or mountain passes, leads from Moorgaub to Ghazioon, a distance of about twenty miles. At twelve or thirteen miles, the route crosses the river *Beni Arus*. Near Ghazioon are remains of another mud-built "Red Tower," ascribed to Bahram Gour.† Ghazioon is in the *boolook* of Kongoari, which contains thirteen villages. The temperature here is sensibly cooler, and indicates a much more elevated region. A mountain called the *Koh Kasr Yakoub*, is to be seen from the village, on which are said to be many ruins, but Mr. Morier supposes them to be only Mohammedan. Another mountain, called the *Koh Khourgoon* from a village of that name, rises above all the rest, its summit being composed of a number of small conical hills.

The next day's stage (following Sir G. Ouseley's route) is to Deloonazer, situated also in the cold region, distant fifteen miles N.W. Not quite half way is the village of Kishlook, watered by a little

* On his way, this Traveller started a serpent 5 feet long, its head extremely small, the thickest part of the body about the diameter of a gun-barrel; the colour of the belly, a pale yellow; the back, black, with bright green stripes. He saw, also, several tortoises.

† His yellow villa (*Khánh-i-Zard*) is seen in the neighbourhood of Asepás; and his Green Tower is between Shiraz and Zergoon. See p. 3.

brook of good water, and surrounded with some cultivated spots;* and at no great distance, an extensive burying ground, with three lofty domed tombs, indicates that a considerable town once stood in this neighbourhood. Near Deloonazer is a stone gateway, which the peasants declared to be thousands of years old; but Sir W. Ouseley believes it to be part of a modern edifice.

The plain in which this village stands, is of great extent. On leaving it, the route led next day through a succession of mountain dells, each with its stream, terminating in a rugged and formidable defile called *Teng-Asseri*, which opens into the plain of Ekleed. For the last three hours of the stage, the road lies between immense mountains of granite and marble; and after the constantly sterile appearance of this tract, the contrast is most striking which is presented by the rich landscape that Ekleed affords. From a thick wood of walnut, plane, willow, poplar, pinaster, and various fruit-trees, rise, in very picturesque forms, the towers of four different forts. On entering the town, Mr. Morier says, "we were as much surprised as delighted to observe trees of great size spreading their branches into the most beautiful forms, and giving shade to delicious spots, watered by clear rivulets that flow in all directions. The principal stream takes its rise at about a mile to the S.W. of the inhabited part of the wood, and issues in a considerable

* From Ghaticon to Kishlook, the road lies through a long, narrow hollow in the plain, which extends nearly to Deloonazer; it affords good arable and pasture land; the surrounding plain is arid and sandy. Mr. Morier noticed here several curious birds, particularly one which abounds throughout the northern provinces, called in Turkish *kabora-kuru*, in Persian *siah-sinah*, both meaning black-breast. They fly in flocks, and are good eating. See the description in Morier, ii. p. 125.

volume at once from under a rock overshadowed with trees. It is full of fish, and its existence is attributed to a miracle worked by their prophet. The whole spot, fishes and all, are regarded as sacred; for, without it, indeed, Ekleed would be a desert. This place, as well as Ghazioun and Deleomazer, are under the government of the same Arabian family that rules Moorghaub."* The distance from the last *munzil* was twenty-eight miles.

Ekleed (pronounced Keleel) contains a mosque, a caravanserai, and public baths, and is ranked by the native geographers among the chief towns of Fars, being the head town of a district comprehending ten or eleven dependent territories. Of these, the principal is Surmeh, once a flourishing town, but now reduced to a collection of huts within a square mud fort, surrounded by ruins indicating its original extent. Its name is remarkable as being the same as that of the *collyrium* used for tinging the eye-lids; but, whether the *surmeh* is found in the neighbourhood, we are not informed. To the northward of the fort are remains of an old castle, surrounded with a ditch, and containing a number of vaulted chambers and subterranean inlets. It is ascribed to King Bahram, but Mr. Morier believes it to be of later date.†

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 182. The spring is named *Chushmeh-i-Peighamber*, Prophet's Fountain.

† Morier, vol. i. p. 150. The Author passed through this place in his first journey. From Moorghaub, he proceeded over the hills nine miles, to the caravanserai of *Khauck Kergoon*, near which is a bridge over a river running west; and thence, sixteen miles further, to the caravanserai of *Delleed*; performing the twenty-five miles in seven hours and a half. The country is bleak, naked, and arid; and in winter, the snows have sometimes impeded the progress of travellers for forty days together. Near Delleed (*Deyh-i-bid*, the village of willows), is an artificial mound, covered with foundations of what was once, probably, its castle.

The next day's stage was to Abadah, distant five *farsangs* (eighteen miles and a half). This must once have been a considerable place, as the plain, for several miles in its vicinity, is covered with walls, vestiges of gardens, and ruins of mud-built houses. The present population is all enclosed within a square fort. It is surrounded with gardens, from which some good fruit is sent to Shiraz; but water is scarce, the irrigation being carried on by *kanauts*.* From this place to Shurgestoon, the next stage, a distance of twenty miles and a half, the road continues good, running over a plain, bounded on each side by barren, insulated mountains, which rise abruptly in the most extraordinary forms. The little fort, mosque, and caravanserai of Shurgestoon (Shoolgherstán) are seen six miles before they are reached. The plain is of gravel lightly mixed with earth, producing nothing but thistles and soap-wort: near the village, which is supplied with water by *kanauts*, there are some signs of cultivation. The road continues over the same gravelly soil till within two miles of Yezdikhanst, the

(See Ousseley, vol. ii. p. 453, *note*). The next day, Mr. Morier travelled fourteen miles to the caravanserai of *Khonch Khorreh*. From this place, it is a stage of six *farsangs* (N. 40° W.) or five hours forty minutes, to Surmeh; a fine hard road leading to it along the right extremity of a plain. The next day, the road and bearing being similar, this Traveller, in four hours, reached Abadah. In this depopulated region, the immediate cause of devastation is said to have been, the long wars between the Zund and the Kujur families, of which it was the scene.

* Abadah is watered by the Kour, or, as Sir W. Ousseley says it is there called, the Pulvar. About a mile to the westward is Koosh-kat, which Sir Robert K. Porter made his halting place instead of Abadah. He describes it as "an extensive village with a small fortress in the centre, round which the low flat-roofed houses cluster within an outward line of embattled walls. Gardens surround it, and umbrageous trees: and an abundant supply of delicious water flows through every street."

next stage; distance nearly 21 miles. The mountains gradually dwindle to hills, seeming to form a termination to this long plain, by throwing themselves in lessening forms across it. They continue barren, brown, and inhospitable, without a shrub to enliven their rugged masses. The situation of Yezdikhaust is very singular, and its appearance is thus described by Mr. Morier.

"We could perceive the town of Yezdikhaust a long time before we reached it, and supposed, therefore, that it was situated at the foot of the eastern hills, on the same plain as that on which we were travelling. Our surprise was of course excited, to find ourselves on a sudden stopped by a precipice in our route. From its brow, we overlooked a small plain beautifully watered by a variety of streams, and parcelled out in every direction into cultivated fields and gardens. The country which we had crossed, was unbroken by the labours of the ploughman: here, his industry was displayed, and richly rewarded. We had seen scarcely one scanty rill: here, water meandered in profusion. And though this little spot was now stripped of its verdure, and chilled by the gloom of winter, the contrast between cultivation and a desert was still striking and cheerful. This valley is like a large trench excavated in the plain. It is five miles long from E. to W., and about 300 yards broad in the line where we crossed, but the breadth is unequal. At the eastern extremity, on the brink of the precipice, hangs the town of Yezdikhaust. Its situation is most fantastical; and its mean and ill-defined houses appear at first sight to belong to the rocks on which they rise, and which, in varied and extravagant masses, surround the valley. The substance of the rock is soft. Beneath it is a caravanserai, an elegant

building, erected nearly 200 years ago by a pious queen of the Sefi race. It is still in good repair. On the verge of the precipice is a small mosque built by the same queen, and, around it, a burial place. To the east,* over a rude draw-bridge, is the entrance to the town, which, without the use of cannon, seems almost impregnable. It is there an isolated rock, connected with the others around only by this bridge." †

The rock upon which the town is built, is a conglomerate, consisting of rounded pebbles of quartz, serpentine, and limestone, united by a calcareous cement. The surrounding soil seems impregnated with iron. At the foot of the rock are an immense number of subterranean chambers excavated in the side of the cliff.‡ The valley or ravine which it overlooks, has all the appearance, Mr. Fraser says, of having once been the bed of a mighty river. He estimates its depth at 150 feet, and its breadth at 200

* "The approach is inaccessible, except by a draw-bridge at the north-west side, which is thrown over a deep ditch, and allows communication between the place and the valley. The rock on which it stands, is perpendicular on all its faces, presenting a very grand object, surmounted with this embattled town."—Fraser, vol. i. p. 456.

† Morier, vol. i. p. 133.

‡ Alexander, p. 144. Colonel Johnson says: "There are caverns in the rocks, 60 feet below the houses of the fort, inhabited by many families; among them are several shops. Along the rocky sides of the valley, to the distance of half a mile from the fortified village, there are similar caverns: they were doubtless originally intended for burial-places. The rocks here are all amygdaloidal, and composed of stones and gravel indurated into one mass of various colours, blue, red, yellow, and white: some of the more compact parts are of a bluish tint, and apparently limestone: they are traversed by ramifications of a milk-white substance, of nearly the same degree of hardness. Tombstones are made of this substance, which, if polished, would appear like marble."—Johnson, p. 92.

yards. "I learned," he adds, "that the road to Yezd lies for three days in the same hollow, running eastward; and that it can be traced for a great way further in the same direction across the salt desert. A ravine thus cut in the alluvial soil of a great valley, certainly suggests the agency of water; yet, at present, although a petty rill does run in a smaller hollow in its bottom, it is so far from being equal to a work like this, or even to overflow its banks in the time of floods, that the cultivation of the village is entirely in the bottom of the great ravine. I was informed of a tradition which exists in the country, that a great river, navigable for boats, once did occupy this ravine, taking its rise in the Buktiaree mountains, and running eastward till it joins the lesser Jeyhoon. Like all traditional stories of the sort, it is connected with miraculous agency: in this case, Solomon and the *deevs* are pressed into the service. It is, however, of some interest, for appearances strongly support the idea, that this was once the channel of a river." *

Yezdikhaust (Yezid Khaust) is situated in lat. 31° 31′ 4″ N., long. 52° 17′ 24″ E. It may be considered as the frontier town of Fars, although the actual boundary between Fars and Irak is some miles further northward.‡ Before the Affghan conquest, it was a

* Fraser's Khorasan, p. 117. How, in a course not exceeding 70 or 80 miles at most, the supposed river could have attained a size navigable for boats, which no other Persian river can boast of, the Writer admits to be a difficulty; but the subject merits attention.

† Most travellers have represented this ravine as the boundary or "valley of division;" but Hamdallah, the Persian Geographer, describes Yezdikhaust as belonging to the *Sardsir* (cold region) of Fars; and the Isfahan government begins at Muksood-beggee, 24 miles further N., the boundary line being nearly intermediate.—See OUSELEY, vol. ii. pp. 431, 2.

place of some consequence, but it has never recovered from the effects of the devastation spread by those barbarians. The houses are generally of three stories, with small staircases and galleries. There is here an ancient church, in which is preserved a round piece of marble resembling the sun, which had been an emblem worshipped by the Sabians. In the extensive burial-grounds in the vicinity of the town, are many sepulchres on which are sculptured a lion and a sword, denoting them to be the graves of *pahlwans* or heroes. The bread of Yezdikhaust has obtained a proverbial celebrity among the most excellent productions of Persia. It is a common saying: "*Shirâb e Shiraz; noon e Yezdikhâst; zan e Yezd*" wine of Shiraz; bread of Yezdikhaust; women of Yezd.*

The summer road from Shiraz to Yezdikhaust was followed by Sir Robert Ker Porter in returning to Isfahan; it is described also by Mr. Fraser and Lieut. Alexander. The first stage, as has already been mentioned, is to the village of Futeabad; a distance of 5 *farsangs*. The next stage, between 6 and 7 *farsangs*, leads to Mayan, a considerable town. The road, at first, lies W.N.W., and, at six miles, enters a narrow valley running W. for two miles, at the end of which the Bundemir is crossed by a noble stone bridge of

* Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 459. Alexander, p. 165. A horrible tragedy was acted at Yezdikhaust in 1779. Zuckee Khan, who seized the government on the death of Kurreem Khan, (see vol. i. p. 214,) entered this place in his march to Isfahan, and demanded a large sum of money of the magistrates. On their declaring their inability to comply with his demand, he ordered twenty of the principal inhabitants to be thrown down the precipice. One of the wretched victims survived, and was living in 1810. (Porter, vol. ii. pp. 26—30.) On his proceeding to issue further orders of a similarly atrocious nature, his own body-guard, disgusted at his cruelty, despatched him with their daggers.

several arches. Near the western extremity of this valley, rises a very lofty, insulated mountain, flat-topped, and precipitous on every side, which the natives called *Kala Gul-aub*, the fortress of rose-water.* The road, turning northward, then winds along the foot of beautiful hills, below which are extensive rice-grounds; and after crossing two streams, conducts to Mayen, which is romantically situated in a "circus of rocky steeps." †

The name of this town, according to Chardin, signifies fish, and has been given to it on account of the abundance of fish which is found in its waters at certain seasons. "It is," he says, "a very delicious place. There are rivulets of the clearest and sweetest water in the world, and flowing in such quantity, that the place is as it were inundated during seven or eight months; and its territory is more than two leagues in extent. It is full of gardens which bear the most excellent fruit, especially grapes and pomegranates, of which the inhabitants have sometimes given me some as large as the head of an infant. I have not any where seen finer pomegranates. They are later at Mayen, as well as all the other fruits, by three months, than at Isfahan, and four months later than at

* "I had first seen it," says Sir Robert K. Porter, "from the ruins of Persepolis, rearing its scarred head pre-eminent in rugged wildness, among the varied and less savage aspects of the hills which form a natural bulwark behind those beautiful remains." This is, perhaps, the castle of Shekesteh. See p. 87. Lieutenant Alexander, however, says: "We passed a good bridge, near the ancient and impregnable fort of Istakhr."

† "It is 15 leagues from Mayn to Shiraz by the ordinary route, the first eight of which are through the plains of Persepolis. You enter upon them on going out of Mayn, and, at the end of three leagues, pass the river Araxes, after having crossed another large river, which they call *Chabaroon*, and another smaller stream, which is without name."—CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 88.

Kashan. In the neighbourhood of this town, some Persian authors maintain, was the country and habitation of Job, where he endured that sharp temptation which has become one of the most remarkable examples of patience. The notion does not appear to me absurd. The country affords abundance of sheep, horses, oxen, and asses, in which chiefly consisted his great wealth, and which are not found, at least to an equal degree, in the other places which have been taken for the land of Uz." * We do not imagine that Job was ever in Persia, any more than King Solomon; but certain it appears, that Mayen is a highly favoured spot; far superior, Lieut. Alexander says, to the usual character of Persian towns; well watered, well shaded, and surrounded with gardens abounding with fruit. The thermometer at noon, on the 29th of July, rose to only 80°.

The next day's stage leads N.W., through another narrow valley, bounded by craggy mountains, to Imám Zadeh Ismael; a village which takes its name from the tomb of a saint. The road is extremely bad, over rough, loose stones; but the valley is adorned with groves of wild almond, hawthorn, and mulberry-trees, intermixed with large bushes bearing a flower resembling lavender. The village has an unusually comfortable and flourishing aspect; the southern face

* Chardin, Ann. III. p. 97. We have thought it worth while to copy the above passage for the sake of the Author's description of the country; but, as to his notion which makes the Persepolitan plains to be the land of Uz, his reasoning is worthy of his authorities. Uz has been placed in Trachonitis, near Damascus; in Cele-Syria; in Moab; on the Jabbok; on the Orontes; and about the sources of the Tigris. See CALMET's Dict. Uz. It is clear, however, from Lam. iv. 21, that it was in Idumea or Arabia Petræa; and it may be inferred from Jer. xxv. 20—23, that it bordered on Egypt and Philistia.

of the mountain behind it, is clothed with the vine, and every little sheltered spot has been cultivated, although the only water is from wells. "We were surprised," says Sir R. K. Porter, "at finding the women not only walking about in freedom, but completely unveiled, and mixing promiscuously, in discourse or occupation, with the male inhabitants; neither did they retreat on our near approach. Their features are regular, with dark complexions and large fine eyes; and their figures are good, with a general appearance of cleanliness, a grace not very common among the lower classes of Persia. The chief cause of such humble affluence and manifest content lies in the sacred village being exempt from tribute of any kind; and the prince-governor of Shiraz pays a yearly sum of forty *tomauns* towards the repair and decoration of the Imaum's tomb." The exemption from taxation which this village enjoys, is in virtue of its being the residence of ten families of *seieds* or descendants from the prophet. They are not even obliged to furnish the *soorsaut*; that is, provisions and lodging for travellers attended by a *mehmoundar*, which all the places on the line of route are bound to do. It is not easy to account for the *Frankish* manners which seem to prevail here: holy cities have generally a bad moral character.

From this place, the route lies along the valley for three miles, and then, taking a direction due N., ascends for two hours a very steep and rugged *kootul*, at the top of which is a *sukkoot*. The descent is not less steep and perilous. It leads through a glen and gently sloping plain, into the extensive vale of Oojan, the favourite hunting-field of Bahuram Gour. The village of Oojan, distant four *farsangs* from the last *munzil*, is now deserted and in ruins. A caravan-

seral is the only accommodation which remains. The villagers, Mr. Fraser informs us, were so oppressed by the exactions of Government and by the demands for *seersaut*, that, a few years ago, they removed further up the valley, to a small hillock, which they fortified.* The plain affords excellent grazing, and the prince-governor occasionally sends here his brood mares: it was now spotted with the black tents of the Eelauts. Near the deserted village, a narrow stream is crossed by a bridge of nine arches, and the road runs along the eastern side of the vale, three *fersangs*, to Aspas.

This is now a collection of wretched huts straggling round the foot of an artificial mound crowned with the ruins of an old fortress. During the reign of the Sefi monarchs, it was a flourishing manufacturing town and military station. Shah Ismail colonized it with Christian families from Georgia, and Shah Abbas placed a strong garrison here, which, with the government of the surrounding district, he entrusted to the chivalric Sir Anthony Sherley. The place is remarkable on another account. Here is the fatal pool or spring in which Baharam Gour was engulfed. Two serjeants, who accompanied the last mission of Sir John Malcolm, lost their lives in the same place. "The pool," Lieut. Alexander says, "seems to be of considerable depth, but there is only a small part free from sedges and flags." The whole plain abounds in springs, some hid under marshy ground, and others opening into pools or streams; but

* Fraser, p. 113. The oppressions occasioned by the abuse of the custom of *seersaut*, which has originated in ancient hospitality, have led to the total abandonment of many villages in the line of its operation, and whole districts have gone gradually to decay. Hence, neither the state of the country nor the manners of the natives, can be fairly estimated by the appearance of things on the great routes.

it is supposed, that all their sources communicate at a great depth. Antelopes and mountain-goats may be seen scouring the plain in herds; partridges and various species of water-fowl are numerous; also, a beautiful bird, between the bustard and the pheasant in size, covered with a brilliant silvery plumage, the wings tipped with jet black; it is called the *hoborrah*.*

From Aspas to the caravanserai of *Kiosk-i-zurd* (yellow palace),† the next stage, is five *farsangs*. The route leads over the mountain above Aspas, by a rocky narrow pass, in a general direction of N. 45° E. At the end of two hours, it opens into a fine upland pasture tract, stretching away far to the S.E., where it is said to join the vast arid plain of Deloonaser. For twenty miles, Sir R. K. Porter says, neither village nor hut appeared; they met no human being; saw no animal of any kind; and neither the chirp of a bird nor the hum of an insect, broke the silence of this dreary region. The next stage, to *Deh-i-Girdoo* (village of walnuts), leads through a succession of glens between low, rocky hills, over nearly the highest ground in this part of the empire; distance seven *farsangs* (twenty-eight miles). The road, for several *farsangs* more, winds through rocky defiles; and there is a formidable pass, called *Kootel Nakshi Khanah*, defended by a *rahdari*.‡ At length, at the end of seven *farsangs* (thirty miles), or eight hours, the traveller arrives at Yezdikhaust.

* Porter, vol. ii. p. 13, 19. Alexander, p. 143.

† Sir R. K. Porter writes it *Koosh Kizer*; Mr. Fraser, *Khoosh-keezurd*. It takes its name from one of Baharam Gour's hunting-seats, which was near the village.

‡ *Rah-dar* means, literally, keeper of the road (or pass).—Fraser, p. 116. These are, properly, police-stations or guard-houses.

After passing these heights, a change is very observable, Mr. Fraser says, in the scanty and now dry vegetation of the valleys. The liquorice-plant, which covers the plain of Merdasht, the tamarisk (gez), found near the water-courses, and the thorny plants which sprinkle the mountains in the same district, now give way to various aromatic herbs, among which a species of very fragrant rue is most abundant. A peculiar sort of thistle, and various papilionaceous plants, some dwarfish black-thorn, and a few smaller herbs, are found not only on the plains, but even on the rocky and splintered sides of the hills. The most interesting production is the oshurk, the plant yielding the gum-ammoniac, which grows in great abundance on the plains of Yezdikhaust. It resembles fennel or hemlock, growing to the height of from three to six feet, with a rich dark-green leaf.* This plain, which extends all the way to Koomishah, presents a melancholy picture of the general declension of the national prosperity. Ruins of large villages

* The best description of this curious plant, which, according to Mr. Fraser, is of the *pentandria* class, is to be found in Col. Johnson's "Journey from India to England," p. 93. Some of the stems, he says, are of a dark colour, "like sugar-cane," and others of a light green, tinged with lake near the joints. It bears leaves only on the joints near the ground, and they diminish in size at every joint. The fifth joint has a long single branch of flowers, proceeding out of a long sheath or spathe. Towards the latter end of June the lower leaves turn yellow, and the plant becomes ripe; but, in the month of May, while the plant is soft, an insect of the beetle kind begins to puncture the stem in every direction. As the stem shrinks and dries, a milky juice exudes from these punctures, and flowing down, indurates near the joints, "like wax on a candlestick," whence it is gathered by the natives about the latter end of July. The quantity collected from each plant is somewhat less than a pound. It is, probably, the same plant that abounds in some parts of Arabia, called by the natives *oshsar*.—See Mod. Trav., *Arabia*, p. 175.

with the skeletons of caravanserais, are thickly scattered about, "telling of better times;" and the whole plain is dotted over with the small mounds which indicate the course of *kanauts*, once the source of fertility and wealth, now all choked up and dry.* At seven hours (24 miles) from Yezdikhaust, is the ruinous village of Muksoodbeggee, remarkable only for its large pigeon-house,—a round tower 50 feet high.† "Nearly intermediate between these places," says Sir W. Ouseley, "were the remains of a considerable town, called Aminabad, situate on the line now supposed to divide the province of Fars, or *Persis*, from *Irak Ajemi*, Parthia or Media. And here began the jurisdiction of the *Amin-ed-deulch*, or chief of the Isfahan government. We saw a few people in the mud-built castle, and some wretched families that seemed to occupy half-ruined hovels near the *Rebát*, or Caravanserai *Mader-i-Shah*; so denominated from its founder, the mother of Shah Abbas."‡

Koomishah (written Ghomesha, Comicha, Komesha,

* Fraser, p. 118.

† "Persians never eat pigeons: they are kept in these immense dove-cots for the sake of their dung, which is used in the melon-grounds. All the way to Isfahan from hence, and round that city, pigeon-towers are to be seen in every direction; but most of them are now tenantless."—ALEXANDER, p. 146. "Another use of the dung in older times," Sir R. K. Porter says, "was to extract saltpetre for the purpose of making gunpowder." ii. 451. The dung of pigeons is the only manure used in Egypt.—See MOD. TRAV., *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 2.

‡ Ouseley, ii. 451. Col. Johnson was agreeably surprised (in 1817) to find, that very great progress had been made in rebuilding this village on a very judicious plan. Only seven years before, it was a flourishing town. The new buildings had been erected within the three last years by the patriotic governor of Isfahan. "Five miles to the westward is the fine town of Isferjoon, which, as it abounds in water, and has superior advantages of security, has become populous."—JOHNSON, p. 94, &

Komalshah, Kumsheh, by different travellers), a stage of four *farsangs* (15½ miles) from Muksoodbeggee, once bore the rank of a city, and is still a large and flourishing place. Sir R. K. Porter describes it (in 1818) as extensive but deserted, and tumbling to pieces in every direction, its walls and towers dilapidated; and after passing through its lofty gate, he traversed a long line of bazars without meeting an individual. It presented the same appearance to Mr. Fraser three years after.* It was ruined by the Affghans; and when, more recently, it was beginning to recover some degree of prosperity, the rapacity of the governor, Kassim Khan, plunged the people again into misery. Since then, however, the government has been transferred to the hands of the *Sudr Ameen*; and when Lieut. Alexander passed through in 1824, the walls and bastions were in excellent order, and the surrounding country was in high cultivation.

The next stage is to Mayar (Mahyar), a distance of five *farsangs* (19 miles or six hours); throughout which, says Sir W. Ouseley, "we did not see any wells, streams, houses,† trees, or human creatures.

* "It is difficult to conceive anything more complete than the desolation which now reigns there: we were led through narrow lines of ruined and fallen houses and long-deserted bazars that seemed endless: all of mud, it is true, but which once must have sheltered numerous inhabitants. Our conductors seemed to take a pride in parading these relics of departed prosperity before us, for we thought they would never have brought us to the spot still occupied by human beings."—Fraser, p. 116. Sir R. K. Porter states, that the whole way from the tomb of Shah Reza to Koomishah, "a tract four miles in extent," was a continuation of devastated habitations. The tomb, however, is only a mile and a quarter N.N.E. of the town.

† Sir R. K. Porter mentions, however, the extensive village of Lela on one side of the road, and, at two *farsangs* from Mayar, a walled mill.

The plain was studded with many insulated rocks or small mountains, of conical or pyramidal shapes." At Mayar, the limestone rock disappears, and the hills are composed of red sandstone. Sir R. K. Porter describes it as a considerable village in a well cultivated valley, three or four miles in width, bounded by sterile mountains of the wildest forms. The country around looked cheerful from its planted fields and gardens, but the ruined villages seen at every turn, destroyed every pleasurable feeling. Chardin describes the plains between Mayar and Koomishah as the most fertile that can be seen; "covered, from the middle of March to the middle of November, with flowers, flocks, corn, fruit, vegetables, and other good things of the earth." * From this state of fertility and beauty, they would seem miserably to have declined.

A disagreeable stage of nearly 24 miles, leads over the mountains to the village of Isfahanek. A dangerous *kotal* intervenes, called the Pass of *Ourtchini*; but the worst parts may be avoided by a little circuit, making the stage about 23 miles. † Isfahanek (little Isfahan) was, in Chardin's time, a mile in extent. A little beyond it, is passed an inconsiderable round fort, but with a very broad and deep wet ditch, which Lieut. Alexander calls Old Isfahanek. "Inconsiderable as it seems," he adds, "this place was defended successfully against the Affghans, and more recently held out for several months against the whole Persian army," under Hussein Koolee Khan, the brother of the present Shah, who made a feeble effort to dispute the throne. From Isfahanek, it is reckoned three *farsangs* (eight miles) over a range of hills, to

* Chardin, iii. 36. † Ouseley, ii. 456.

ISTAMBAT

the capital of Irak, which, during the brilliant reign of Shah Abbas, who transferred thither the seat of empire from Cazvin, ranked as the metropolis of the empire.*

ISFAHAN.

"NOTHING can exceed," we are told, "in beauty and fertility, the country in the vicinity of Isfahan; and the first appearance of that city" (approaching it from the S.) "is very imposing. All that is noble meets the eye; the groves, avenues, and spreading orchards with which it abounds, concealing the ruins of this once famed capital. A nearer view, however, dispels the illusion; but still, much remains of wealth, if not of splendour." † "The approach to the southern side of the city," Sir R. K. Porter says, "is infinitely more magnificent than the entrance on the north. Among the first objects that struck our eyes in the present view, were the numerous noble bridges, each carrying its long level line of thickly-ranged arches to porch-like structures, some fallen into stately ruin, others nearly entire, but all exhibiting splendid memorials of the Sefi race. These bridges, once the scene of many a glorious cavalcade, were still, though deserted, unimpaired. All spoke of the gorgeous, populous past.....We entered the southern gate of the town, and immediately came out into one of those umbrageous avenues of trees, which render the interior of Isfahan in this quarter a very paradise. It terminated at the great bazar of Shah

* Sir W. Ouseley estimates the whole distance from Shiraz to Isfahan, by way of Meerghaub, at 247 miles. By the summer route to Yezdikhaust, Hamdallah makes it 70 *farsangs*, equal to about 210 miles: viz. 44 *farsangs* to Yezdikhaust, and 26 thence to Isfahan.—OUSELEY, ii. 457.

† Sketches of Persia, vol. i. p. 250.

Abbas, the whole of which enormous length of building is vaulted above to exclude heat, yet admit air and light. Hundreds of shops, without inhabitants, filled the sides of this epitome of a deserted mercantile world, and having traversed their labyrinths for an extent of nearly two miles, we entered the *Maidan Shah*, another spacious theatre of departed grandeur. The present solitude of so magnificent a place was rendered more impressive by the distant echoing of our horses' footsteps, as we passed through its immense quadrangle to the palace that was to be our temporary abode." *

The city presented a very different spectacle when Mr. Morier entered it, in 1809, in the suite of the British envoy, Sir Harford Jones; and we shall avail ourselves of his picturesque description of the scene.

"At about four miles from Isfahan, we were met by an advanced party of the inhabitants. As we approached the city, the crowd increased to numbers which baffled our calculation or guess. Although the stick was administered with an unsparing hand, it was impossible to keep the road free for our passage. People of all descriptions were collected, on mules, on horses, on asses; besides an immense number on foot. First came the merchants of the city, in number about three hundred, all in their separate classes. Then followed a deputation from the Armenian clergy, composed of the bishop and chief dignitaries in their sacerdotal robes. They carried silken banners, on which was painted the Passion of our Saviour. The bishop, a reverend old man with a white beard, presented the Evangelists bound in crimson velvet to the Envoy, and then proceeded with his attendant priests, chanting their church service.

* Porter, vol. ii. p. 27.

"When we came into the plain, the city of Isfahan rose upon the view, and its extent is so great east and west, that my sight could not reach its bounds. The crowd now was intensely great, and at intervals impeded our progress. Slowly, however, we were approaching the city, and yet the governor had not appeared. The Envoy intimated, that he would receive no *istakbal* (deputation), unless the governor headed it. Two of the chief men of the place met us, as we arrived at the entrance of a fine, spacious road, between two lofty walls. This was the beginning of the Isfahan gardens, yet the walls of the city itself were still a mile from us. We turned to the left through a narrow porch, which led to a piece of ground planted on one side by lofty *chenar*-trees, and bounded on the other by the beautiful river Zaindehrood. At the extremity of this spot, was a tent. We were told that it had been prepared by the governor for the Envoy, and that he was himself there in waiting. The Envoy stopped his horse, and declared that, unless he was met by the governor on horseback, he would take no notice of him, but proceed to his own tents, and march straight forward to Teheran. This produced the desired effect. The governor came forth, and met us a few paces from his tent, and we then proceeded towards it, and alighted. The place where the tent was pitched, was called Sa-atabad; a pavilion had been built there by Shah Thamas. The tent itself rested on three poles; its sides were of open-worked chintz, and its floor was strewed with carpets, on which were laid out fruits and sweetmeats in great profusion. Chairs of an old fashion, like those in the sculptures at Persepolis, were prepared for us, and we were not put to the inconvenience of pulling off our boots. We were

then served with *kaleoons*, and afterwards with sweetmeats.

"When this ceremony was over, we proceeded along the banks of the Zaiande-rood, on the opposite side of which were rows of firs and ancient pinasters. We saw three bridges of singular yet beautiful construction. That over which we crossed, was composed of thirty-three lower arches, above each of which were ranged three smaller ones. There is a covered way for foot-passengers: the surface of the bridge is paved, and is of one level throughout the whole extent. After we had crossed it, we proceeded through a gate into the *Chahar Bagh*, which is a very spacious piece of ground, having two rows of *chenar*-trees in the middle, and two other rows on each side. The garden is divided into parterres, and copiously watered by the canals which run from one side of it to the other, and which, at regular intervals, are collected into basins, square or octagonal. This fine alley is divided into terraces, from which the water falls in cascades. Of the *chenar*-trees which line the walks, most can be traced to the time of Shah Abbas: and when any have fallen, others have been immediately planted. On each side of the *Chahar Bagh*, are the eight gardens which the Persians call *Hasht-behesht*. They are laid out into regular walks of the *chenar*-tree, are richly watered, and have each a pleasure-house. We were conducted to occupy the best—that, at least, which was in better repair than the others. The rest are in a state of decay, and corroborate, only by the remains of the beautifully painted walls and gilded pannels, those lively and luxuriant descriptions of their former splendour which travellers have given."*

* Formal as the plan of these pleasure-grounds may seem, the

"On the right of the *Maidan*," continues Mr. Morier, "and nearly in the centre of the *Chahar Bagh*, is a college called *Medressé Shah Sultan Hussein*. Its entrance is handsome. A lofty portico, enriched with fantastically twisted pillars, and intermixed with the beautiful marble of Tabriz, leads through a pair of brazen gates, finished with silver, and their whole surface highly carved and embossed with flowers and verses from the Koran. The gates lead to an elevated semi-dome, which opens at once into the square of the college. The right side of this court is occupied by the mosque, which is still a beautiful building, covered with a cupola, and faced with two minarets. But the cupola is falling into decay; the lackered tiles on its exterior surface are all peeling off; and the stairs of the minarets are entirely destroyed. The interior of the dome is richly spread with variegated tiles, on which are invocations to the prophet, and verses of the Koran, in the fullest profusion. I ascended the dome, from which I had but a partial survey of the surrounding country; and that which I did see, was scarcely any thing more than a series of ruined houses and palaces. The other sides of the square are occupied, one by a lofty and beautiful portico, and the remaining two by rooms for the students, twelve in each front, arranged in two stories. These

effect of so many avenues and brilliant rills, Sir R. K. Porter says, is amazingly grand. Through various openings in the wood, the *bosht behesht*, or eight paradises, "appeared glittering, at the bottom of the green slides, and among the foliage, like so many gay pavilions raised by enchantment; but, when we drew nearer, the spell dissolved. We found gorgeous structures, indeed, but of too heavy and discordant a taste. A close inspection reminded me of a cumbrous style of building much in vogue about a hundred and fifty years ago, in Holland and England; a monstrous union of the Grecian with the Saracenic taste."

apartments are little square cells, spread with carpets, and appeared to me admirably calculated for study. Indeed, the quiet and retirement of this college, the beauty and serenity of the climate, and the shrubbery and water in the courts, would have combined to constitute it in my eyes a sanctuary for learning and a nursery for the learned, if it had been in any other country.

"The palaces of the king are inclosed in a fort of lofty walls, which have probably a circumference of three miles. The palace of the *Chehel Sitoon* (forty pillars)* is situated in the middle of an immense square, which is intersected by various canals, and planted in different directions with the beautiful *chenar*-tree. In front is an extensive square basin of water, from the further extremity of which the palace appears beautiful beyond either the power of language or of the pencil correctly to delineate. The first saloon is open towards the garden, and is supported by eighteen pillars, all inlaid with mirrors, and (as the glass is in much greater proportion than the wood) appearing, indeed, at a distance, to be formed of glass only. Each pillar has a marble base, which is carved into the figures of four lions, placed in such attitudes, that the shaft seems to rest on their united backs. The walls which form its termination behind, are also covered with mirrors, placed in such a variety of symmetrical positions, that the mass of the structure appears to be of glass, and, when new, must have

* "We visited the Cheyl Sittoon, or Forty Pillars, which we found to be a most superb palace. It is supported by *twenty* pillars, which, by reflection in the tank, appear as forty, and hence the name is derived. The audience hall is 120 feet long, by 60 broad, and 50 feet in height." JOHNSON'S *Journey*, p. 107. Mr. Morier, however, says, there are only eighteen pillars in the façade; and forty is more probably used indefinitely, as in other instances.

glittered with most magnificent splendour. The ceiling is painted in gold flowers, still fresh and brilliant. Large curtains are suspended on the outside, which are occasionally lowered to lessen the heat of the sun.

"From this saloon, an arched recess (in the same manner studded with glass, and embellished here and there with portraits of favourites) leads into an extensive and princely hall. Here, the ceiling is arranged in a variety of domes and figures, and is painted and gilded with a taste and elegance worthy of the first and most civilised of nations. Its finely proportioned walls are embellished with six large paintings, which, though designed without the smallest knowledge of perspective, though the figures are in general ill-proportioned and in awkward attitudes, are yet enlivened by a spirit and character so truly illustrative of the manners and habits of the nations which are represented, that I should have thought them an invaluable addition to my collection if I could have found time to make copies of them. The colours retain their original freshness.*

"Adjoining to the *Chehel Sitoon* is the harem" (called *Amaroot Noo*, the new palace) "erected by Mahomed Hosseln Khan (the Nizam ad Douleh), and presented by him to his present majesty. From the garden of the *Chehel Sitoon*, an intricate passage leads under an octagonal tower into this new palace, and opens into an oblong square laid out in flower-beds,

* Four of the pictures represent royal entertainments given to different ambassadors during the reigns of Shah Abbas, Abbas II., and Tamasp. The other two are battle pieces. One of these represents a famous exploit of Shah Ismail, who, in the great battle with Soliman, Emperor of the Turks, cut an aga in two before the Sultan. The other represents the victory of Nadir Shah over the Sultan of Delhi. In the banqueting scenes is displayed the most licentious revelry.

straight walks, and basins of water, and surrounded with chambers for women of inferior rank. On the left side of this court, a door opens into a species of green-house called the *Narangistoun*, in which are only young orange-trees. From this, there is but one step into the principal court, one whole side of which is occupied by the king's apartments. The front room is adorned with two portraits of his majesty; there are other pictures, of which the most remarkable represent Timour, Jenghiz Khan, and Jemsheed. The walls are very richly painted with bouquets of flowers, birds, and other animals. The arch which occupies the side facing the great window, is a beautiful composition of glass and painting. The ceiling is highly ornamented; gilded flowers and bright looking-glasses glisten on every side, and give great liveliness to the whole. Behind this is another room, equally well painted: the upper windows are most artfully constructed of plaster, which is pierced into small holes, in figures and flowers resembling lace-work, and admitting a pleasing light. In this room also are portraits, one of which is called the *Shah Zadeh Freng* (European prince): he is represented in our dress of the sixteenth century, in which all the portraits of the Europeans appear, and which is sufficiently explained by the recollection that Shah Abbas had Dutch painters in his pay. The other rooms in this department are similarly decorated and gilded: in some hang portraits of the king, to which the natives, as they approach, all make an inclination of the head. Under the great room are summer apartments excavated in the ground: they are all lined and paved with marble slabs, and water is introduced by cascades, which fall from the ground floor, and refresh the whole range. A passage leads to the bath, which,

though small, is elegant. The domes are supported by columns, *taken from the Armenian church at Julfa.*

"From this court, a passage leads into several others for the attendants; and then into two rooms built by Ashraff, one of the Affghan kings. The latter are, indeed, by no means equal to those which I have already described. They have massive glasses and gildings, and coarse paintings of fruits and flowers, without any representation of the human figure. On the whole, however, we found throughout the palace, much sameness, both in the arrangement of the rooms, and in the distribution of the grounds. In the love of water and running streams, a Persian taste is fully gratified at Ispahan, through which the Zaiande-rood affords, for all their ornamental purposes, an unceasing supply.

"From the interior of the palaces, we ascended the *Ali Capi* gate, which forms the entrance. This gate, once the scene of the magnificence of the Sefi family, the threshold of which was ever revered as sacred, is now deserted; and only now and then, a solitary individual is seen to pass negligently through. The remains of that splendour so minutely and accurately described by Chardin, are still to be traced; the fine marbles remain, and the grandeur and elevation of the dome are still undemolished. A ragged porter opened a small door to the right, by which we ascended to the pavilion where Shah Abbas was wont to witness the games of the *Maidan* and the exercises of his troops. This also is sinking rapidly into decay, and retains nothing to attest the beauties which travellers describe, except the shafts of the wooden columns, some pieces of glass, and some decayed paintings. From this, we ascended by a winding staircase, still

further, to the very summit. Here, as this is the highest building in the city, we enjoyed a most extensive view, and could form a tolerably just idea of its whole extent. Houses, or ruins of houses, are spread all over the plain, and reach even to the surrounding mountains. From this point I took a panoramic view of the whole. There is no difference in the colours of the buildings; they are universally of a light yellow, and, were it not for an abundant intermixture of trees, which, in spring and summer, enliven the scene, the view would be too unvaried. The trees are mostly the *chenar*; but there are, besides, the Lombardy poplar, the willow, and an elm of very thick, rich foliage and a formal shape. The domes of the mosques are a field of green or sometimes blue-lackered tiles, with ornaments in yellow, blue, and red; the inscriptions are in the same colours. They are crowned with a golden ball and a crescent. The mountains which bound the plain eastward, are the most distant; and those to the west are the most strongly marked: all are dark, without any verdure. The general appearance of the soil in the town is light, nearly of the same colour as the houses.

"All the cannon, which, in Chardin's day, were inclosed in a balustrade before the palace, are removed, and not a vestige remains even of the balustrade itself. The *Maidan Shah*, the great public place,* no longer presents the busy scene which it must have displayed in the better times of this kingdom. Of all the trees which surrounded it, there is not one standing. The canals are void of water; the houses which surrounded

* According to Chardin, the great *Maidan* measures 440 paces by 160. Olivier says, about 700 by 230, which agrees with Della Valle. Kaempfer says 660 by 212; Le Brun, 710 by 210; Sir R. K. Porter, 2000 *feet* by 700.

the *Maidan* are no longer inhabited, and the very doors are all blocked up, so that there are only dead arches to be seen all round. The great market, which once spread the whole area with tents, is now confined to one corner near the *Nékara Khanéh*. All the rest is quite empty; scarcely a person is seen to pass along. I saw no traces of the pavilion of the clock, which, in the time of Chardin, so much amused the people by the mechanism of its puppets. The *Mezjid Shah*, or Royal Mosque, is still a noble building, if I might judge from its outside. We did not go further than the iron chain which is thrown across the entrance of its great gate leading into the *Maidan*. The Mezjid of Looif Aly is exteriorly in good repair. The great bazar is entered under the *Nékara Khanéh* by a handsome gate, the paintings on which still exist, but the large clock, the place of which is still seen, is no longer in existence; nor is there any trace of that which was once on the summit. The other side of the gate opens into the fine bazars, formerly called the *Kaiseree*, now the *Bazar Shah*.

"In the bazars, the confluence of people is certainly great; but, as every one in the course of the day has some business in this spot, the rest of the city is comparatively deserted. The north and east divisions are the best inhabited....Considering the state of ruin in which, perhaps, half of Ispahan is at present, we cannot place its actual population at more than 400,000 souls; a calculation which is supported by the accounts of the houses or families, of which there are 80,000."*

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 161—171. Lieutenant Alexander says: "The present population of Isfahan is 250,000;" but he does not give his authority. Sir W. Ouseley doubts whether, in 1811, 200,000 could be found resident in the city: and Mr. Morier himself, in his Second Journey, brings it down to 60,000!

Isfahan (written *Asp-han*, *Spahan*, and *Sepahan* by the native historians) has been supposed to represent the *Aspadana* of Ptolemy, although he places that city in Persis. Ebn Haukal describes it in the tenth century, as consisting of two towns; one called *Yehudiah*; the other, *Medinah* (the city) or *Shahr Minch*. According to another authority cited by Sir W. Ouseley, the ancient town was denominated *Jei*, and is said to have been founded by Iscander (Alexander).* The quarter *Yehudiah* (Judea) is stated to have received its name from a colony of Jews whom Bakhtnasser (Nebuchadnezzar) led away captive from Jerusalem.† Originally, says Hamdallah Cazvini, there were four distinct villages, *Karran*, *Der-i-kûshk*, *Jubareh*, and *Der-i-deshk*,‡ which, when Kai Kobad made this place his capital, were gradually united so as to form a considerable city. One district, the *Shahristan*, called also *Shahr-i-nau* (the new town), was founded, he adds, by Secander, and rebuilt by Firouz, the Sassanian monarch. In the tenth century

* *Jei*, in Pahlavi, signifies pure or excellent.

† "When Bakhtnasser led away captive from Jerusalem the most ingenious artists, they arrived at the spot where Isfahan now stands; and finding that in all the qualities of air and water it resembled their holy city, they chose it for their residence, and established themselves there."—MS. cited in Ouseley, iii. p. 6. An Arabian prophecy is cited by Hamdallah, which intimates, that Dejal, or Antichrist, should come from the Yehudiah of Isfahan.—Ib. p. 5.

‡ In Chardin's time, Isfahan consisted of two principal districts, *Der-i-deshk* and *Jubareh*—tome iii. p. 6. These denominations, Sir W. Ouseley says, yet remain; and that of Yehoodeea still distinguishes the Jews' quarter. The extensive ruins of Shahristan, "once famous for being the residence of the nobles of Ispahan," are found to the eastward of the city. Kherrun (Karran?) is enumerated by Chardin among the suburbs, its name signifying Deaf men, according to a silly legend. *Derikushk* is perhaps "the village of the palace."

of the Christian era, Ruk'n ad Douleh Hassan surrounded the whole with a rampart 21,000 paces in circumference.* Such is the substance of the very meagre and doubtful information furnished by the Mohammedan writers. It is evident that they were ignorant of the meaning of the name, some maintaining that Ispahan was a son of Yafet, and others, that the word implies "the city of horsemen."

Isfahan was in its glory in the reign of Shah Abbas, who built the *Chehel Sitoun*, the *Char Bagh*, the principal bridge over the Zeindehrood, and several other public edifices. The city is said to have contained at that time from sixty-five to seventy thousand families.† No fewer than 1500 villages, according to Chardin, were situated on the adjacent plains within a space of ten leagues. "Of these villages," Sir W. Ouseley says, "several have totally disappeared, or exist only in a state of absolute decay; many, however, still flourish, and continue to supply Ispahan most abundantly with the produce of their fields and gardens." The decline of the city dates from the Affghan invasion, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it sustained a ruinous siege of eight months, during which the adjacent country was laid

* Chardin allowed a circuit of 20,000 paces to the mud walls, as they stood in the seventeenth century.

† Chardin says: "The city of Ispahan, including the suburbs, is one of the largest in the world, and is not less than 12 leagues or 24 miles in circuit. The Persians say, to exalt its greatness, *Sefahon nispe gehon*, Isfahan is half the world.---Many persons carry the number of the inhabitants to 1,100,000 souls. Those who place it the lowest, affirm that it amounts to 600,000. The accounts given me were very various on that point, but they agreed sufficiently as to the number of edifices, which they made amount to 30,249: namely, 23,460 within the city, and 6790 without.---After all, I believe Isfahan to be as populous as London, the most populous city in Europe."—CHARDIN, iii. p. 3.

waste by the barbarous policy of the enemy. The 162 mosques comprehended within the city walls in Chardin's time, are now reduced to sixty, of which only forty were in repair in 1810; the colleges (*medrassehs*) are stated still to amount to 84; the baths, to between 80 and 100.* The city has been greatly improved, within the past twenty years, under the able administration of the *Ameen ad doulah*, who has erected several new edifices, repaired others, re-colonized several of the deserted villages, and materially increased the trade and revenue. But foreign merchants no longer throng its bazars, where the black Persian cap now universally prevails; and the removal of the seat of government to Tehraun, is a circumstance which must greatly affect the prosperity of the city, as well as its political consequence.

The suburb of Julfa has suffered particularly. It was the first part of the city that was taken and sacked by the Affghans. It lies on the southern side of the Zeindehrood, and is now connected with the town only by long tracts of ruins. "Its ten thousand inhabitants," says Sir R. K. Porter, "have diminished to three hundred wretched families, dwindling, every year, both in respectability and numbers.† Its thirteen churches are reduced to two,‡ and those are

* Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 34. Chardin's account makes there to have been within the walls, in 1674, 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravanserais, 273 baths, and 12 cemeteries.—Fraser ii. p. 85.

† According to Kæmpfer, Julfa contained, in 1685, no fewer than 30,000 souls; and in the time of Shah Abbas, it is said to have comprised 3400 houses or families. Sir W. Ouseley supposed that there might be from 250 to 400 families in 1811." A recent census, however, states the Armenians of Julfa at 12,500 souls. See p. 232 of vol. i.

‡ This would seem to be a mistake. Sir W. Ouseley understood, that, of thirteen churches, seven still exist. Mr. Morier says, twelve. Mr. Martyn attended service in the principal Armenian

dark, dirty, and dismal; the mean and even ragged decorations of their altars, according too well with the general air of squalid misery which prevails over the whole district of this now expiring colony." Mr. Morier, however, speaks of the principal church as a fine building, handsomely ornamented inside; "and, what is esteemed a great privilege in Mohammedan countries, enjoys the use of a bell." Lieut. Alexander describes the cathedral as very lofty, its walls adorned with pictures of our Saviour and the apostles, and the saints. The archbishop, "a grave and mild-looking personage about forty-five years of age," joined with his fellow-priests in speaking with much bitterness of some Armenian renegades, who had, a few days before, turned Mussulmans from worldly motives. The Armenians of Persia are now, in fact, a contemned and degraded race, their character having suffered a deterioration corresponding to the decline of their fortunes. Sir R. K. Porter describes them as addicted to fraud in their dealings, to gluttony and drunkenness in their habits; and so low are they sunk, that they do not scruple, he says, to sell their daughters into dishonourable concubinage.* There is a convent here of Armenian nuns,—"a company of ignorant old women," by whom Sir W. Ouseley was treated with

church in 1812, at which were present two out of the four bishops, and other ecclesiastics, but only three persons in the body of the place. He adds: "Most of the Armenians at Julfa, which is now reduced to 500 houses, attended at their respective parish churches, of which there are twelve, served by twenty priests. Julfa had formerly twenty bishops, and about one hundred clergy, with twenty-four churches. All the Armenians can read, and have the New Testament."—Malcolm's *Journal*. Lieut. Alexander speaks of a very ponderous bible in the cathedral, which the Armenians perform long pilgrimages to visit.

* "The children which spring from these temporary unions, are numerous throughout the country, and in a lamentable state."

a favourite cordial, made of arrack saturated with spices. Whether this was reserved for visiters, does not appear. The nuns are dressed from head to foot in a coarse dark-blue cloth, with a leathern belt and naked feet.

The Romish Christians, who were once numerous at Julfa, were reduced, in 1811, to about eighteen individuals. Padre Yusuf, the last of the missionaries of the Propaganda, was the only remaining monk; and he is since dead. His church, belonging to the order of the Dominicans, (of which four or five monks used generally to reside at Isfahan,) was in good repair and good order, clean, and better ornamented than could have been expected; but his circumstances, and those of his flock, were so necessitous that they scarcely knew how to live. Formerly, the Carmelites and the Jesuits had each their church and monastery at Julfa, while the Augustins and Capuchins had theirs within the city itself; but these have long ceased to exist.* In the extinction of these missions, there is nothing to regret. They were adapted to retard, rather than to advance the progress of Christianity in Persia, by identifying it, in the minds of the natives, with an idolatrous worship.

To the south of the city is a desolate tract called the *Hezär-dereh* (thousand valleys), which is said to extend 100 miles from E. to W., and is, in different parts, from 15 to 20 in breadth. It is mostly composed of a slaty soil, and derives its name from the multiplicity of flat and hollow intervals between the barren, insulated mountains which are scattered over the territory of Isfahan. This was the scene, according to Persian legends, of the combats between Roustam and

* Morier, ii. 147. See also Martyn's Journal.

a terrible dragon, to whose poisonous exhalations the barrenness of the soil is ascribed. A mountain to the S.W. of the city takes the name of *Takht-i-Rustem*, from some inconsiderable ruins on its eastern summit, which are said to have been once the throne or palace of that redoubted personage.* "But neither did those remains," says Sir W. Ouseley, "nor the consecration of this rock by the visit of Solomon and his queen,† so strongly interest my curiosity, as the neighbouring mountain on the left, called *Kuh-e-Sefeh*, rendered, by a more probable tradition, almost classic ground; for it is said, that, from a place of security contrived on its steep and lofty side, the unfortunate Darius beheld his troops defeated with prodigious slaughter by the Macedonians under Alexander. Its name is derived from an edifice occupying a terrace on the northern side, facing the city: this terrace forms a seat or resting-place, which may be expressed by the adopted Arabic word Sofa; and the villa erected there, about 150 years ago, by Shah Suleiman, is sometimes styled his *takht* or throne. Le Brun describes it as containing several handsome apartments, shaded by trees of various kinds, and refreshed by a fall of water. Some changes and considerable decay have been occasioned by the lapse of a century. When seen from the *Kabristan-i-Pulad* (Pulad's cemetery) near the gate of the Saadetábád gardens, the edifice seems to fill up a small natural chasm of the mountain, about half way up its side. One tradition indicates this to be the station of Darius; and it is

* These ruins have been delineated by Le Brun.

† King Solomon is said to have transported the fair Balkis, queen of Sheba, to this spot, as the only means of recovering her from a dangerous malady. The Jewish monarch has perhaps been confounded with Shah Suleiman.

sufficiently high to command a very extensive prospect. But other reports exalt the monarch to a more elevated region, and place him where the remains of walls are seen immediately over the summer-house..... An English artillery-man succeeded in ascending to that second stage; he found there only some remains of masonry on a small flat terrace, but he could perceive that the approach had once been rendered more easy by a path, now scarcely passable, which seemed to encircle the mountain in a direction nearly horizontal, exhibiting at some angles the vestiges of a parapet, and of towers on the most prominent parts. We could also discern from our lower situation, that even the very summit had once been decorated or fortified with some building, assigned to Darius by a third account. This likewise relates, that Shah Sulaiman's villa occupied a spot formerly reckoned sacred, as the residence of a dervish, whose cell was in a dark, natural cavity behind an edifice on the left: here, it is said, a fountain of limpid water issued from the rock, overshadowed by majestic planes and cypresses, which, during a succession of 900 years, were held in superstitious veneration. Of those ancient trees, I sought in vain some relic.....With the original trees, the place has lost its sacred character; and during the last century, the villa has been a scene of the most profane merriment and of the grossest debauchery. No longer frequented by its royal owners, it is stripped of its splendid furniture; the doors have been removed; its roof has partly disappeared; and it occasionally serves the profligates of Isfahan as a retreat, where, with their effeminate dancing and singing boys, they enjoy the forbidden delights of wine, and indulge in excesses the most criminal." *

* Ousley, vol. iii. pp. 41—44.

An extensive view of the city is obtained from a small round tower on an elevation to the southward, called *Mil Shatir*. A Kufic inscription round the cupola attests the antiquity of the fabric, which is sepulchral; and the legend to which its name refers, makes it to be the tomb of a royal *shatir*, or footman, who ran from Shiraz to this spot, and died there. *

The easterly environs of Isfahan are neither so flourishing nor so populous as those to the westward; but, at the village of Sheheristan, in the former direction, are remains of a handsome mausoleum with a high minaret, and extensive ruins; also, a bridge over the Zeindehroud. That river, which has its rise in the Baktyari mountains, about 30 or 90 miles W. of Isfahan, flows through the territories of Char-Mehal and Linjan, to the point where it is crossed by the *Pul-i-Chehar-Bagh* (or the Julfa bridge); it then passes close by the palaces of *Hasht-dest* and *Saadetabad*, and, near the gate of *Khaju*, is crossed by another handsome double bridge, called the *Pul-i-Khaju*; thence, it flows eastward to the *Pul-i-Shahristan*; and after watering, by means of *bunds*, the districts of

* The popular story is, that a certain king of Persia promised his daughter in marriage to any one who would run before his horse all the way from Shiraz to Isfahan. One of his *shatirs* had so nearly accomplished his task as to have reached this eminence, when the king dropped his whip. The *shatir*, aware that to stoop would be certain death, owing to the ligatures with which he was girded for the task, contrived to take up the whip with his foot, and carried it to the monarch. This trick having failed, the king dropped his ring. The *shatir* saw that his fate was decided, and exclaimed, "O king, you have broken your word!" he then stooped, picked up the ring, and expired.—Morier, ii. 177. Chardin says, however, that the tower received its name, because all who aspired to the office of *shatir* to the king, were to run from the gate of the palace to this tower, a distance of a league and a half, twelve times and back, between sunrise and sunset.

Berahan, Rudesht, and Varzeneh, "settles on the earth."*

To the westward of the city, there is a considerable village called Guladoon (*Kalehdân*), celebrated for its quinces, but still more famed for its shaking towers. These are two minarets which flank an arched building, the tomb of an *imam-zadeh*. "The miracle was exhibited to us," says Mr. Morier, "by sending boys to the summit of each pillar, who, applying all their force to shake them, made not only the pillars, but the roof of the building below, tremble as sensibly as if they were agitated by an earthquake. We supposed that it proceeded from some defect in the architecture,

* Ouseley, vol. iii. pp. 10—18. The name of this river is of doubtful orthography, and its meaning varies accordingly, serving the natives to play upon. *Zinderhud*, we are told, implies the living stream; *Zalanderud*, the stream that gives life or fertilizes; *Zarinrud*, or *Zarinchrud*, as it is sometimes written, means golden stream; and one meaning of *Zendeh* is great. Various accounts are also given of its source. One authority places it at a spot called Tebakan or Betakan; another at Melkan; a third, at the fountain of Janan; a fourth, at the *Char-chasmeh* (four fountains), about 80 or 90 miles W. of Isfahan; a fifth writer places the source in the mountains of Shamkheh, in the Baktyari country; and a sixth, Hamdallah, traces it to the *Koh Zerdeh* (*Koh-i-zerd*) or Yellow Mountain, in Looristan, and to the territory of *Jui-sarv* (cypress stream), flowing thence through the district of Rudibar. Mr. Kinneir, adopting this statement, adds, that an aqueduct may yet be seen there, near its source, by which Shah Abbas attempted to unite its waters with those of the Karoon. The *baluk* of Linjan is one of the most fertile in Persia; and is covered with villages. It extends about 70 miles E. and W., and 40 in breadth. Among its numerous villages is one called *Peer-bakeran*, about 16 miles W. of Isfahan, which is a place of great resort to the Jews, on account of its containing the tomb of Sarah, a celebrated Jewish matron.—KINNEIR, pp. 109, 10. Hamdallah states, that the Zeindehroud, after a course of 80 *farsangs*, is dissipated or absorbed at *Rovid Sestein*, in the land of Gawkhani; but that some say, it there sinks into the ground, and, after a subterraneous course of 60 *farsangs*, re-appears in Kerman, and reaches the sea.—OUSELEY, iii. 14.

but the Persians were more inclined to attribute it to the saint below."

About two miles from the shaking pillars is a triangular hill, distinctly seen from afar, called the *Atesh Gah* (place of fire). It is composed of several *strata* of rock; and upon its summit are some old buildings, composed of sun-dried brick with layers of reed, which the natives ascribe to the Guebres. This mode of building is undoubtedly ancient, and is the same that prevailed in Babylonia. From this hill, an extensive prospect is enjoyed of the richly-cultivated country on the winding banks of the Zeindehrood. In this part of the environs are numerous pigeon-towers, upon which more care appears to have been bestowed, Mr. Morier says, than upon the generality of the dwellings, for they are painted and ornamented, and have a picturesque appearance. The dung is used almost exclusively for the rearing of melons; and the revenue of a pigeon-house is about 100 *tomauns* per annum; sometimes more.* The pigeons are of a cindery blue. "It is remarkable," says Mr. Morier, "that neither here nor in the south of Persia, have I ever seen a white pigeon, which, Herodotus remarks, was a bird held in aversion by the ancient Persians," —probably as an evil omen.

Isfahan is situated in lat. 32° 39′ 34″ N., long. 51° 44′ 37″ E.† It enjoys the reputation of a very salu-

* The great value of this dung, Mr. Morier remarks, may, probably, throw light upon 2 Kings vi. 25; a passage which has been misunderstood: and the extraordinary flights which may be seen to alight upon one of these buildings, struck him as affording a good illustration of the simile which occurs in Isa. lx. 8. "Their great numbers and the compactness of their mass, literally looked like a cloud at a distance, and obscure the sun in their passage."—Morier, vol. ii. pp. 129—41.

† Fraser, p. 126 of Appendix. Canvini makes the latitude 29° 29′, which is adopted by Kinneir, who makes the long. 51° 30′.

bricous climate, but bilious fevers and agnish complaints are very prevalent on the approach of autumn; and these sometimes assume the character of a virulent epidemic, carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants. The British mission of 1812, arrived in that city in July: the nights were then found pleasantly cool, but the heat, very early in the morning, was considerable. During the first fortnight of August, the thermometer, at noon, frequently rose to 96° or 100°. On the 15th of that month, a violent thunder-storm occurred, (a rare phenomenon in this dry climate,) after which the thermometer sank to 71°, and continued till the end of the month below 89°. This change had been foretold by the natives, whose prognostications concerning the weather, Sir W. Ouseley says, seldom prove fallacious. About the 1st of September, the nocturnal warmth returned, and the thermometer rose in the day to 96°. Great sickness now began to be prevalent. "The excellence of the air of Isfahan," says Mr. Morier, "is a favourite topic with every Persian; but, to our cost, we found it much the contrary, for scarcely one of us escaped without a fever or ague, or, at least, head-ache and bilious symptoms. Our distress commenced with the death of our coachman; our treasurer, an old Armenian, was next attacked with a fever, and brought to the brink of the grave. Almost all the palanquin-bearers, and many of the Indian body-guard, fell ill. The English artillery-men were more or less laid up; and the natives themselves were not more exempt than we.....Although they asserted that they never before experienced such a changeableness in the climate and consequent sickliness, yet, upon closer investigation, we found that it is often the case at the commencement of autumn. They hold fruit to

be unwholesome at that period; but such is their love for it, that they eat it, particularly melons, to excess, to which their sickness may be in a great measure attributed." *

Mr. Fraser was at Isfahan in November. The air was then raw and cold, but occasionally very dry. Heavy clouds threatened snow, which fell on all the mountain tops around. The thermometer, at sun-rise, varied from 28° to 40°: in the day-time, it rose to 50° and 56°. Hoar frost was common; and once, the ice that covered the pools, remained the whole day. Sir R. K. Porter, in May, found the mornings extremely pleasant, and the days not less so; the thermometer in the shade seldom rising above 75°; but the evenings were oppressively close, followed by nights extremely cold and sharp. No dew fell; and on the 31st of May, no fruit was ripe; but both cherries and plums were eaten as a delicacy in their crude state.†

The population of Isfahan are characterised by the Author of Sketches of Persia, as an active, industrious people. "They are considered as the best manufacturers and the worst soldiers in Persia. But, whatever may be their deportment in the field of battle, they are remarkable for the boldness of their language in the field of argument, and have great confidence in their ready wit and talent for repartee....At Isfahan, almost every man above the very lowest order, can read and write; and artisans and shopkeepers are

* Morier, vol. II. pp. 152, 3. Ousley, vol. III. pp. 23, 29. On the first of October, the weather became cool at night and morning. At this time, daily deaths became numerous in the city, many of the young and vigorous falling victims to the illness of a few hours. The trees now began to shed their leaves.

† Fraser, p. 139. Porter, vol. I. p. 443.

often as familiar as those of the higher ranks with the works of their favourite poets. The love of such learning seems, in some of the youth of this city, to degenerate into a disease. These *Talib-col-ilm* (seekers of science), as the students are called, may be seen in crowds round the gates or within the walls of its college, reciting stanzas, or discussing obscure dogmas or doctrines in their works on philosophy or religion; and they often become, from such habits, unfitted for every other pursuit in life. The merchants of Persia form a distinct class. I had now seen those of Abusheher, Shiraz, and Isfahan, and found their general character nearly the same. So long as they have no concern with state affairs, and accept of no employment from government, they enjoy considerable security. The plunder of a merchant, without some pretext, would shake all confidence, and be fatal to that commerce from which a great proportion of the public revenue is derived; the most tyrannical monarchs, therefore, have seldom committed so impolitic an act of injustice. But this class have suffered so severely in the late revolutions of the country, that they continue to act with great caution. They are not only very circumspect in their dealings, but, like wary diplomatists, every merchant has a cipher, known only to himself and his correspondents. By this means, they receive and convey that intelligence which is essential to give safety to their speculations. Some few make a display of their wealth; but in general, their habits are not merely frugal, but penurious. This disposition often increases with age, to a degree that would hardly be credited, if we had not similar instances in our own country." *

* Sketches of Persia, vol. i. pp. 203—7.

The Isfahanians, if not brave soldiers, have the reputation of being great braggarts; and for many centuries, their civic broils have been a frequent source of tumult and even bloodshed. They are divided into two parties or factions, like the "blues" and "greens" formerly at Constantinople, and the Nicolotti and Castellani at Venice. A slight difference of religious opinion is said to have been the origin of this animosity; but Chardin represents it as a strong hereditary jealousy, amounting to antipathy, between the inhabitants of the two quarters of the city,—the *Joubareh Nesmet Olahi* on the east, and the *Derideht Heideri* on the west.* Both parties, however, unite in looking down upon the inhabitants of all other places, as their inferiors; and they have long entertained a peculiar jealousy of the Shirazians, which might be attributed to the preference given to Shiraz by Kurreem Khan, were it not of much longer standing. It is, indeed, reciprocal.†

The manufactures of Isfahan consist of brocades, satins, and silks; calicoes, chintzes, and other cotton goods, manufactured from the plant that grows in the neighbourhood;‡ paper and paper boxes, pen-cases (*kalmdoons*), and book-covers, beautifully ornamented; also, sword-blades, glass, and earthenware, but not in large quantities. There is no regular bazar for books,

* Chardin, tome iii. p. 6. Nesmet Olahi and Heider are said to be the names of two princes or provosts, who formerly divided the whole Persian nation into two parties.

† See vol. i. p. 364; and Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 55, note.

‡ The principal cotton-manufacture is the *kudek*, a strong and excellent cloth resembling nankeen, which is worn by people of all ranks, from the Shah to the peasant, and is exported to Russia, where it is used as the undress of the soldiery. The *kerbas* is another cotton cloth, of which the shirts and drawers of the lower orders are made.

but manuscripts are procured by the *delals* or brokers; and pictures very neatly executed in water-colours, and some in oil on canvas, are daily offered for sale in the bazars. Some of these are of a very licentious description.

The houses of Isfahan are only one story in height, but are composed of so many compartments, that the meanest of them occupy a considerable area. They are built of earth or brick, and their uniformity in height and colour produces a dull appearance. The entrances are generally mean and low: a poor man's door is scarcely three feet in height, a precaution intended to prevent a horseman from entering. A great man's habitation is known by his lofty gate; but the rich merchants have purposely mean entrances to their houses, while the interior is often ornamented with great luxury.* To a stranger, the bazars are the most amusing place of resort: there, he finds a continual concourse of people of all descriptions, especially on Friday, the Mohammedan sabbath. On that day, too, the women may be seen in parties, going to the cemeteries on the skirts of the city, to mourn over the graves of their deceased relatives. Among the public buildings, in addition to those already described, may be enumerated, the octagonal pavilion called the *Kulâh i Frangî* (Frank's hat), or the *Nemek-dan* (salt-cellar), near the *Kahrestan i Pulad*; the *Ayneh Khaneh* (palace of mirrors),—a royal palace built on the plan of the *Chehel-Sitoon*, but on a smaller scale;

* "In Turkey," remarks Mr. Morier, "the vanity of some people is such, that when the building is in itself a small one, they will build a gate to it large enough for a palace; but they generally finish by paying dear for their ostentation. 'He that exalteth his gate, seeketh destruction,' said the wise king (Prov. xvii. 19)."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 136.

numerous mosques; and the once celebrated citadel, called the castle of Tabarrak, the ruined walls of which are now mouldering into heaps of clay, but the thickness and height of some towers and bastions not yet fallen, and the depth of its ample ditch, indicate its former strength and extent. For further details respecting the palaces and pavilions, the gardens and *maidans*, the gates, mosques, colleges, baths, caravanserais, and bridges of this noble capital in the days of its magnificence, we must refer such of our readers as are not already satiated, to the faithful pages of honest Chardin.*

FROM ISFAHAN TO TEHRAUN.

FOLLOWING the route described by Mr. Morier and Sir W. Ouseley, the first stage from Isfahan in the direction of Tehraun, is to Gaz (or Gez), about 16 miles from the city. The road lies over the level plain, which is of a soft and crumbling soil, strongly impregnated with salt, and in parts rendered muddy and swampy by the streams which intersect it. Dikes cut from the Zeindehroud irrigate the whole plain, which is covered with ruins. Near Gez, which is a considerable village, are extensive plantations of melon, cotton, and the castor-plant. Its caravanserai, though falling into decay, is still handsome, a monument of the magnificence of the Sefi monarchs. Seven miles beyond, on the next stage, is a ruined caravanserai of the same style; and nearly opposite to it is a well,

* The following prices of different articles at Isfahan are given by Colonel Johnson:—Rice sells at 3½ rupees per *mound*; candles, 13½; soft sugar, 1 rupee per lb.; mutton, 2½ rupees per *mound*; milk, 1 rupee for seven quarts; eggs, 40 for 1 rupee; chopped straw, ½ rupee per *mound*; barley, 1 rupee per *mound*; wood, one day's fuel, ½ rupee.

to which a path descends, fifty yards in length, excavated on an angle of 45°. It is a spring of fine water, full of small fish. Six miles further, there is a very handsome caravanserai on the right of the road, which, with its baths and reservoirs on the left, was erected by the mother of Shah Abbas. It is built of brick on a foundation of fine blue stone, and is still in good preservation. The front is ornamented with an open brick-work and some neat mosaic, and the portico leading into the square court, is crowned with a superb dome. Behind, are vaulted stables. The hummum is ruined, but the reservoir is still in good repair. From this place, it is five miles, completing a stage of 18 miles,* to Mourcheh Kourd. The road passes over a part of the plain on which Nadir Shah gained his decisive victory over Ashruff, the Affghan monarch.† The soil is hard, in some places argillaceous; and the whole tract of country traversed in this stage, is poor and depopulated.

At Mourcheh-kourd,‡ there is a mud-built castle, with about 200 houses. A handsome caravanserai is seen at the distance of 12 miles N. 15° W., which takes its name from Aga Kemal, an officer of the harem under one of the Sefi princes. The road to it lies over a flat and dreary waste, destitute of houses, trees, or even shrubs. For the next eight miles it crosses a barren undulating tract to a second caravanserai, called *Aakemal* (Aga Kemal) *bálá* (the upper), to distinguish it from the former, *Aakemal páiun* (the

* Sir W. Ouseley makes the distance 21¼ miles: and his distances are generally greater than Mr. Morier's calculation.

† Fought near Mourcheh-Kourd on Nov. 12 and 13, 1729. See vol. I. p. 198.

‡ Mr. Fraser places Moorchacoor in lat. 33° 9′ 25″; long. 51° 33′ 30″.

lower).* Around it is seen a little cultivation, with a few poplars: all the rest is desert. About four miles to the left, is the small territory of Jushghân (Joshoogân), comprising the three villages of Bendai, Khosroabad, and Vazvoon, which are famed for their manufactory of carpets. They are situated under a red hill at the extremity of the plain westward. Beyond the first range of serrated heights are seen the snowy summits of a loftier chain. The road now becomes very bad and stony, leading over bleak hills, and through one narrow mountain pass, which will not admit two horses abreast. At the end of 12 miles, the traveller reaches the pleasant valley of Kuhrood (mountain river), extending towards the N.E.†

* Sir W. Ouseley makes the distance from *Murcheh Khurt* to *Aku Kemal paiun*, 15½ miles; thence, to *Aku Kemal bâlâ*, 13 miles; and to *Kuhrud*, 15 miles; 43 miles instead of 32.

† From *Aku Kemal bâlâ*, there is another road to Kuhrood, which diverges to the eastward, through the village of *Sior*, distant from Murcheh Khurt, 23½ miles. This was taken by Col. Johnson in 1817. "The road continued along the plain, which is nearly level, and about eight miles in breadth, extending N.N.E. and S.S.W. There was an almost imperceptible ascent the whole way. Not a blade of grass was to be seen, the only vegetation consisting of a few lacteous shrubs, from 10 to 16 inches in height, thinly scattered over the soil. On the hills and mountains, not a tree or shrub was visible, nor were there any villages, either inhabited or deserted, to be seen throughout the valley.... During this march, we certainly met no more than five or six persons travelling on the road, and the whole tract may be termed a desert.... The caravanserai of So is a good one, and commands a tolerable supply of articles of food, but we found no grass. The mules, however, for the first time these many days past, were turned out to pasture on weeds in the neighbouring wild. In the evening, we observed at least twenty individuals, men, women, and children, employed in digging and eating their roots. Some were collecting and storing them in cloths for domestic use. It is hardly possible to conceive a state of society more cheerless, more hopeless, more wretched than this."—JOHNSON, p. 129–31. The distance to Kuhrud is 15 miles.

"This place," says Sir W. Ouseley, "is justly celebrated as one of the pleasantest in Persia, and comprehends two villages; Kuhrud giving the general denomination, though comprising but 150 families, while the other, Juinan, is said to contain above 200. These are abundantly supplied with water by a beautiful stream, which accompanied us during the last half hour from the place where the roads of Sow and Aga Kemal unite. The houses, situate on the steep sides of a hill, almost seem to stand one upon another. Below is the caravanserai, and near it, on a rising ground, the remains of an old castle. Between various eminences the valley appears, richly cultivated and finely diversified with gardens yielding most admirable fruit. We thought the walnuts and apples particularly excellent."

The approach to this valley is highly picturesque. On descending from the narrow pass, a change is observable in the stony soil, and for the first time, a grey granite is perceived projecting in masses from the hills, which have hitherto been all of limestone or sandstone. "On viewing the ranges of mountains," says Colonel Johnson, "it was easy to distinguish the different substances that composed them. The most elevated of these was granite; the body of the mountain was of a greenish neutral tint, with dark and reddish rocks, projecting frequently in strong light and shade; next below them was a range of acuminated and precipitous mountains of limestone of a lighter colour; the nearer and lower range was more even in its surface, which was of a reddish brown, but covered in many places with weeds; its strongest feature, particularly along the bases of the hills and near the central stream, consisted in the masses of granite abruptly projecting from the declivity. The moun-

tains, nearly joining at their bases, render the appearance of this valley extremely romantic; and this effect is increased by the rather uncommon view of extensive plantations of noble fruit-trees, of chinars and poplars, which are seen along the whole bottom, and to the distance of half a mile up the narrow vales between the hills. These, checkered by patches of corn-fields on irrigated terraces, and enlivened by the presence of a large village on the acclivity of a hill, protected by a fortification, constitute a landscape of no ordinary interest. The caravanserai afforded wretched accommodation, being ruinous and filthy. The orchards were in a most thriving state, and were all watered by streamlets. The houses of the village appeared to be better built, and to be intermixed with fewer ruins, than in other instances, but the fort was totally neglected and suffered to fall to decay.

"In this sheltered spot, and in other mountainous parts of Persia, landscapes might be selected, which, if faithfully painted, would represent at once the characteristics of the four seasons in Europe. Thus, the highest mountain, covered with snow, would exhibit winter; the next range of rather lower mountains, covered with light evergreens, would indicate the nascent verdure of spring; the inferior range of calcareous and sandstone mountains, with their naked and precipitous surfaces imbued with the glaring colours of ochre, red, and yellow, and divested of all vegetation, would seem as if parched by the sultry heats of summer; while the nearer ground, diversified by orchards abounding in ripe fruit, and by fields of grain ready for the sickle, would announce the presence of autumn. All this variety do the mountains of Persia present in the month of May....The soil of this place is sandy; the rocks are of granite, sandstone,

and limestone of different colours; and in the valleys, there are strata of amygdaloid containing a great proportion of limestone."*

On leaving Kuhrood, the road for three or four miles winds picturesquely along the wooded hills to the left of the valley; till, at about five miles, the traveller comes to an immense *band* or dike of masonry, between 30 and 40 feet high, extending between two precipitous hills, and forming a large lake or reservoir. At the bottom is an arched outlet, through which escapes a moderate stream. The winding pass between the stream and the hills is, at night, particularly dangerous, the rocks being slippery, and the road in many places being formed only of planks covered with earth. The streamlet from the *band* runs near, and frequently crosses the road, for seven miles, when it takes a N.E. direction towards the extensive plains of Kashan.† At the end of the pass, where the mountains on the right terminate, are the ruins of a mud-built village called *Guebr-abad* (the town of the Guebres); and within about three quarters of a mile of these ruins, is a fine caravanseral on an eminence, with a tank in front, of the time of Shah Abbas. At eight miles, the road passes over the crown of a hill, from which is seen the plain of Kashan, bounded by a distant range of mountains, of which Demawend forms the most conspicuous point, rising abruptly, in a very symmetrical cone, from a

* Colonel Johnson's Journey, pp. 152, 3. Chardin supposes that the valley of Kuhrood was the scene of Darius's last moments.

† The river of Kuhrood, which chiefly contributes to supply this reservoir, "flows from the mountain of Khoosar, to the N.E. of Isfahan: and having passed through the territories of Jerbadekan, Louristan, and Koom, its waters, in the spring season, are lost subterraneously after a course of 35 *farsangs*."—Hamdallah in Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 31.

long, unbroken chain. Its distance, in a direct line, cannot be less than 150 miles.* The whole road to Kashan is visible, and the city itself, with the long line of gardens behind it. Westward, the hills are backed by granite mountains, but no hills are to be seen on the right or N.E., at a shorter distance than 30 miles. Between three and four miles to the left of the road, at the foot of the hills, is a small shooting-seat belonging to his present majesty, called *Bagh-e-Fin*. The Shah, on his annual excursions from Tehraun to Isfahan, generally spends a few days at this "delightful residence," which affords a cool retreat amid these arid plains, being surrounded with well-watered orchards and gardens. Various mountain-streams from the left cross the road, all flowing towards Kashan. At 25 miles (8 *farsangs*) from Kuhrood, the traveller reaches the walls of that city. The glare of the light sandy soil renders this tract of country in summer extremely scorching,—more so, Col. Johnson says, than any that he remembered to have traversed in India.

Kashan (or, as it is pronounced, Kaushoon) is encompassed with a wall and towers of brick and mud; in some parts, the wall is double, with a *fausse-braye*. It extends two miles E. and W., and one and a half N. and S. A long, covered bazar extends from the north gate to the centre of the town. Col. Johnson observed here, a larger proportion of buildings in good repair, and fewer ruins, than in the other towns on his route; and to Sir W. Ouseley, the city appeared much larger; as well as more populous and lively, than Shiraz. Kashan is famed for the excellence of its weavers, and for its various manufactures of silk and

* Colonel Johnson says, 130 miles.

cotton stuffs, velvets and shawls, and above all, for its copper ware, generally tinned or whitened so as to resemble silver.* It is celebrated also for its delicious fruits, especially apricots and melons, pears, figs, and grapes; and to the warmth of its climate, from which these derive their flavour, may probably be attributed its abounding with black scorpions of a most venomous kind and enormous size, together with crowds of flies and mosquitoes. "Although the mornings and nights were cool," says Sir W. Ouseley, "the thermometer rose, between two and three o'clock on the 27th and 28th of October, to 72°.† Indeed, without the vaulted chambers and cellars (or those subterranean recesses called *sirdábah*), attached to almost every house, people could scarcely endure the heats of summer in this place." The popular notion is, that the scorpions do not sting foreigners. On this point, the learned Traveller adds, "I can give but a negative testimony. None of our party suffered from these creatures; yet, it was acknowledged by many of the inhabitants, that five and twenty or thirty persons had, within the last year, perished by their envenomed stings; to avoid which, bedsteads raised from the floor on high feet were, as I heard, generally used."‡

* "At present, as in former times, its silk brocades are celebrated all over Persia. A particularly rich shawl is also made here, and is in as great request. The worms which produce the raw material, are carefully bred by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. Upon the whole, we may look upon Kashan as one of the most thriving places in this quarter of the empire."—PORTER, vol. i. p. 393.

† Sir Robert K. Porter found it only 62° in May, and the heat by no means oppressive.

‡ Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 91.—A similar notion prevailed in ancient times. Pliny relates, on the authority of Aristotle, that the scorpions on Mount Latmus, in Caria, while fatal to the natives, were harmless to strangers.—Nat. Hist. lib. viii. p. 89. The bruised

Kashan is situated in lat. 33° 54′ 32″ N.; long. 51° 17′ E.* According to information furnished by a native, it contains 30 mosques, 12 baths, and 10 madrasehs, has six gates, and is one *farsang* in circumference. The present city is said to have been founded by Zobeidah, the queen of Haroun al Rashid; but Sir W. Ouseley concludes, that she only enlarged and embellished the town, which is mentioned in connexion with Koom, as furnishing its contingent to the Persian army at the fatal battle of Kadesiah, in the year 636, and subsequently at that of Nuhavend.† Its name, *Kai-ashian*, the king's dwelling, favours the tradition, that, in very early times, a Persian monarch took refuge among the mountains of Kashan; and it is enumerated, with Nishapoor and Mekran, among the cities of which the foundation has been ascribed to Tahmuras.‡ In the *Char Bagh* (four gardens) of this city, are many old cypresses and firs, planted in the reign of Shah Abbas: the trunks of some of the firs measure from 20 to 24 inches in diameter.

There is another road from Isfahan to Kashan by way of Nathunz, which, though not so near, is more pleasant. The road lies over the plain to Sheherabad, distant 13¼ miles. The country continues level and barren for the next 18 miles, but then descends a range of low hills into a small valley, and winds at the foot of the hills, till near the village of Serdahen, where those on the right stretch away E. The stage from Sheherabad, is 32¼ miles. The next stage is

scorpion, or its oil, is believed to be a cure for its sting: and Madame de Sévigné mentions the same popular belief as prevailing in Provence.

* Porter. In lat. 34° 0′ 33″ according to Morier.

† See vol. i. p. 124. ‡ Ouseley, iii. 93—94; 503.

18 miles, to Nathunz. The road, after leading along the foot of small hills, with high mountains on both sides, ascends gradually to higher ground, and at length issues through defiles of low hills into a beautiful valley, represented by Mr. Kinneir as one of the most delightful spots that can be imagined.

"Natunz" (Nethenz, Nuthuns,) says this Writer, "63 miles from Isfahan, and 43 from Kashan, is situate in a valley surrounded with high and rugged mountains, from which flow innumerable rivulets. The whole of this valley, about eight miles in length, is a continued garden of fruit-trees, in which the houses of the inhabitants are interspersed and hid from view. Natunz is famed for the salubrity of its climate, its pears, peaches, and pretty women. The walnut-trees grow to a size and luxuriance beyond what I have ever witnessed in any other country; and extensive groves of white and red mulberry-trees are cultivated for the sake of a worm which produces a silk not inferior to that of Ghilaun. This is the chief town of four *taloucks*. It has a fort in the centre of the valley, an excellent warm bath, and an old mosque with a very handsome minaret, said to have been built 900 years ago." * "Nothing could be more singular and beautiful," the Author of the Sketches says, "than the commanding view obtained from one of the turrets of the citadel. The valley, inclosed by mountains, is itself a succession of eminences and small hills. The fruitful gardens, which occupied every spot where there were no houses, extended eight miles. Seldom above one, and never more than two of these gardens, were upon the same level: they either appeared in a circle, converging towards the

* Kinneir, p. 115.

common centre of an eminence that rose above the others, or were seen sloping in flights along the hills that bordered on the mountains. Rows of lofty sycamores and spreading walnuts marked the lines of the streets and the divisions of the gardens; the latter were fenced round with thick mulberry hedges, the leaves of which, the Hákim informed us, fed innumerable silk-worms, producing the finest of the silk manufactured at Kashan and Isfahan. The sun was shining bright as we gazed upon this enchanting scene, and its beauty was greatly increased by numerous clear streams, which, pouring from the neighbouring hills, either flowed or were conducted among the gardens and orchards, where they appeared lost, till seen glittering through those parts where the foliage was lighter or wholly removed." *

On leaving this picturesque spot, an uneven, stony country succeeds, and the road runs among the hills, with mountain ranges on each side, to Hanjun, situated in a ravine near a running stream: distance, 12 miles. For seven miles more, to a caravanserai, the same hilly, stony country continues; the road then leads for seven miles over a plain, the mountains on the left stretching away to the N.W.; hills again succeed, and at 19½ miles, is Khourundusht. The next stage, 11½ miles, leads across the plain to Kashan. Total distance from Isfahan, 107½ miles. †

A flat and good road leads from Kashan northward, to the mud-walled town and fine caravanserai of Nussoralad, distant between 10 and 11 miles. At eight miles, the flourishing village of Ali-abad is seen on the right. Another stage of 10 miles leads over a flat

* Sketches of Persia, vol. i. pp. 275, 6.
† Kinneir, pp. 371—3.

and sandy waste to the caravanserai of Semsin (or Sinsin), built by the patriotic *Ameen ed doulah*, or lord high treasurer, so often referred to. The village is in ruins, but a few inhabitants occupy small fortified inclosures at about a mile's distance. The next stage is *Passangan* (*Passaungoon*), distant about six hours and a half, or 24 miles. At four miles are the ruins of a considerable village, *Deh-i-ner*, destroyed by the Turkomans; and at eleven miles, the caravanserai and village of *Ab-i-shoor* (salt water, so called from a brackish stream). The road, varying from N. by W. to N.W., is at first hilly, and then lies over arid, stony, and sandy plains, along the base of the southern range of mountains, distant from three to five miles. A thin scattering of weeds is the only vegetation, and a naked desert extends on the right as far as the eye can see. In fact, the road from Kashan to Koom winds, for the most part, along the edge of the Great Salt Desert. Demawend is in sight throughout the stage, rising far above the horizon towards the N.E. At sun-rise, Col. Johnson says, it appeared as near to their observation, as hills would appear in India at only 40 miles' distance. "The white colour of its snow-clad surface was not then perceptible, on account, probably, of the vapour which at that hour overspread the plain, and its shadowed side being presented." Several deserted villages and inclosures were seen from the caravanserai; one of considerable extent, about two miles N.E.

Another stage, of 12 miles,* over a level and good road, leads to Koom. At five miles are the picturesque

* Col. Johnson makes the stage from Semsin to Passangoon, 21 miles and a half, and thence to Koom, 12. Sir W. Ouseley makes the former 21¾, and the latter 16¾. Mr. Morier, in his First Journey, makes the whole distance only 25 miles.

ruins of a village called Lanngrad (or Lankerood), with a rapid stream. During most of the way, the gilded cupola of the tomb of Fatima is in sight, appearing at sun-rise like a globe of fire. On approaching the city, the remains of habitations, gardens, and tombs, become so numerous as to evince that this district has formerly been very populous. Among the sepulchral ruins are several tombs of *imâm-zadehs*, distinguished by their tiled cupolas; and the gateway and two minarets of a mosque are standing, of very antique construction. Many of the domes have the conical arch. On the pinnacles of the highest buildings, the storks build their nests, which are so large, that sparrows find room to construct theirs in the cavities and irregular projections on the perpendicular sides of the stork's habitation. This bird is held in high veneration by the Persians, and has obtained the epithet hadjee.

Koom, Mr. Morier informs us, is remarkable for three things; "its numerous priests, its gilded cupola, and its ruins. The greater part of its inhabitants are *seyeds*, descendants of Ali, who form a powerful body in Persia. The mausoleum at Koom is one of the most celebrated sanctuaries throughout Persia, and thither the Persians frequently take shelter in distress. It is very seldom that they are forced out; but, in cases of great criminality, they are starved into a surrender."* The king frequently visits the tomb of Fatimeh, and makes costly offerings there.

* "In general, the tombs of all the *imâm-zadehs* (descendants of Imams) are looked upon as sanctuaries; yet, some are accounted more sacred than others. Without this almost single impediment in the way of a Persian king's power, his subjects would be totally at his mercy." This is a sanctuary "even for murderers;" but murder is not held the greatest crime in Persia. Here, the nephew of the unfortunate Hajji Ibrahim took refuge, and was clandestinely supplied with food for several days, by some compassionate

By such acts he has acquired among the priesthood a great reputation, which, when at Koom, he keeps up by going about on foot; an act of great humility in Persian estimation.* During the few days that we were at Koom, we saw great numbers of women riding on asses, escorted by men on foot, arriving in bodies of ten or fifteen at a time, from the neighbouring villages, to make the *ziaret* (*Ziaret*, from *Ser*, to journey), as it is called, or to worship at the tomb of the saint. This is one of the few recreations of the peasantry of Persia; and they recur to it, perhaps, more in the spirit of pleasure than in that of devotion. As soon as they approached the mausoleum, the men chanted a dirge, which at a distance had a very solemn effect."†

Besides the shrine of *Fatimeh-el-Mazoomah* (Fatima the Immaculate), this city contains the relics of numerous beatified persons; and within the golden mosque are the tombs of two monarchs of the Suffavean dynasty, Sefi I. and Abbas II. "Upwards of two hundred ruinous places were shewn to me," says Sir R. K. Porter, "as once dedicated to the imaumzadis, the sons of the saints. There are also the remains of above forty mosques, with tombs innumerable." A Mohammedan writer, cited by Sir W. Ouseley, makes the number of saintly persons buried here, amount to 444. Koom is mentioned in the *Shah Nameh* as an ancient city, and its foundation is tra-

women, who came to him on pretence of making their devotions at the shrine of the saint. Meanwhile, the intercession of a powerful friend obtained his pardon.

* When a great man goes abroad in Persia, it is always on horseback, surrounded by attendants on foot, bearing his pipe, shoes, cloak, saddle-cloth, &c. This gives great force to Eccl. x. 7.

† Morier, vol. ii. p. 166.

ditionally assigned to Kai Kobad. D'Anville supposes it to be the *Choana* of Ptolemy. D'Herbelot cites an account of its origin from an oriental writer, which would assign it no higher antiquity than the ninth century of our era. The surrounding district is said to have composed a small sovereignty under Abdalrahman, an Arabian prince, in which were included seven towns. This prince was overthrown by his enemies, and his country ruined; and the inhabitants of the seven towns built the city of Koom in the year 203 of the Hejira, dividing it into seven departments, each bearing the name of one of the ruined towns. This story sounds like a mere legend, and is at variance with the more credible accounts of other writers.* Hamdallah, the Persian Geographer, enumerates it, with Isfahan, Hamadan, and Rai, among the four chief cities of Irak-Ajem. In point of sanctity, it ranks next to Kerbela and Mushed; but the hostile

* Chardin gives a very different version of the story. After mentioning the tradition which assigns its foundation to Tahmurs, and makes it to have equalled Babylon in extent, he adds: "Other Persian historians refer its origin to the first century of Mohammedism, and relate that, in the time of Mohammed, there were seven large villages, and that, in A.H. 83, Abdallah Saydan, Khalif, having come into this country with an army, he *joined* these seven villages to one another by new buildings, and inclosing them with a wall, made one city of them, which at length grew to be twice as large as Constantinople. Mousa, son of this Abdallah, came from Basrá to Koom, and brought thither the dogmas of Ali, which they call the religion of the Sheahs, or Imamism. It has always been professed here, even to martyrdom, and the people tolerate no other. Timour Leng, who was quite of a contrary belief, entirely destroyed this city. It was gradually rebuilt in part, but has only begun to flourish again since king Sefi was buried there. ...In the year 1634, the waters destroyed a thousand houses; and only three years ago, a similar accident had nearly destroyed the whole place. Two thousand houses and all the ancient buildings were overthrown. It is surnamed *Dar-el-mogeschelâin*, the dwelling of the pious."—CHARDIN, *tom.* iii. p. 213.

Sounies have never respected its walls, and in 1722, it was completely destroyed by the barbarous Affghans. Part of it has since been rebuilt, but it has still the appearance of a vast ruin: "at least two thirds of the buildings," Sir W. Ouseley says, "seemed to have been untenanted for the last fifty or a hundred years." The present Shah made a vow, before he ascended the throne, that in case of his accession, he would repair this city, and exempt its inhabitants from tribute. A very beautiful college near the great mosque has been built in fulfilment of the royal vow. Mr. Morier tells us, that his majesty also covered the cupola of the tomb itself with gold plates, instead of the lackered ones which he removed, and that he is *said* to expend 100,000 *tomauns* annually in the decoration of these monuments.* The latter part of the statement does not very well accord with the Shah's notorious economy; and the credit of at least part of this munificence belongs to the *Madre Shah*, to whom, some years ago, the King gave the city of Koom as an estate. The gilded coating of the dome, Mr. Fraser says, was given by the mother of his present majesty; but the brass plates are so thinly gilt, that the whole value of the precious metal employed, does not, he says, exceed 2000 *tomauns*.†

Chardin has given a very minute and curious description of this celebrated sanctuary as it appeared

* Morier, vol. i. p. 130.

† See Fraser, p. 143. Sketches of Persia, ii. 33. Ouseley, ii. 99—106. Kinneir, p. 116. Porter, i. 378. Johnson, p. 146. The latter Traveller states, but without giving his authority, that the original structure was erected over the sepulchre of Fatima by Bugty Baigum, daughter of Timour Shah. Chardin says, that the tomb of this Fatima has been thrice rebuilt. Her father brought her to Koom, on account of the persecution raised against his family by the khalifs of Bagdad.

in the seventeenth century; but the only European of modern days, who is known to have penetrated into its forbidden precincts, is the adventurous traveller last cited. Having ascertained that not even a bribe could procure permission for an infidel to visit this holy shrine, he determined to risk the attempt in the character of a moslem. At dusk, assuming the Persian dress, and attended by his Indian moonshee, a *seyed*, to whom the shrine was familiar, he succeeded in entering unobserved. We give the sequel, and the description of the place, in Mr. Fraser's words.

"We passed through a mean gateway into a small court, around which are cells, or chambers, for the use of the *khadems*, or servants of the shrine. From thence, a more respectable gateway, ornamented with blue tiles, led to a larger court, around which were lodgings of a neater and better description, for the higher ministers. In this is a long tank of water for performing ablutions, with a paved pathway up each side; and the whole is laid out like a garden, with trees and walks. From this, a communication leads to the court in which the mosque is situated, and which is smaller than the preceding, but very neatly kept: here, also, is a tank for ablution. Having deposited our slippers without, we entered. It was the hour of evening prayer, and the place was rather full; but we walked round, and saw every thing remarkable. The gates leading to the mosque are adorned with blue and white lackered tiles; and the front of the mosque, which, as usual, comprehends three archways, is faced with tiles in mosaic work of various colours and patterns. The inside of the centre compartment, under which is the tomb, is similarly adorned, as is also its floor, on which a rich carpet is spread. The interior of the dome is divided into

compartments of arch-work, lessening as they rise; a common and often an elegant mode of finishing these parts of a building in Persia. The tomb itself is inclosed in a sandal-wood box, about 12 feet long by 8 broad, and 7 or 8 high. A green canopy is spread above it, and it is surrounded with a silver grate of massy cross-bars, placed there by the mother of the present King. Within this is suspended the sword of the great Abbas, which my view was too cursory to remark. Two side compartments are fitted up with strips of carpet, merely as places of prayer. The tomb, with its covering, is as old as the time of Fatima's death; but the dome and mosque are the work of the present King, built upon the ruins of a smaller building erected and richly endowed by Shah Abbas. All the race of Suffavean kings added to its riches; and previously to the present era, they were great. Although the revenues of religious institutions have neither been meliorated nor entirely respected during the late reigns, this shrine still enjoys a good income. There are several villages attached to it, and a considerable sum is derived from the presents of pilgrims who resort to it, amounting, it is said, to 4 or 5000 *tomauns*. Eight or nine *khadums* attached to the shrine receive payment; and there are also a number of *moollahs*, who depend for subsistence on the money they obtain for educating pupils.

"After a rapid glance at the place and its contents, I sat down with the *seyed*, as if accompanying him at prayers; and while thus employed, I observed first one, and then another of the *moollahs* come and look at me. Then came others, holding lighted candles (for it was dark), who, after gazing awhile, spoke to the *seyed*; and I could easily see that there was much altercation between them, of which I was the

subject. Some retired as if satisfied, but others continued to remonstrate, and were joined by fresh parties, till the agitation increased so much, that I began to fear something serious would happen; when the *mehmander* came in, and caused a diversion, under favour of which I left the place with my conductor. The *seyed* told me, that he had quieted the *moollahs* by an assurance, that I was a person very much inclined towards the Mohammedan creed; but probably the tale was not credited by those who had caused the altercation I witnessed. I should add, that their demeanour, though evidently hostile to me, was grave, decent, and far from uncivil.

"Koom is indeed, as Morier describes it, a wretched mass of ruins. The population is stated to consist of 2000 houses, or 10,000 souls; a great exaggeration, if we may judge by appearances.* The chief part of it consists of those attached to the various shrines in the place; but sanctity does not seem to thrive here so well as in India, or even in other parts of Persia, although the intolerance it too often assumes, is not wanting. Indeed, the place has been remarked for its inhospitality and impertinence, particularly to Christian travellers: the very children are taught to lisp abuse. While I was attempting a sketch of the place from the top of the caravanserai, certain young urchins, encouraged by their mothers, insulted us in the grossest language, until they saw us bestow charity on some beggars who came by; when their tone was changed, and they began to beg also, adding their

* "The families resident at Koom do not amount to 2000, as a native of the place acknowledged, nor even to 1700, in the estimation of a well-informed traveller....Of twenty handsome mosques once crowded by the pious Kúmites, two or three only have been saved from ruin."—OUSELEY, iii. 104.

prayers for our welfare; but, finding this ineffectual, they resumed their violent abuse, until silenced by the interference of the *mehmaundar*." *

When Chardin visited this city a century and a half ago, it was said to contain 15,000 houses. It was surrounded with a ditch, and a wall flanked with half-ruined towers. There were two beautiful quays, the whole length of the city, on the banks of the river, and large gardens on the other side. He mentions, also, a very handsome bridge and fine bazars. "It is," he says,* "an agreeable place, except for the heat, which is excessive. In summer, the stream which flows by, is but a rivulet; but, on the melting of the snows, it becomes so swelled by the mountain torrents, as sometimes not only to fill its channel, which is as large as that of the Seine at Paris, but to overflow the town. It is commonly called the river of Koom, but its real name is *Joubdgan*. † There is not a place in Persia where the sun is more powerful in summer. The people," he adds, "are very tractable and civil." ‡

Koom was formerly a place of some trade in fruit, (chiefly pomegranates,) silk, soap, sword-blades, and white earthenware. Every manufacture has now disappeared; the bazars hardly contain more than forty shops; and the only employment of the inhabitants, is cultivating a little corn and rice. The

* Fraser, pp. 140—2.

† Col. Johnson found its bed dry (in May), the water being dammed up to the westward, and diverted into numerous channels for irrigation.

‡ Chardin, i. 213. Sir R. K. Porter found the heat intense. Its proximity to the great salt desert, the rocky mountains which inclose it to the southward, and the sandy plain in which it stands, sufficiently account for the insupportable heat of the summers.

sanctity of the city still, however, induces many devotees to order their bodies to be transmitted hither for sepulture; and Sir R. K. Porter passed a train of mules, one or two of which were loaded with a couple of coffins, consigned to the muleteer for this purpose. The inhabitants of the holy city, not excepting the *moollahs*, lie under the suspicion of entertaining an heretical fondness for spirituous liquors, which they profess to use as a remedy against the stings of scorpions. A scandal of the same import is whispered against the true believers of Kashan.* This city is situated in latitude 34° 45′ N., long. 50° 29′ E.

At Koom, the road to Tehraun separates from that to Tabriz, the former bending towards the N.E. At a distance of about two *farsangs* and a half, bearing N. 46° W., is seen distinctly from Koom, the *Nemek Kuh* (the mountain of salt), rising abruptly from the middle of the plain, which Persian superstition has invested with mysterious celebrity. It has received the appellations of *Gaiten Gelmez*, Turkish words implying that "those who go, never return;" and *Kuh Tellism*, the mountain of the talisman, because it was long believed that the attempt to reach the summit would prove fatal. Latterly, however, Mr. Morier says, this notion has been exploded, and the plain has been traversed in all directions. "It should seem that it consists of a tract almost entirely composed of nitre, which crumbles so easily under foot, particularly after rains, that it is dangerous to walk over it. Perhaps it resembles the *Hammâm Meskoutéen*, in Barbary, and the *Solfatara* near Naples." †

The first days' stage towards Tehraun, after leaving the cultivated tract, leads over a flat, barren,

* Ouseley, iii. 194. † Morier, ii. 167.

gravelly plain, bearing no grass or vegetation, except the usual weeds, and strongly impregnated with salt and nitre. At twelve miles, (Sir W. Ouseley makes it nearly fifteen,) is a bridge of eleven arches, over the *Rood-khoneh Konsar*, a salt stream, 30 yards in width, abounding with fish.* It comes from the westward, and has its rise in the vicinity of Sava, collecting its waters from the barren hills to the north. The bridge is said to have been erected by the barber of Shah Abbas, to save others from a danger which he narrowly escaped, of being drowned in fording this river; and it is called *Pûl-i-delâk* (pronounced *pooli dellauk*), the Barber's Bridge. Near it is a small caravanserai. The banks of the stream are covered with barberry-trees and other shrubs, and very long reeds beautifully feathered at top. Several tortoises were seen, and some birds of the teal and wild-duck species. The copse is said to be haunted by wolves and lions.

For six miles from *Pooli-dellauk*, the road passes over heights and among hills. It then, for three hours, traverses a salt marsh called *Derya-e-Kebeer* (or *Kiveer*), a part of the great salt desert which stretches into Khorasan. It is said to extend one hundred and fifty miles E. and W., and to be in some places upwards of thirty-five miles in breadth.† The soil is a mixture of salt and clay; and here and there, are hollows of considerable magnitude, white with salt.

* Mr. Morier represents it as "so brackish as to be almost salt," notwithstanding which the cattle drank of it, and the Persians say that they thrive on it as well as on fresh; a fact mentioned by ancient writers. See Morier, ii. 167.

† The desert, in this part, extends westward to a range of hills distant 20 miles; and eastward, Col. Johnson was informed, it reaches Mausila, distant 40 miles. Its breadth here is about 11 miles.

After rain or snow, it becomes a dangerous morass, where travellers frequently lose their way, or perish in the swamps. At twenty-one miles, is the small caravanserai of *Haouz-i-Sultaun* (Sultan's Reservoir). The change in the appearance of the ground, from a crust of white clay and salt, to a stony plain, indicates to the traveller that he has passed the morass; but soon after leaving the caravanserai, he enters upon a sort of pass, ten miles in length, through deep ravines and dreary wastes, which has received the portentous name of the *Melek al-Moat Dereh*, "the Valley of the Angel of Death." The broken country, Mr. Morier says, forms in this part a labyrinth of little hills and intricate nooks, very perplexing to travellers. The road, however, when Col. Johnson journeyed, was "thoroughly good," * crossing very often the beds of brackish mountain torrents, at that time nearly dry. The dreariness of the scenery has probably led to an exaggerated idea of the ruggedness and danger of the route. The natives believe, that this dismal region is one of the favourite abodes of the angel of death, who here holds his court, surrounded by *ghouls*,—demons who can at pleasure assume the human form, but more commonly appear in hideous shapes with horns and talons: they entice travellers by their cries or songs, and then tear them to pieces, and devour them. Their number is be-

* This Traveller states, that "the land bears evident marks of the action of fire." The soap-wort is the most common shrub all over the face of the country, but no use is made of it. The appellation given to this dreary region, forcibly recalls the Prophet's description of the Arabian desert, Jer. xli. 6; "A land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought and of the shadow of death, a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwells." It may also illustrate Psalm xxiii. 4.; Morier, i. 183. ii. 168.

lieved, however, to have wonderfully decreased of late years.*

On emerging from this fearful tract, the road traverses a more level desert, crossing repeatedly a winding saline stream, called *Rood-khaneh-i-Carege*, flowing towards the Great Desert. Near it is passed the caravanseral and village of Zeeoun; and half a mile further, is the new caravanseral and village of *Kenar-e-gherd*. The distance from *Hauoz-i-Sultoun*, is rather more than twenty-four miles, about seven hours. Here, the eye is refreshed with the sight of gardens and cultivated fields, with a few trees; there are also remains of walls and old tombs. On the north side of the caravanseral runs a fine rivulet, called *Kunaleh-rood*, from a village about twelve *farsangs* westward. The next stage leads for two miles over a plain of gentle ascent, crossing numerous channels of irrigation. The road then ascends a steep hill, from which is obtained the first view of the plain and city of Tehraun. At eleven miles is the village of Cahrizek; at sixteen miles, a road branches off to Rhey; and at twenty-two miles (6 *farsangs*), the traveller arrives at the gate of the present capital.†

TEHRAUN.

The distant view of Tehraun is very imposing. It is situated near the foot of Mount Elborz; a part of the great range which stretches from Europe to the utmost limits of Asia, and which would appear high

* See, for further accounts of the pranks of these ghools, *Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 77, *et seq.*

† Sir W. Ouseley found the whole distance from Isfahan to Tehraun, 242 miles, "according to actual measurement made with the wheel or perambulator." Mr. Kinneir makes it 60 miles from Koom.

were it not for the snowy peak of Demawend, rising above the clouds, and dwarfing every other mountain. To the right are seen the extensive ruins of the once proud city of Rhey or Rhages, scattered at the foot of the nearer mountains; and westward is seen a plain enriched with cultivation and enlivened by villages, forming a pleasing contrast to the rugged and stupendous rocks which skirt it on the north and south.*

The city, which stands in lat. 35° 40′ N., long. 51° 22′ 50″ E.,† is about four miles (8000 yards) in circumference, surrounded with a strong mud wall, flanked by numerous towers, and a noble dry ditch, with a *glacis* between it and the wall. There are, according to Sir R. K. Porter, four gates, very plain in their architecture; that to the S. leading to Isfahan, that to the N.W. leading to Tabriz, and the other two looking towards the hills in the corresponding directions. The only building of consequence within the city, is the *Arcg* (ark or citadel), which com-

* Mr. Morier speaks in very different terms of the beauty of this plain, from Mr. Kinneir. "Nothing can be so little attractive as the immediate environs of Teheran. Each of the *five* gates" (Sir R. K. Porter speaks of only four—Sir W. Ouseley says six) leads out to what the Persians call the *Sahara*, and what we term the desert: a designation not ill applied to the plain of Teheran, for, although it is in some places partially cultivated, yet, as there are neither hedges, dikes, nor railings to mark the limits of cultivation, the whole has the appearance of a waste. A tree is a scarce object, which is a curious circumstance, when it is known, that the region of Teheran is separated only by a ridge of mountains from one of the most wooded countries in the world, the province of Mazanderan. The roots of the Albors, which form the northern boundary, are more embellished with villages, trees, and rural scenery, than any of the other vicinities of the city."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 190.

† According to Fraser. The latitude agrees with that given by Mr. Kinneir. Sir R. K. Porter states it to be in lat. 35° 37′, and the longitude given by Kinneir is 50° 58′.

tains the royal palace. This is strongly fortified with a lofty wall flanked with towers, a *fausse-braye* and a deep dry ditch. The *Arag* comprises, besides the *Diwan Khaneh-i-Shah*, or royal residence, quarters for the guards, and many extensive ranges of apartments. Among these, Sir W. Ouseley mentions the *Defter-Khaneh* (record-chamber), the *Sandak-Khaneh* (chest-house or treasury), the *Emaret-i-Khurshed* (palace of the sun), a handsome building in which Futeh Ali Shah sometimes receives ambassadors; also, private chambers, of which one is distinguished as the *emaret-i-serviston* (palace of the cypress-grove), and another is called the *gulistan* or bed of roses. Here too is the royal harem. The *Arag* contains, moreover, ten baths and two or three gardens, with reservoirs of different dimensions.

The town itself appeared to Mr. Morier about the size of Shiraz, but with fewer public edifices; and, as it is built of sun-dried bricks, the whole has "a mud-like appearance." The *Mesjed Shah*, the principal mosque, was not finished in 1809; and there were then only six others, small and insignificant, with three or four *madressehs*, and, according to report, 150 caravanserais, and as many *hummums* or baths. Sir W. Ouseley, in 1811, was informed that the baths and caravanserais then amounted to twice that number, and the mosques and colleges to between thirty and forty. The different bazars exhibited many well furnished shops; but some of the streets would have disgraced, by the state of their pavement, the meanest town; and the holes of the *kanauts* sometimes occasion accidents. Every morning, at the *Derwazeh Shah Abdulazem* (gate leading to the village of Shah Abdulazem) was held, about sunrise, a market of horses, mules, asses, and camels, and various goods

exhibited in temporary booths; a custom, apparently, of high antiquity.

"Half a century ago," remarks Sir R. K. Porter, "the present metropolis of Persia would hardly have been considered as a town of sufficient importance to be styled the capital of a province. It started at once into the first consequence under the auspices of Aga Mahomed Khan, uncle to the present Shah, who was the first Persian sovereign that made Teheran a royal residence. Its vicinity to that monarch's paternal country, Astarabad, which has been styled the Garden of the East, and is entirely inhabited by the Cadjar people, the royal tribe of the king, was one cause of the distinction bestowed on this once humble village. It likewise lies in a central situation, between the provinces to the north-west, which border on Georgia, and those to the east, which are subject to incursions from the Turcomans and their restless allies of Afghanistan. Indeed, for a position of general *surveillance*, the Persian monarch could hardly have chosen a better situation than that of Teheran;* though a pleasanter might have been presented by almost any one of the former capitals of the empire. The numerous spring torrents, which pour from the adjacent

* "There are many reasons which might have induced the late king to fix upon Tehraun as the capital of his dominions. It is a most central situation, and one from which the Persian empire can perhaps be defended better than from any other: the country in its neighbourhood being fertile and productive; and so many wandering tribes have settled around, that it is ascertained, his majesty can, on any emergency, assemble from those encamped between Casween and Firuz Kuh (in Mazanderan), a body of 25,000 horse in the short space of five days.... But there is another reason: it is not far from Astrabad, his native city, and from Mazanderan and Daheistan, countries possessed by the Kajer tribe, on whose power and affection to his person, his authority was, in a great measure, founded."—Kinneir, p. 113.

heights, at the beginning of the warm weather, saturate the low ground about the town, sink into its vaults, and send up such vapours and dampness as to render it very unhealthy during that season of the year. The unpleasantness of the place, however, lies wholly in this unwholesomeness; for its aspect is far from disagreeable. The very humidity of the soil produces early verdure, and clothes the gardens with more abundant shade. Then, immediately behind the town, the high ranges of Elborz stretch eastward; and over their picturesque heads in almost a direct line northward, rises the towering peak of Demawend. The wide plain" (approaching the city from Tabriz) "affords an open and a noble view to the north-west; while the faintly discerned range of hills, skirting the horizon to the south, which divide the fertile land from the salt desert, hardly bound the eye in that quarter.

"Teheran, though modern as a capital, and comparatively obscure as a town, has, nevertheless, had some note of its existence, so far back as the fourteenth century.* A Persian writer of that period, mentions

* "At about the same distance from Rhages at which the present city of Teheran may be placed from the remains of Rey, appears the town of Tabara in the Theodosian Tables; a sufficient presumption that Teheran itself had an original and independent existence, and did not rise only from the ruins of the greater metropolis. Its continuance as a contemporary city cannot now be distinctly traced: it may indeed have borne a different name in Eastern geography, as it is the Teheran or *Cherijar* (Shahr-sur) of Tavernier. It re-appears, however, under its present name, in the journey of the Castilian ambassadors to Timour, at a period when the greatness of Rey was still very considerable. At the end of two centuries, Pietro Della Valle revisited it: he calls it the city of planes. The soil is, probably, particularly adapted to this tree: for Olivier mentions one in the neighbourhood, that measured, round an excrescence at the root, 70 feet. It is the Tiroan of Herbert's Travels. Its name occurs, with scarcely a line of con-

It as 'a large village, with productive gardens, in the vicinity of the city of Rey; its inhabitants having their dwellings underground, for two reasons: to avoid the excessive heats of summer, and the attacks of their hostile neighbours, from the Roudbar mountains.' Nearly three centuries after this, in the year 1637, the secretary of the Holstein ambassadors mentions Teheran as 'one of the *towns* which enjoyed the privilege of maintaining no soldiers.' The cold, I am told, is severe in the winter months. The weather, towards the spring, I found to be delightful; but early in June, the heat becomes so intolerable, that the city is almost totally abandoned. The court retires to the more temperate plains of Sultaneah or Oujan, and the people either to tents or villages among the hills. Nearer to the base of the mountains, and a little on the ascent, the earth is free from any degree of noxious moisture; the water is good, and the air perfectly salubrious. Hence, we cannot but lament, that the founder of the new capital had not sages about him, of sufficient wisdom to advise his planting the royal pavilion there, rather than in this summer swamp. The proximity of the commanding heights, as formerly they might have been called, since the introduction of modern art in defence and attack, need never have been an objection in a military view; at least, they would be none under the present reign, the Prince-governor of Azerbijan having brought the knowledge of European tactics to a practice which never before had been thought of in this country.

ment, in a route' given by Hanway....It had been so much destroyed by the Affghans, (when, after the battle of Salmanabad, they invested it, in the hope of seizing Shah Thamas, who had retired thither,) that Aga Mahomed may be considered as almost its second founder."—Monteith, i. 400. See also Ouseley, iii. 117.

"On entering Teheran from the Casvin gate, and after proceeding two or three hundred yards into the town, a large open space presents itself, full of wide and deep excavations, or rather pits, sunk in the earth. Within the shaft of these well-like places, and round its steep sides, are numerous apertures, leading to subterraneous apartments; some, the sojourn of poor houseless beings, who otherwise would have no shelter; others, a temporary stabling for beasts of burden. In these gloomy recesses, we doubtless find the village of Teheran, as it was described in the fourteenth century, by the Persian writer before cited. I could not learn with any degree of precision the population of the town, but I should suppose, from my own observations, that, during his majesty's winter and spring residence there, it may amount to between sixty and seventy thousand souls. Of course, I do not calculate in this number, the extraordinary influx from the provinces to the capital at the celebration of the *Nourouz*."

This festival is one of the few which have survived the change introduced in the national religion by the Mohammedan conquerors. Its institution, ascribed to

* Porter, vol. i. pp. 306—312. "In summer, when the excessive heats compel the king to move from this place, and to pitch his tents either in the plains of Sultanea or Oujan, the majority of the inhabitants follow the royal camp; and I have been given to understand that, in the months of June, July, and August, the capital cannot boast above 10,000 people. In winter, the population is supposed to amount to 60,000 souls."—Kinneir, p. 113. Mr. Morier was informed, that it contains 12,000 houses, which, adopting Olivier's estimate of seven or eight persons to a house in Persia, would give a population of between 80 and 90,000. It has risen rapidly. In 1797, Olivier describes it as little more than two miles in circumference, the palace occupying more than a fourth of the area; and the population, including the royal household of 3000 persons, amounted to only 15,000.

Jemsheed, certainly dates from the earliest ages. It originally partook of a religious character, and was intended to solemnize the commencement of the solar year, when the sun enters Aries. The festival lasted six days; and Sir R. K. Porter suggests, that this might have some reference to the six days in which the world was created.* Since the introduction of Mohammedism, it has changed its character in these respects. It no longer commences the civil year of the Persians, who, like all other Mohammedans, adopt the lunar calculation. It lasts only three days, instead of six. It is unconnected with any religious observances; there are no solemn processions, still less any offerings of viands to the spirits of departed friends and heroes, as in the times of Magianism. Still, however, every one, on meeting his friend in the morning, salutes him with *Ayd mobárek* (happy festival), or *Ayd-i-shumah mobárek báshed* (may your festival be auspicious!); as we, in England, wish our friends a merry Christmas, or a happy new year. The rich still send donations to the poor; and the common people interchange little presents of oranges, flowers, and other trifles; all are dressed in their holiday clothes; pistols and muskets are continually discharged as *feux de joie*; and there is a general appearance of festivity. "Among other gratulatory testimonies of good will," Sir Robert K. Porter says,

* "It is said, that on this day the Almighty created the world, and that, by Divine command, the seven planets first began to move in the sign of Aries; Adam also was created on this day, and therefore it is entitled *Nauz-ruz*, 'the New Day.'"—MS. cited by Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 362. The learned Traveller has shewn that Dr. Hyde is mistaken in supposing that the institution originated with Jelad-ad-Din, third sultan of the Seljoukian family, in the eleventh century. Before he was born, Tabri and Ferdousi had already described the festival, ascribing it to Jemsheed.

"eggs, dyed or gilded, are mutually presented by the assembled multitude at this feast, in the same way that they are interchanged at the festival of Easter, by the members of the Greek Church."* This Traveller was present at the festival, as held in the capital on March 21, 1818; and we shall avail ourselves of his description of the scene; premising, on the authority of another traveller, that, a little before midnight, a signal gun fired from the *arey* or citadel, announces the moment of the supposed entrance of the Sun into the zodiacal sign of the Ram. This is followed by the obstreperous burst of the royal drums and trumpets, which continue their rude music for some hours.

"It was a fine morning, and at eight o'clock we mounted our horses; proceeding through narrow streets, and a part of the bazar, which terminated at the outer gate of the Ark. After passing over an open space, we crossed the bridge of the citadel, and thence were conducted into a very large square. A dome-shaped building of wood, open to the eye, appeared in the middle of the place; and under its roof stood the enormous brass cannon which Chardin mentions having seen in the Maidan-shah, at Ispahan. It was brought from that capital several years ago, and stationed here, on a huge and apparently immoveable carriage. Old guns, of various calibre, all equally awkward and unmanageable, and mingled with a few of modern fabric, stand round the sides of this central structure. Not far distant, about 200

* "I recollect the same custom," adds Sir Robert, "at the same sacred anniversary, in the northern counties of England: but I have never been able to obtain any explanation of the usage. The only conjecture I can offer, is, that eggs of gold having been a very ancient mode of tribute in the East,... this sign of homage might (on the introduction of Christianity) change its direction, and become a mark of brotherhood."—PORTER, I. 200.

swivels lay in rows on the ground. They belonged to the camel corps, who were on duty to salute the king on his entrance into the great assembly of his people. And, indeed, it might well have that title; for persons of all ranks were thronged together, within the walls of this outer court. Persians of the lowest orders, some decently attired, others in the rags of mendicity; khans in *khalats* (the robe of honour) covered with gold and brocade; servants in gorgeous coats; and soldiers in their military garbs; all pressed on each other in one equalizing mob. It was not practicable to get our horses through such a mass of human beings; so we dismounted at the entrance of the square, and following the necessity of shouldering our way to the opposite egress, tried by that wedge-like motion to make a passage to the royal portal. Awe of the chief headsman did not widen the path an inch; neither did the hard-plied sticks of the *chargé d'affaires'* domestics in front, effect the slightest breach; they might as well have battered a wall. However, we got through at last, with no small impression made upon our court-apparel, and the shawls of our waists rent into as many strips as we had had tugs in our passage. Leaving the throng behind, we turned under a narrow and dark archway, to a low and very small door, and entered through it at once upon the quarter of the palace. It shewed a spacious area, shaded with trees, and intersected by water. In the centre stood the splendid edifice where his majesty was to sit to receive the homage of his subjects. We were led towards the southern aspect of this place, the grand saloon fronting that way, where the ceremony of royal presentation was to be performed, and were carefully stationed at the point deemed the best for seeing and hearing the Great King.

Before his Majesty appeared, I had time to observe the disposition of the scene, in which this illustrious personage was to act so conspicuous a part.

"Rows of high poplars and of other trees, divide this immense court, or rather garden, into several avenues. That which runs along the midst of the garden, is the widest; inclosing a narrow piece of still water, stretching from end to end, and animated, here and there, with a few little *jets d'eau*; the margins of which were spread with oranges, pears, apples, grapes, and dried fruit, all heaped on plates, set close together, like a chain. Another slip of water faced diagonally the front of the palace; and its fountains being more direct in the view of the monarch, were of greater magnificence and power, shooting up to a height of three or four feet! a sublimity of hydraulic art, which the Persians suppose cannot be equalled in any other country. Along the marble edges of the canal and fountains, were also placed fruits of every description, in pyramids; and between each elevated range of plates, with these their glowing contents, stood vases filled with flowers, of a beautiful fabric, in wax, that seemed to want nothing of nature, but its perfume. In a line, beyond these, was set a regular row of the finest china bowls, filled with sherbet. In two parallel files, down the sides of the wide central avenue, stood the khans and other Persians of rank, arrayed in their most costly attire, of gold or silver brocade; some of them wearing, in addition, the royal *kaalat*, which usually consists of a pelisse lined with fine furs, and covered with the richest embroidery; their heads bound with Kashmere shawls of every colour and value.

"The royal procession made its appearance. First, the elder sons of the king entered, at the side on

which we stood; Abbas Mirza taking the left of the whole, which brought him to the right of the throne. His brothers followed, till they nearly closed upon us. Directly opposite to this elder rank of princes, all grown to manhood, their younger brothers arranged themselves on the other side of the transverse water. They were all superbly habited, in the richest brocade vests and shawl-girdles, from the folds of which glittered the jewelled hilts of their daggers. Each wore a sort of robe of gold stuff, lined and deeply collared with the most delicate sables, falling a little below the shoulder, and reaching to the calf of the leg. Around their black caps, they also had wound the finest shawls. Every one of them, from the eldest to the youngest, wore bracelets of the most brilliant rubies and emeralds, just above the bend of the elbow. The personal beauty of these princes, was even more extraordinary, to the eyes of a traveller, than the splendour of their dresses; there was not one of them, who might not have been particularised any where else, as most eminently handsome.

"At some distance, near the front of the palace, appeared another range of highly-revered personages; moullahs, astrologers, and other sages of this land of the East, clothed in their more sombre garments of religion and philosophy. Here was no noise, no bustle of any kind; every person standing quietly in his place, respectfully awaiting the arrival of the monarch. At last, the sudden discharge of the swivels from the camel-corps without, with the clangor of trumpets, and I know not what congregation of uproarious sounds besides, announced that his majesty had entered the gate of the citadel. But the most extraordinary part of this clamour, was the

appalling roar of two huge elephants, trained to the express purpose of giving this note of the especial movements of the Great King.

"He entered the saloon from the left, and advanced to the front of it, with an air and step which belonged entirely to a sovereign. I never before had beheld anything like such perfect majesty; and he seated himself on his throne with the same undescribable, unaffected dignity. Had there been any assumption in his manner, I could not have been so impressed. I should then have seen a man, though a king, theatrically acting his state: here, I beheld a great sovereign feeling himself as such, and he looked the majesty he felt.

"He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him; but the details of his dress were these. A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the Great King. It was entirely composed of thickly-set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed, as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls of an immense size. His vesture was of gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery; and, crossing the shoulders, were two strings of pearls, probably the largest in the world. I call his dress a vesture, because it sat close to his person, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, shewing a shape as noble as his air. At that point, it devolved downwards in loose drapery, like the usual

Persian garment, and was of the same costly materials with the vest. But, for splendour, nothing could exceed the broad bracelets round his arms, and the belt which encircled his waist: they actually blazed like fire, when the rays of the sun met them; and when we know the names derived from such excessive lustre, we cannot be surprised at seeing such an effect. The jewelled band on the right arm was called *The Mountain of Light*; and that on the left, *The Sea of Light*.*

"The throne was a platform of pure white marble, raised a few steps from the ground, and carpeted with shawls and cloth of gold, on which the King sat in the fashion of his country, his back supported by a large cushion encased in a net work of pearls. The spacious apartment in which this was erected, is open in front, and supported by two twisted columns of white marble, fluted with gold.† The interior was profusely decorated with carving, gilding, arabesque painting, and looking-glass, which latter material was interwoven with all the other ornaments, gleaming and glittering in every part from the vaulted roof to the floor. Vases of waxen flowers, and others containing rose-water, were arranged about the apartment.

"While the Great King was approaching his throne, the whole assembly continued bowing their heads to the ground, till he had taken his place.‡ A dead

* These superb diamonds were placed in the Persian regalia by the spacious conquests of Nadir Shah. The baza-bands or armlets (*armilæ*) are worn only by the Shah and his sons. They appear to have been an ancient symbol of royalty. See 2 Sam. i. 10.

† These pillars are said to have been brought from the palace of Kuzeem Khan at Shiraz.—Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 113.

‡ "We approached him, bowing after our own manner: but the Persians bowed as David did to Saul, who stooped with his face

silence then ensued, the whole presenting a most magnificent and, indeed, awful appearance; the stillness being so profound amongst so vast a concourse, that the slightest rustling of the trees was heard, and the softest trickling of the water from the fountains into the canals. As the motionless state of every thing lasted for more than a minute, it allowed me time to observe particularly the figure of the Shah. His face seemed exceedingly pale, of a polished marble hue; with the finest contour of features; and eyes dark, brilliant, and piercing; a beard black as jet, and of a length which fell below his chest, over a large portion of the effulgent belt which held his diamond-hilted dagger. This extraordinary amplitude of beard appears to have been a badge of Persian royalty, from the earliest times; for we find it attached to the heads of the sovereigns, in all the ancient sculptured remains throughout the empire.

"In the midst of this solemn stillness, while all eyes were fixed on the bright object before them, which sat, indeed, as radiant and immoveable as the image of Mithras itself, a sort of volley of words,

to the earth, and bowed himself.' (1 Sam. xxiv. 8.) That is, not touching the earth with the face, but bowing with the body at right angles, the hands placed on the knees, and the legs somewhat asunder. It is only on remarkable occasions that the prostration of the *Rouse Zemeen* (the face to the earth) is made; which must be the falling upon the face to the earth and worshipping, as Joshua did. (Josh. v. 14.) Stated distances were fixed for taking off our shoes; some of the ambassador's suite being obliged to take off theirs at a considerable distance from the king, while others, whose rank gave them more privilege, kept theirs on until near the stairs which led into the room. As the Persians allow to their monarch a great character of sanctity, calling him the *Zil Allah*, the shadow of the Almighty, they pay him almost divine honours. See Josh. v. 15."—Morier, vol. ii. pp. 172, 3. See, for an account of the ceremonial of the Indo-Chinese courts, Mod. Trav. *Birmah*, pp. 219—26; 231, 5. Also, Turkey, p. 215, note.

bursting at one impulse from the mouths of the moullahs and astrologers, made me start, and interrupted my gaze. This strange outcry was a kind of heraldic enumeration of the Great King's titles, dominions, and glorious acts; with an appropriate panegyric on his courage, liberality, and extended power. When this was ended, all heads still bowing to the ground, and the air had ceased to vibrate with the sounds, there was a pause for about half a minute, and then his Majesty spoke. The effect was even more startling than the sudden bursting forth of the moullahs; for this was like a voice from the tombs, so deep, so hollow, and, at the same time, so penetratingly loud. Having thus addressed his people, he looked towards Captain Willock, the British *chargé d'affaires*, with whom I stood; and then we moved forward to the front of the throne. The same awful voice, though in a lowered tone, spoke to him, and honoured me with a gracious welcome to his dominions. After his Majesty had put a few questions to me, and received my answers, we fell back into our places; and were instantly served with bowls of a most delicious sherbet, which very grateful refreshment was followed by an attendant presenting to us a large silver tray, on which lay a heap of small coin, called a shy, of the same metal, mixed with a few pieces of gold. I imitated my friend in all these ceremonies, and held out both my hands to be filled with this royal largess; which, with no little difficulty, we passed through our festal trappings into our pockets.

"When the rest of the gratulatory compliments of the day had been uttered between the monarch and his assembled nobles, the chief executioner, our former herald, gave us the signal that all was over for that morning. We then retired, as we came, under his

auspices; but, if possible, with still more pressure and heat than we had battled through in our approach."*

The throne described by this Traveller, is probably the celebrated *takht-i mermer* (marble throne) of which the materials were brought from Yezd: it is adorned with handsome reliefs. His Majesty received Sir Gore Ouseley, sitting on the gorgeous *takht-i-taous* or peacock throne, which Nadir Shah brought as a trophy from Delhi. It occupied a corner, not the centre of the room. Next to it, immoveable as statues, stood two little princes, five or six years of age. More remote from the throne, but in the same line, were five other princes. On the same side, but in a recess formed by large windows, appeared three *mustoufies* (secretaries). About two yards from the door, and five or six from the throne, in a diagonal direction, was the ambassador's chair, with his suite behind him, standing. Four of the principal ministers stood near the door. Beyond them, extending in a line towards the left of the throne, were five or six officers in attendance. One held a most beautiful *taje* or crown, not inferior in the lustre of the jewels to that which decorated the head of the Shah; another bore the scimitar of state; a third, the royal bow, in case; a fourth, the shield; and the fifth, a golden tray filled with diamonds and precious stones of wonderful size and dazzling brilliancy. The golden throne seemed studded at the sides with precious stones of every possible tint; and the back resembled a sun or glory, of which the radiation was imitated by diamonds, garnets, and rubies. Of such also were composed the two birds which give name to the throne, one perched on each of its enamelled shoulders.† The King's dress

* Porter, vol. i. pp. 209–10.

† Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 130. See also, for a minute description of

on this occasion, was scarlet; but it was difficult to discover either the colour or the texture, from the profusion of large pearls and sparkling jewels with which it was embroidered. At the audience given to Sir John Malcolm in 1800, the ground of his Majesty's robes was white, covered in like manner with jewels of an extraordinary size; and "their splendour, from his being seated where the rays of the sun played upon them, was so dazzling, that it was impossible to distinguish the minute parts which combined to give such amazing brilliancy to his whole figure."* His more ordinary dress is thus described by Sir Robert K. Porter, who had the transcendent honour of taking the Shah's portrait in this costume. "His head was covered with the cap of his country; a black lamb-skin, worn alike by prince and peasant. His robe was of fine gold brocade, having a deep cape of dark sable falling on his shoulder. His under garments were composed of red Kashmere shawls of the richest work. Another shawl, of deeper hues, but of greater value, bound his waist, in which was stuck a curved dagger, blazing with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and hung with a tassel of the largest pearls, with which

this throne, Johnson, p. 167. His majesty possesses an assortment of thrones, each having its distinguishing name. Mr. Morier, describing either the takht-i-tawoos or another, says: "The throne upon which the king sat, was ascended by steps, upon which were painted dragons. It is surrounded with a balustrade; and the whole of it, which is overlaid with fine gold, beautifully enamelled, we were told, cost 100,000 tomauns. The throne of Solomon was ascended by steps: there were stays on each side the sitting place: and, what is its principal feature of resemblance, was overlaid with pure gold.—2 Chron. ix. 17, 18."—Morier, vol. ii. p. 174. See also p. 46 of this volume.

* Sketches of Persia, vol. ii. p. 129. See note † at p. 66 of this volume.

he occasionally played while he discoursed. Behind him was placed one of his magnificent cushions, totally covered with orient net-work, and tasselled also at its corners with bunches of the same costly ornaments. Two Persian noblemen stood a few paces from him; one bearing the royal mace or sceptre; the other, the shield and sword; each of the insignia of empire being thickly studded with every kind of precious stone. The boss of the shield was one entire ruby, which, for size, colour, and perfection, is probably not to be matched in the world."*

The Shah gave audience to the British Envoy, Col. Macdonald Kinneir, in 1820, at the royal camp near Achar; and although the ceremonial was nearly similar, the circumstances give interest to the scene, as they approach still nearer to the customs of ancient times. On the day appointed the Envoy and his suite proceeded on horseback, "in gay apparel and scarlet *shakshoors*," attended by an escort and a large body of servants, to the royal tent. Before the first entrance, the corps of *zemboorekchees*, or camel-artillery men, were drawn up in three sides of a square. Their uniform is most fantastic, consisting of a yellow hussar jacket, white *shulvars*, and boots; a scarlet sugar-loaf cap, edged with black fur, with a brass plate and feather, forms the head-dress. Here, the party dismounted, and entering the receiving tent, were regaled with *kaleouns*, coffee, tea, and other refreshments. "After waiting some time," proceeds Lieut. Alexander, "his Majesty was announced to be on his throne. We rose and passed through the first entrance, the Envoy carrying the letter from the Governor-general, inclosed in silk and cloth of gold.

* Porter, vol. i. p. 353.

We found all the troops in camp drawn out in a large square, who, in compliment to us, were dressed in scarlet jackets. We walked onwards, passed through the immense tent in which was the judgement-seat, a small throne adorned with pearls and precious stones, and then through the entrance to the enclosure formed by the serai *purdah*. Over this, as over the first entrance, was the favourite representation of the hero Rustum killing the white demon, and liberating his sovereign from confinement. Within was a line of battle-ax and mace bearers. At the upper end of the inclosure, was a splendid open tent supported by flowered and gilded poles; we advanced towards it, led by the master of the ceremonies, with wand of office, high turban, and scarlet and furred robe. Half way up the walk, we stopped, threw off our slippers, and made a low obeisance towards the tent, from which issued a clear and solemn voice, saying, *Khoosh amudeed*, You are welcome. We made two other obeisances, passed through a guard of richly dressed musketeers, and entered by a door in the side wall of the royal tent. Opposite to us, on a high and magnificent throne, sat his Persian Majesty, or, as the master of the ceremonies designated him, *Kebleh Alum*, *Shaheis Shah*, *Zil Ullah*; the Centre of the Universe, the King of Kings, and Shadow of God.

"He appeared a hale man and tall, sixty-five years of age, and had lost some of his front teeth. He had on the usual Persian cap, encircled by the *koorah*, a rich bandeau of jewels, and was clothed in a close red dress; his *bazoo-bunds*, or armlets, were splendid, as were his girdle and dagger; all these were closely set with gems of rare beauty and immense value. His beard flowed below his girdle. On his right stood a line of twelve princes of the blood royal, all possessing

the fine aquiline nose which distinguishes the Kujurs; below them and near us, stood several of the ministers; among others, our friend Mirza Abool Hussein Khan, adorned with the first and second orders of the [Sun and the] Lion and the Sun.* He marshalled us along the wall opposite his Majesty, according to our rank. The Envoy was in front of us near a gilt chair. The letter of the Governor-general was laid at his Majesty's feet. After again bowing low, and receiving the *Khoosh amudeed*, the Mirza introduced us to the king, who was amusing himself with dangling in his hand a heavy dagger-knot of large pearls. Outside the tent, and on his Majesty's left, splendidly attired, were three young men, the shield, sword, and cupbearers, all which insignia glistered with jewels. On the King's right, and on the ground, upon the carpet, was the lofty cylindrical crown, on which the plume or *jika* nodded; also, the *kaza-nai* or Turkish caleoon, and an immense pillow studded with pearls. Altogether, there was a great display of pearls: the throne, high-backed and with arms, was one mass of them. It is said that his Majesty has a mule-load of these precious

* "Nothing can be more curious than the fact of Mahommedan princes creating honours of knighthood to confer distinctions on Christians. The usage commenced with the court of Constantinople, and was followed by that of Teheran. The King of Persia created the order of the Sun, for General Gardanne, the ambassador from Buonaparte. This order was offered to Sir Harford Jones, envoy from the King of England, but was declined on account of the circumstances attending its origin. It was subsequently pressed upon the acceptance of General Malcolm, but he deemed it proper to follow the example of the envoy of the King of England. The King of Persia determined, however, as he said, that his first European friend should wear an order of his creation, and instituted that of the Lion and Sun, which had been from very ancient times the arms of Persia."—*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 153.

articles in his treasury, besides a vast quantity of jewels, and thirty millions sterling in specie: no other monarch in the universe is possessed of so much treasure. His Majesty was in excellent spirits, or *demaughish chak bood*, as the Persians express it, and was exceedingly affable and polite. His personal attentions to the Envoy were very marked; he twice pressed him to sit, which the Envoy declined doing. This mark of respect on the part of the latter, raised him in the good opinion of the Shah and his ministers. His Majesty's manner to the Russian envoy, Prince Menzikoff, was cold and distant; he did not ask him to sit, and would not permit his suite to enter the tent; they stood in a line outside. The Russians had themselves alone to blame for all this, for they still insist on wearing their boots.

"The Shah said, that he had been anxiously expecting the Envoy for some time, and that 'his place had been long empty.' The latter replied that, after leaving Shiraz, the sickness which prevailed in camp, prevented his making such rapid progress as he wished, but that, after quitting Isfahan, he had hastened to the royal stirrup. His Majesty said, it was fortunate he had not arrived sooner, or he would have been involved in disputes with the Russians; adding, '*poof rekshe pur*,' I spit on their beards. He then drew comparisons between the English and the Russian nations, and was complimented by the Envoy on the successes which had attended the Persian arms. In return to this compliment, he said: 'Whose dogs are they, that they should attempt to compete with the *Kizil-bashees*?' (golden-heads, as the Persians call themselves.) Upon this, Mirza Aboul Hussein Khan, who had been long anxiously waiting an opportunity to join in the conversation, exclaimed, '*Aferin!*

aferin! la illah illulah: koorbanut-i-shumah.' Excellent! there is but one God; I am your sacrifice. *Maskalla!* God be praised! The victorious army of the Shah has already driven the Russians out of Georgia.' Then, turning to the Envoy, he said: 'Your face is whitened: your consequence is increased by the condescension of his Majesty.' The Envoy merely answered, '*Barek Ullah*,' Praise be to God. When the Shah had drunk coffee, and smoked from a diamond-covered caleoon brought in by a khan, we took leave, after half an hour's desultory conversation. The introduction was well conducted and very impressive, and the exhibition grand and imposing."[1]

Mr. Morier's description of the entertainment given by the Shah on the fourth day of the festival of Nooroz, to which the Envoy was invited, is interesting, both as an illustration of the manners of the modern Persians, and on account of the conformity of some of the existing customs to the institutions of remote antiquity.

"The court in which the various exhibitions were to take place, appeared to us to be nearly 200 feet square. On each side of the great gate, were sixteen arched compartments, each of which opened into a small room. In the centre was a high pole, with a truck at the top, and small projections, for the convenience of ascending it. This pole is for the purpose of horse-exercises and shooting at the mark. Close under the room in which the Shah was seated, was a basin of water, on the other side of which were erected the poles and ropes of a rope-dancer. In a circle round these, were placed fire-works in various forms and quantities. Four figures, composed of paper and

[1] Alexander's Travels, pp. 265—8.

linen, and dressed like Europeans, were erected on high, and surrounded with fire-works. At a distance were elephants of paper, stuck all over with rockets; on all the walls were rockets, and fire-works were placed in every direction. Opposite to the Shah, in two lines, were the newly-raised troops, with drummers standing in a row at the farthest extremity. In the centre of these was the *Nasakchee Bashee*, who appeared as the director of the entertainment. He had a stick in his hand, and wore on his head a *jika*, a distinguishing ornament borne by particular people only, to whom the King grants the liberty.

"The first ceremony was the introduction of the presents from the different provinces. That from Prince Hosseln Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the conductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper the list of the articles. The present from Prince Hosseln Ali Mirza, consisted of a very long train of large trays placed on men's heads, on which were shawls, stuffs of all sorts, pearls, &c.; then, many trays filled with sugar and sweetmeats; after that, many mules laden with fruit, &c. &c. The next present was from Mahomed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan.* He was the eldest born of the king's sons; but he had been deprived by his father of the succession, because his mother, a Georgian slave, was of an extraction less noble than that of the mothers of the younger princes. His present accorded with the character which is assigned to him; it consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules.

* Since dead.

After this, came the present from the prince of Yezd, another of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and the silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Meshed. The last of all, and the most valuable, was that from Hajee Mohamed Hossein Khan, *Ameen-ed-doulah*. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine Cashmire shawl, and each carrying a load of a thousand *tomauns*. The other offerings had been lodged in the *Sandeek-Khonch*. This was conveyed in a different direction to the treasury. Each present, like the first, contained a portion of sugar and sweetmeats.

"When all the train had passed in procession, one by one, before the King, the amusements commenced. First came the rope-dancer: a boy about about twelve years old ascended the rope, and paced it backward and forward. The same rope was continued to the roof of the room in which the King was seated, making first an angle of 40°, and then, in a second flight, an angle of 50°, with its horizontal extension. The boy, balancing himself with his pole, walked up the first steadily, and with very little more difficulty ascended the second, while the music below animated him in his progress. He then, with the same steadiness, descended, walking backward, and safely reached the horizontal rope. After this, a man in a kind of petticoat began a dance of the most extravagant attitudes. A large elephant, which had been in waiting amid the crowd, was next brought forward, and was made to give a shriek, and then to kneel down, paying, as it were, his *selaam* to the king. A company of wrestlers succeeded; and every one who threw his antagonist on his back, ran before the king, and received a *tomaun*. When ten such feats had been successively performed, a man led in a bear,

with which in his turn he wrestled. But the bear always had the advantage; and when his antagonist attempted to throw him into the basin of water, the bear became so much out of humour, that, if he had not been deprived of his teeth, he would probably have demolished the unlucky assailant. Then rams were brought into the arena, and, in several couples, fought for some time with much obstinacy. A poor ox was next introduced, and after him a young lion. The ox was scarcely suffered to walk, before the lion was let loose upon him. Twice was the lion dragged off, and twice permitted to return to the charge, which he always made in the rear, and of which the success was secure and easy. A less sanguinary display succeeded: a bear was brought forward by a company of *bosies* or mountebanks, and danced for some time to the rude noise and music of its leaders. Then came a man who, on his bare head, balanced, among other things, two high vases full of water, which another was to break with his cane. To all these different performers the King threw different sums, as he was pleased with their several tricks and feats. At sunset, his Majesty retired to say his *namaz* (vespers), when his *Nakara Khanah* (drums and trumpets) played as usual. At this moment the Envoy retired, happy to escape the noise and smoke of the fire-works which were to close the entertainment.

"On the 25th, the King held the races, at which also the Envoy was desired to be present. From the Casvin gate, at which we left the city, we proceeded about half a mile, to a fine even part of the country, where a tent was pitched for the king. All his new-raised troops were arranged on the right and in front of it. On the left, facing the tent, we stood in a line near the ministers, Mirza Sheffees and the

Ameen-ed-dóulah. Directly opposite his Majesty were eight of his sons, richly dressed in velvet and gold brocade coats, all glittering with gold and jewels. One of these carried by his side his father's bow and his quiver thickly set with precious stones. The master of the ceremonies in the field was a young Persian, who carried an ornamented and gilded spear. One or two of the princes were mounted on white horses, the lower parts of which were dyed a rich orange colour, terminated at the top by little flowers. The Persians much admire this species of disfigurement, and their taste is not singular in the East. At about fifty paces' distance from the princes, stood the king's band of music, with a troop of *looties* and their monkeys. The state elephants were on the ground, on the largest of which the King, seated in a very elegant *howdar*, rode forth from the city. When he alighted, he was saluted with a discharge of *zemboorehs*; the salute, indeed, is always fired when the King alights from his horse, or mounts. In one of the courts of the palace at Shiraz, we had previously noticed this artillery. The *zemboorek* is a small gun mounted on the back of a camel. The conductor, from his seat, behind guides the animal with a long bridle, and loads and fires the little cannon without difficulty. He wears a coat of orange-coloured cloth, and a cap with a brass front; and his camel carries a triangular green and red flag. Of these, there were one hundred on the field; and when their salute was fired, they retreated in a body behind the King's tent, where the camels were made to kneel down. Collectively, they make a fine military appearance. This species of armament is common to many Asiatic states; yet, the effect, at best, is very trifling. The Persians, however, place great confidence in their execution; and Mirza Sheffeea, in

speaking of them to the Envoy, said: 'These are what the Russians dread.'

"No exhibition could be more miserable than the races, the immediate object of our excursion. The prize is what the king may be pleased to give to the first jockeys. On this occasion there were two sets, which came severally from a distance of twelve and twenty-one miles. Each consisted of about twelve ill-looking horses, mounted by boys of ten or twelve years old, who were wretchedly dressed in a shirt and pair of breeches, boots and cap. In each race, the king's horses won, of course. Horses are trained in this manner for a reason sufficiently obvious, in a country where the fortunes of the state and of every individual are exposed to such sudden changes. Every one likes to be prepared with some mode of escape, in case of pursuit. Now horses thus inured to running, will continue on the gallop for a day together, while a high-conditioned and well-fed animal would drop at the end of ten miles. For this reason, the King always keeps himself well supplied with a stud of this description, as a resource in the event of an accident. When, on the death of his uncle, Aga Mahomed Khan, he was summoned (by Hajee Ibrahim, the minister of the late king) to assume as heir the sovereignty, he thus travelled from Shiraz to Teheran, a distance of 500 miles, in six days.

"In the interval of the race, the King sent the master of the ceremonies to desire the Envoy and his suite to come before him. We dismounted from our horses, and proceeded with the prime minister and the *Ameen-ed-dowlah*, before the King's presence, making low bows as we advanced. When we were about twenty steps from his Majesty, we stopped, and made our final low bow. The King was seated on a high

chair under a canopy, the sides of which were formed of gold cloth and of looking-glasses. The chair itself was beautifully embroidered with enamelled flowers and other ornaments: on one of the arms was a pot of flowers, and on the other a vase of rose-water. On one side was spread a velvet and gold cloth carpet, with the pearl pillow. The King was in his riding-dress, a close coat of purple velvet embroidered in pearl, the sheep-skin cap, and a pair of Bulgar boots. His manners are perfectly easy and unconstrained, with much dignity and affability. He first inquired after the Envoy's health, of whose good qualities the two ministers then entered into an immense eulogy, praising him in terms the most extravagant. Then, the names of all the party were mentioned to the King, and each was asked how he did. All the conversation was complimentary. After the whole was over, we returned to our horses. The king then mounted, and the salute was fired from the *zembooreks*. His infantry first marched off the ground; they were dressed differently, in black or crimson velvet jackets, with loose breeches of crimson or yellow silk, black sheep-skin caps, and light boots. The King passed us at a distance on horseback, preceded by a body of *chatters*, who were dressed with fantastical caps on their heads, and lively-coloured clothes. No person was near him, nor, indeed, is any one permitted. The King of Persia is an insulated being, alone in his court. How different is the state of the sultan at Constantinople, who is almost concealed by the crowds of his attendants! The princes followed, and then the mob."*

The same Traveller was present, during his second residence in the Persian capital, at the celebration of

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 207—212. See plate at p. 197.

the annual solemnity in commemoration of the murder of Hossein, the royal martyr of Persia. This takes place during the first ten days of *Moharrem*, the first month of the Mohammedan year. The last tragical scenes of his life, commencing with his flight from Medinah, and terminating with his death on the plains of Kerbelah, on the road to Kufah, form the subject of a drama in ten parts, one of which is performed on each successive day of the mourning. The last part, which is reserved for the tenth day, called the *Roos Katl* (day of murder), or *Roos Hossein*, comprises the events of the day on which he met his death, and is acted with great pomp before the king in the largest square of the city. The enthusiasm with which the Persians dwell upon the character of Hossein, and every incident of the closing scenes of his life, is undiminished by lapse of time. Their strongest religious and national feelings are on this occasion brought into play. They execrate Yezid, the usurper, and Omar, with such rancour, that it is necessary, Mr. Morier says, to have witnessed the scenes that are exhibited in their cities, to judge of the degree of fanaticism which at this time possesses them. "I have seen," he adds, "some of the most violent of them, as they vociferated *Ya Hossein!* walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered, and their bodies streaming with blood from the cuts which they have voluntarily given to themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification." *

* "Such must have been the cuttings which were forbidden to the Israelites by Moses, Levit. xix. 28; Deut. xiv. 1. And these extravagancies, I conjecture, most resemble the practices of the priests of Baal, who 'cried aloud and cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.' 1 Kings xviii. 28. See also Jer. xvi. 6."—Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 177.

The preparations made throughout the city, consist in erecting large tents (called *takieh*), fitted up with black linen, and the emblems of mourning, for the performance. This expense, together with the hire of a *moollah*, the actors, and the needful theatricals, is borne either by the *mahal* (district), or by men of consequence, as an act of devotion. Besides these *takiehs* in different open places and streets, a wooden pulpit, without any such appendage, is sometimes erected, from which a *moollah* harangues the crowd.

On the fifth night of the *Moharrem*, the Grand Vizier invited the whole of the embassy to attend his *takieh*. "On entering the room," says Mr. Morier, "we found a large assembly of Persians clad in dark-coloured clothes, which, accompanied with their black caps, black beards, and their dismal faces, looked really as if they were 'afflicting their souls.' We observed that 'no man did put on his ornaments.'* They wore neither their daggers nor any other part of their dress which they regard as ornamental. A *moollah* of high consideration sat next to the Grand Vizier, and kept him in serious conversation, while the remaining part of the company communicated with each other in whispers. After we had sat some time, the windows of the room in which we were seated, were thrown open, and we then discovered a priest placed on a high chair, under the covering of a tent, surrounded by a crowd of the populace, the whole place being lighted up with candles. He commenced with an exordium, in which he reminded them of the great value of each tear shed for the sake of Imam Hossein, which would be an atonement for a past life of wickedness; and also informed them, with much solemnity,

* See Exod. xxxiii. 4.

that 'whatever soul it shall be, that shall not be afflicted in the same day, shall be cut off from among the people.' * He then began to read from a book, with a sort of nasal chant, that part of the tragic history of Hossein appointed for the day, which soon produced its effect upon his audience; for he had scarcely turned over three leaves, before the Grand Vizier began shaking his head to and fro, and to utter, in a most piteous voice, the usual Persian exclamation of grief, 'Wʻahi! wahi! wahi!' both of which acts were followed, in a more or less violent manner, by the rest of the audience.

"The chanting of the priest lasted nearly an hour, and some parts of his story were, indeed, pathetic and well calculated to rouse the feelings of a superstitious and lively people. In one part of it, all the company stood up; and I observed that the Grand Vizier turned himself toward the wall, with his hand extended before him, and prayed. After the priest had finished, a company of actors appeared, some dressed as women, who chanted forth their parts from slips of paper, in a sort of recitative, that was not unpleasing even to our ears. In the very tragical parts, most of the audience appeared to weep very unaffectedly; and as I sat near the Grand Vizier and his neighbour, the priest, I was witness to many real tears that fell from them. In some of these mournful assemblies, it is the custom for a priest to go about to each person at the height of his grief, with a piece of cotton in his hand, with which he carefully collects the falling tears, and then squeezes it into a bottle, preserving them with the greatest caution. This practically illustrates that passage in Psalm lvi. 8,

* See Levit. xxiii. 29.

'Put thou my tears into thy bottle.' Some Persians believe, that, in the agony of death, when all medicines have failed, a drop of tears so collected, put into the mouth of a dying man, has been known to revive him; and it is for this use that they are collected.

"On the *Roze Catl*, the tenth day, the Ambassador was invited by the King to be present at the termination of the ceremonies, in which the death of Hossein was to be represented. We set off after breakfast, and placed ourselves in a small tent that was pitched for our accommodation, over an arched gateway, which was situated close to the room in which his Majesty was to be seated. We looked upon the great *maidan*, or square, in front of the palace, at the entrance of which we perceived a circle of *Kajars*, or people of the king's own tribe, who were standing barefooted, and beating their breasts in cadence to the chanting of one who stood in the centre, and with whom they now and then joined their voices in chorus. Smiting the breast is a universal act throughout the mourning; and the breast is made bare for that purpose, by unbuttoning the top of the shirt. The King, in order to shew his humility, ordered the *Kajars* (among whom were many of his own relations) to walk about, without either shoes or stockings, to superintend the order of the different ceremonies about to be performed; and they were to be seen stepping tenderly over the stones, with sticks in their hands, doing the duties of menials; now keeping back a crowd, then dealing out blows with their sticks, and settling the order of the processions. Part of the square was partitioned off by an inclosure, which was to represent the town of Kerbelah, near which Hossein was put to death; and close to this were two

small tents, which were to represent his encampment in the desert with his family. A wooden platform covered with carpets, upon which the actors were to perform, completed all the scenery used on the occasion.

"A short time after we had reached our tent, the King appeared; and although we could not see him, yet, we were soon apprised of his presence by all the people standing up, and by the bowing of his officers. The procession then commenced as follows.

"First came a stout man, naked above the waist, balancing in his girdle a long, thick pole, surmounted with an ornament made of tin, curiously wrought with devices from the Koran; in height altogether about 30 feet. Then an other, also partly naked, balanced in his girdle an ornamented pole still more ponderous, though not so high, upon which a young dervish, resting his feet upon the bearer's girdle, had placed himself, chanting verses with all his might in praise of the king. After him, a still stronger man, a water-carrier, walked forward, bearing an immense leathern sack, filled with water, slung on his naked back, on which, by way of bravado, four boys were piled one over the other. This personage, we were told, was emblematical of the great thirst which Hossein suffered in the desert.

"A litter in the shape of a sarcophagus succeeded; this was borne on the shoulders of eight men, and is called the *Kaber Peighember*, or the tomb of the prophet. On its front was a large oval ornament entirely covered with precious stones, and just above it, a great diamond star. On a small projection were two tapers, placed on candlesticks enriched with jewels. The top and sides were covered with Cashmere shawls, and on the summit rested a turban, intended to re-

present the head-dress of the prophet. On each side walked two men bearing poles, from which a variety of beautiful shawls were suspended, at the top of which were representations of Mahommed's hand, studded with jewellery.

"After this, came four led horses, caparisoned in the richest manner. The fronts of their heads were ornamented with plates, entirely covered with diamonds, which emitted a thousand beautiful rays. Their bodies were dressed with shawls and gold stuffs; and on their saddles was placed some object emblematical of the death of Hossein. When all these had passed, they arranged themselves in a row, to the right of the king's apartment.

"After a short pause, a body of fierce-looking men, with only a loose white shirt thrown over them, marched forward. They were all smeared with blood, and each brandishing a sword, they sang a sort of hymn, the tones of which were very wild. These represented the sixty-two relations, or the martyrs, as the Persians call them, who accompanied Hossein, and were slain in defending him. Close after them was led a white horse, covered with artificial wounds, with arrows stuck all about him, and caparisoned in black, representing the horse upon which Hossein was mounted when he was killed. A band of about fifty men, striking two pieces of wood together in their hands, completed the procession. They arranged themselves in rows before the King; and marshalled by a *maître de ballet*, who stood in the middle to regulate their movements, they performed a dance, clapping their hands in the best possible time. The *maître de ballet* all this time sang in recitative, to which the dancers joined at different intervals with loud shouts, and reiterated clapping of their pieces of wood.

"The processions were succeeded by the tragedians. Hossein came forward, followed by his wives, sisters, and relatives. They performed many long and tedious acts; but, as our distance from the stage was too great for our hearing the many affecting things which no doubt they said to each other, we will proceed at once to where the unfortunate Hossein lay extended on the ground, ready to receive the death-stroke from a ruffian dressed in armour, who acted the part of executioner. At this moment, a burst of lamentation issued from the multitude, and heavy sobs and real tears came from almost every one of those who were near enough to come under our inspection. The indignation of the populace wanted some object upon which to vent itself, and it fell upon those of the actors who had performed the parts of Yezid's soldiers. No sooner was Hossein killed, than they were driven off the ground by a volley of stones, followed by shouts of abuse. We were informed that it is so difficult to procure performers to fill these characters, that, on the present occasion, a party of Russian prisoners were pressed into the army of Yezid; and they made as speedy an exit after the catastrophe as it was in their power. The scene terminated with the burning of Kerbelah. Several reed huts had been constructed behind the inclosure before-mentioned, which, on a sudden, were set on fire. The tomb of Hossein was seen covered with black cloth, and, upon it, sat a figure disguised in a tiger's skin, which was intended to represent the miraculous lion, recorded to have kept watch over his remains after he had been buried.

"The most extraordinary part of the whole exhibition, was the representation of the dead bodies of the martyrs, who, having been decapitated, were all placed in a row, each body with a head close to it.

To effect this, several Persians buried themselves alive, leaving the head out just above ground; while others put their heads under ground, leaving out the body. The heads and bodies were placed in such relative positions to each other, as to make it appear that they had been severed. This is done by way of penance; but in hot weather, the violence of the exertion has been known to produce death. The whole ceremony was terminated by the *Khotbeh*, which is an action of prayer for Mohammed and his descendants, and for the prosperity of the King. This was delivered in a loud voice by a man, the best crier of his time, (as Xenophon calls Tolmides,) who is celebrated for his strong voice, and indeed deservedly so; for at about fifty yards' distance from us, we heard every word he said, notwithstanding the noise of the multitude which surrounded us." *

The costume of the modern Persians has already been described in our account of the Shirazees; but a few particulars must be added from the pages of Mr. Morier. "The dress of the Persians," he remarks, "has been much changed since the time of Chardin. It never possessed the dignity and solidity of the Turkish dress, and much less now than ever. So materially, indeed, have their fashions altered, that, in comparing with the modes of the present day, the plates and descriptions in Chardin and Le Brun, we can recognise no longer the same people. It is extraordinary that an Asiatic nation so much charmed by show and brilliancy, should have adopted in their apparel the dark and sombre colours which are now universal among all ranks. In the reign of the Zund family, light colours were much in vogue; but the present race,

* Morier, vol. ii. pp. 179—184.

perhaps from a spirit of opposition, encourage dark ones. A Persian, therefore, looks a most melancholy personage, resembling closely some of the Armenian priests and holy men whom I have seen in Turkey. Browns, dark olives, bottle-greens, and dark blues, are the colours mostly worn. Red they dislike; and it is singular, that this is a hue which fashion seems to have discarded even in the countries far beyond the northern and eastern confines of Persia; for the merchants of Bokhara, who come down annually to Bushеer to buy cloths, totally disregard scarlets, and will not give any thing like the price for that colour, which they will pay for others.*

"The head-dress of every Persian, from the king to the lowest subject, is composed of the same material, and consists of a black cap about a foot and a half high: these caps are all jet black, and all made of skins of the same animal. The finest are taken from the lamb in the moment of its birth; and they decrease in value down to the skin of the full-grown sheep, which the common *reyut* wears. The lamb-skins are also used to line coats and pelisses. The only distinction in the head-dress of Persia, is that of a shawl wrapped round the black cap; and this distinction is confined to the king, his sons, and some of the nobility and great officers of state. Cashmeer shawls have been discouraged of late, in order to promote the domestic manufactory of brocade shawls.

"Like the Turks and most other Asiatics, the Per-

* This taste for sombre colours would seem, indeed, to be a Kujeree fashion, introduced and enforced by sumptuary laws, by the present family, who are of Turkish origin. See vol. i. p. 334. The king himself and his sons, however, occasionally wear crimson or scarlet. *Jeer-jamahs* of red silk are not uncommon, and scarlet cloth boots are worn.

sians are very careful in preserving warmth in the feet. In winter, they wear a thick woollen sock; and in a journey, they bind their feet and legs with a long bandage of cloth, which they increase with the advance of the cold. They have three different sorts of shoes, and two sorts of boots. 1. A green slipper, the heel about an inch and a half high, with a painted piece of bone at the top: these are worn by the higher classes, and by all before the king. 2. A flat slipper of red or yellow leather, with a little iron shoe under the heel, and a piece of bone over that shoe, on which, as in the former, the heel rests. 3. A stout shoe, with a flat sole, turning up at the toe, which covers the whole foot, and is made either of leather or of thick-quilted cotton: it is worn by the peasants and by the *chatters* or running footmen. The boots are, 1. A very large pair, with high heels, turned up at the toe, generally of Russia leather, and covering the leg. 2. A smaller and lighter kind, buttoning at the side and reaching only to the leg. When the Persians ride, they put on a loose trowser of cloth, called *shalwar*, into which they insert the skirt of the *alkalok* (or vest), as well as the silken trowsers (*zeer jumah*); so that the whole looks like an inflated bladder. The *shalwar* is very useful in carrying light baggage.*

* Although the climate requires full as much clothing in winter as that of Turkey, the Persians do not load themselves by any means with so many clothes as the Turks. Mr. Morier gives the following general inventory of a Persian's wardrobe: 1. The *zeer-jumah*; wide trowsers of red silk or blue cotton. 2. The *peerahân*, or shirt, generally of silk. 3. The *alkalok*, a tight vest of chints quilted with cotton, descending below the calf of the leg, and with sleeves open from the elbow. 4. The *kâba* (or *kouba*); an outer vest, fitting tight to the hips, and closed from the elbow by buttons. There is a double-breasted sort, made of cloth or quilted cotton, called *togaler*, which is worn in winter. 5. Over the *kâba* comes the *shâl-kemer*, a shawl or bandage about eight

"The Persians shave all the head except a tuft of hair just on the crown, and two locks behind the ears; but they suffer their beards to grow to a much larger size than the Turks, and to spread more about the ears and temples. They almost universally dye them black, by an operation not very pleasant, and necessary to be repeated generally once a fortnight. It is always performed in the hot-bath, where the hair, being well saturated, takes the colour better. A thick paste of *henna* is largely plastered over the beard, which, after remaining an hour, is washed off, and leaves the hair of a very strong orange colour, bordering upon that of brick-dust. After this, a thick paste is made of the powdered leaf of the indigo, and a deep layer is put upon the beard: this second process, to be taken well, requires full two hours. During all this operation, the patient lies quietly upon his back, while the dye (more particularly the indigo, which is a strong astringent) contracts the features of his face in a very mournful manner, causing the lower part of the visage to smart and burn. When the indigo is at last washed off, the beard is of a very dark bottle-green, and becomes a jet black, only when it has met the air for twenty-four hours. Some, more fastidious, prefer a beard quite blue. The people of Bokhara are famous for blue beards. It is inconceivable how careful Persians are of this ornament: all the young men sigh for it, and grease their skins to hasten the growth of the hairs; because, until they

yards long and one broad, wrapped round the waist: this is either the Cashmeer or common Kerman shawl, or an English chintz or flowered muslin. To this is fastened, by a string, the *kunjur* or dagger. 6. Various sorts of outer coats, worn or thrown off according to the season: the *tekneh*, the *ammer*, the *barooner*, the splendid *katchee*, and the sudorific *hummum* or *poushtee*.

have a respectable covering, they are supposed not fit to enjoy any place of trust." *

To the northward and westward of Isfahan, the Turkish language prevails. "The natives," Lieut. Alexander says, "hardly understood a word of Persian in some of the villages" which he passed in his route to Hamadan. A remarkable difference of pronunciation also distinguishes the southern Persians from the inhabitants of the northern provinces. "Having hitherto been accustomed," says Sir W. Ouseley, "to hear Persian spoken with the southern accent, considered at Shiraz and Isfahan, and even in many places of the north, as extremely soft and melodious,—my ear was surprised, not very agreeably, by the broad, though more correct sound which Prince Ali Shah (at Tehraun) gave to the *a* before *n*, in such words as *Iráni* and *Isfahání*. These, an Italian would have pronounced exactly like the prince, while we had learned to express them as if written Iroony, Isfahoony."†

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 243—7.

† Ouseley, iii. 127, note. This softer pronunciation is called *shirein*. Lieut. Alexander, who had studied Persian in India, where the broad accent prevails, was much struck with the different pronunciation of Southern Persia: *noon* for *nán* (bread), *Iroon* for *Irán*, *Ulee* for *Ali*. To avoid ambiguity, however, the title of *Khán* is never sounded like *khoon*, which signifies blood. The Indian and Persian pronunciations differ in other respects, the long *o*, which the Persians can scarcely pronounce, being substituted in India for the *a* and *u* (*oo*.) Thus, *roos* (a day), *kuh* or *koah* (a mountain), and *roo* (the face), are pronounced in India, *roze*, *kuh*, *ro*. See OUSELEY, v. i. pp. xii—xvi. WARING, p. 147. This will explain the various orthography which occurs in writing Persian words, some travellers giving them as pronounced, others as written by the best authorities. It was our wish to observe a greater uniformity in the orthography adopted in our text: but this has been found impracticable, and we have generally followed the Traveller cited, giving, in most cases, the variations.

We had intended in this place to give some additional particulars relating to the customs and habits of the modern Persians, but our limits will not admit of going further into these amusing but unimportant details; * and we can make room only for the following description, taken from the pages of Sir W. Ouseley, of a Persian feast, given by the vizier to the British ambassador.

"We partook, on Dec. 7th, of a magnificent dinner at Mirza Shefa's house, to which we rode about seven o'clock in the evening, by the light of many *fanoos*, or lanterns made of paper or linen ... Our slippers having been left outside the door of a large handsome room, illuminated by means of lamps and candlesticks placed on the floor, the usual salutations and welcomes, and all the regular series of inquiries concerning health, and thanks for the honour conferred in visiting, began immediately on the Ambassador's entrance; were continued while Mirza Shefa conducted him to a corner; and did not end for some minutes after we were all seated on *nummuds* (*nummuds*) spread over the splendid carpet close to the walls. The guests were then furnished with *kaleáns* (*kaleoons*), mostly their own, and by their own servants; for, on these occasions, the *pish-khydmet or valet de chambre* generally accompanies his master, to prepare and present the implements of smoking, and to hold the slippers for him when taking leave. Coffee, without milk or sugar, was next introduced by the servants of our

* On this subject, the general reader may be referred, for ample satisfaction and amusement, to Mr. Morier's spirited work, "The Adventures of Hajji Baba." 3 vols. 1824. The indices to the Author's Travels and to Sir W. Ouseley's elaborate volumes, will also guide those who wish for further information, to some curious details. Nor must we forget to refer them to the Sketches of Persia so often cited in these pages.

host; one bringing, on a tray, several fine China cups without handles, each in a fillagree receptacle, silver or silver-gilt, of the same form; and another, from a large coffee-pot, filled three or four cups, one of which Mirza Sheffa handed to the Ambassador, who sat on his right. The servants, having distributed coffee to every person, collected the empty cups, and retired. *Kalioons* were again presented; and to them succeeded tea, in porcelain cups larger than those which had contained the coffee, but without saucers. After this appeared what in Europe would have constituted the dessert, but which was here the forerunner of dinner; apples, pears, melons, the grains of pomegranates in bowls, ices and sweetmeats, placed before us on capacious trays. These having been removed, after ten or twelve minutes, preparations were made for the display of a more substantial meal; while, from sitting cross-legged on the floor so long, my situation had become already extremely irksome.

"The servants now held before us silver basins, having covers grated or pierced with open work in several places, and ewers resembling large coffee-pots, from which they poured on our hands lukewarm water; this fell through the grated covers, and disappeared; the basins were then transferred to other guests for similar ablutions. Next were spread on the carpet, close to our knees, long narrow strips of flowered linen or chintz, the borders of which contained, in small compartments, some Persian verses inculcating hospitality to strangers and gratitude to God for the blessings of abundance. On these strips the bread was placed; it consisted of circular cakes large as our common dinner plates, flat, and not much thicker than a crown piece. A multitude of servants then entered, bringing various trays, which they laid down

near the cakes of bread; each tray containing at first only five or six bowls and dishes of lamb, fowl, fish, and vegetables,* besides two or three ample porcelain basins, filled with different sherbets, a long-handled spoon floating on the surface. One tray accommodated two guests, and between the trays were lofty pyramids of rice in its various forms, as *chillaw*, boiled simply, or as *pillaw*, mixed with meat and fruit, highly seasoned with spices, and enriched with unctuous sauces at once sweet and acid. Having laid before us the trays already described as amply furnished, the servants were nevertheless employed for a considerable time in loading them with additional bowls and dishes of viands, placed over or between the first, and others over them, so that at last, the pile accumulated on each tray amounted to fifteen or sixteen; and with the intermediate *pillaws* and sherbets, there must have been, before the conclusion of the feast, above three hundred china bowls and dishes at one moment on the floor.† The meat was chiefly saturated with oil or liquefied fat, corrected in some instances by vegetable acids.

"Being without knives and forks, we necessarily grasped with our fingers, not only solid meat, but even

* Mutton, at Teheraun, is excellent and cheap: beef is sometimes good, but is seldom eaten by the Persians. Delicious herrings, of a large species, called *shah-mahee* (king of fishes), and fine salmon, are obtained from the Caspian. Hares abound in the plain, but its flesh is deemed unclean by the Persians, in opposition to the Turks, who eat it without scruple.—Morier, vol. i. p. 220.

† The display of beautiful porcelain has long been a favourite luxury of the Persians. At a dinner given by the Ameen ul Doulch at Isfahan, the floor was covered with ten large trays, each containing twenty-five china bowls and dishes of various sizes. A Persian writer notices a banquet given by a private individual at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when 400 china dishes and vessels were at once placed before the guests.—Ouseley, iii. 21.

moist and clammy substances. For plates, the only substitutes were the flat cakes. Of these, it did not appear that much was eaten, but such bones and fragments were collected on them, as would, in France or England, have been removed by a servant. On these cakes, too, I notspell many of the Persians wiping, from time to time, the greasy fingers of their *right* hand, the left not being employed. When preparing to eat, they stooped forwards; kneeling, until their heads were nearly over some dishes, which the long beards of several almost touched; and I have often been surprised at the ingenuity which they evinced in scooping from a gelatinous mass, with the first finger only, or the first and second united, exactly such a quantity as they required for a mouthful; studiously contriving that their clothes should not be defiled by any particle.

"Towards the close of this feast, a lamb roasted entire, was brought to Mirza Shefia. On his recommending it to the Ambassador, two or three servants immediately tore the limbs and joints asunder, using in this simple operation their hands alone; which being stained, according to custom, with the reddish-brown tint of henna, excited some suspicion of dirtiness, perhaps not altogether false. With their hands alone, how impure soever they were, or seemed to be, those servants also restored to their places in the bowls and dishes, any meat, fish, or rice, that had fallen on the cloth; while their skirts, as they passed to and fro in crowds along the floor, which scarcely afforded room for their feet between the trays and lamps, often flapped against the *pillaus*, or into the bowls of sherbet. Such trifling accidents were probably inevitable; none more serious occurred; and our venerable host, although a man of impaired vision, had acquired the

habit of observing instantaneously, and could indicate to his servants, by a nod, any little want or embarrassment of a guest, even the most remote, without interrupting, for one moment, either his own, or another person's discourse.

"The trays and their contents were at last removed; and next, the chintz *sufrehs* (napkins), with all the morsels of bread, meat, and rice, that had been shattered on them. Basins were then brought, and ewers containing lukewarm water, strongly impregnated with the smell of roses. This was poured on our hands as at the former ablution. Kaleins, which had begun the feast, now terminated it; and we, having smoked and chatted for a few minutes, took leave of the Persians, receiving our slippers from the servants who waited near the door, and returned on horseback, as we had gone, by the light of *fánoos*. The entertainment which I have thus described, was enlivened, without the help of wine, by facetious anecdotes, and sallies of wit. The powers of agreeable conversation, Mirza Shefia seemed to possess in a very extraordinary degree; and his manners would have been reckoned easy and polished at any court in Europe." *

The *Takht-i Kajar*, a summer palace built by the present Shah, about three miles to the N.E. of Tehraun, on the acclivity of a detached hill, on the great slope of Mount Elborz, claims a passing notice. At a distance, it presents a magnificent elevation, apparently of several stories; but these, on a nearer view,

* Ouseley, vol. iii. pp. 141—3. An amusing description of an entertainment given to the Shah by the chief physician, is given by Hajji Baba, vol. ii. ch. 2: and Sir R. K. Porter describes the luxuries and penalties (to a European) of a Persian feast, much in the same terms as Sir W. Ouseley, vol. i. pp. 236—239.

prove to be the fronts of successive terraces.* The spacious gardens are planted with poplars, willows, and fruit-trees; and from the upper terrace is obtained a beautiful prospect. The structure itself, however, which is of brick, is much inferior, Mr. Morier says, to any of the buildings erected by Kureem Khan or the Sefi monarchs. The site, too, is ill chosen, the soil being impregnated with salt, which "oozes out through the walls, and undermines their solidity." Futeh Ali Shah has also built another summer residence, called the *Negaristan*, half a mile from the city in the same direction, which is his favourite residence at the beginning of summer. The gardens, at that season, fragrant with the rose, and vocal with the nightingale, must, according to Sir R. K. Porter's flowery description, then form a Persian paradise.†

We are indebted to this Traveller for the fullest account of the remains of the ancient city of Rhey (Rai), the Rhages of Arrian and the book of Tobit, and contemporary, therefore, with Nineveh and Ecbatana. Here, Alexander arrived on the eleventh day of his march from the latter city, in pursuit of Darius, and rested for five days.‡ It subsequently received from Seleucus Nicator the appellation of *Europos*, and under the Parthian monarchs was named *Arsaké* (or *Arsace*) in honour of Arsaces Tiridates, who died 217 years B.C.§ In the second century of our era, it had resumed its ancient name, under which it is men-

* See Morier, vol. i. p. 226, and plate. Johnson, p. 169. Porter, vol. i. p. 325.

† Porter, i. 326—8. This Traveller noticed, in these delicious gardens, two rose-trees full fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers.

‡ It was a day's journey from the Caspian Straits.—ARRIAN, lib. iii. c. 20.

§ Ouseley, vol. iii. p. 177—180.

tioned as the residence of the Parthian kings during the vernal season, and the capital of *Media Rhagiana*. Under the Mohammedan sovereigns, it has undergone many vicissitudes, having been repeatedly ruined by wars and earthquakes, and as often restored. It was the birth-place of Haroun al Rashid, and one of the favourite seats of his magnificence. In the tenth century, it ranked next to Nishapore in size, occupying a square of one *farsang* and a half, and was more populous and better supplied with the necessaries and luxuries of life, than any other city in Irak. Even then, however, the greater portion of Raï was in a state of ruin; and while its commercial greatness was at its height, its walls and fortifications were going to decay. It was still a considerable city when it was surrendered to the generals of Chenghiz Khan by the Shafei sect, in 1221; on which occasion, almost every person of the rival sect of Hanifi (amounting to several thousands), was massacred. Under Ghazan Khan, it was partly rebuilt and repeopled; and it was the occasional residence of Shah Rokh, about the middle of the fifteenth century.* The only inhabited part, at present, is the village of Shah Abdulazim, which takes its name from the tomb of a celebrated Mohammedan saint, whose memory is held in high veneration. This village, containing a handsome old mosque, a bazar, two caravanserais,† some baths, and between three and four hundred families, has a pleasing appearance, with its verdant gardens, amid the surrounding desolation.

* See authorities in Ouseley, vol. iii. pp. 126—129. Morier, vol. i. p. 403.

† Though only between four and five miles from Tehraun, caravans proceeding towards Ispahan, generally halt here as a rendezvous on the first night.

Sir W. Ouseley considers as among the most ancient ruins of Rhey, the ramparts and turrets on a rocky height which closes and commands the plain at its eastern extremity; offering a situation so favourable for defence and so well provided with water, that it must have been at all times chosen as the site of the citadel. The walls and towers are of brick and clay, the lower parts being in a few places fronted and strengthened with stone. "But, of whatever age may be the materials of these buildings, or of the tumular masses that appear scattered for many miles along the plain, one object only," continues the learned Traveller, "among all that I examined, can with certainty be pronounced a work of art more ancient than the Mohammedan era. This is a sculptured tablet, carved in the usual manner of the Sassanian ages, on a face of the rock imperfectly squared and smoothed for the purpose." It represents an equestrian figure of Shahpoor, advancing at full gallop to close combat, having a globe on his head and a ball on each shoulder. The performance is rude and imperfect, and the subject has never been finished, as the outlines of another figure are traced on the same rock.*

Directly from the base of the castle rock, runs a line of massy fortification inclosing a triangular area, which has perhaps, in modern times, been the *arg*, or a lower citadel. Three enormous towers yet remain, which probably commanded the gates. One lofty brick tower, of admirable masonry and singular form, is encircled, near the top, with a Kufic inscription rudely executed in the brick. A similar inscription, executed

* Ouseley, vol. iii. pp. 182, 3. Morier, vol. ii. p. 150. Porter, vol. i. p. 103.

in brick, encircles a round tower of stone. Another wall, exterior to the ramparts of the town, connects the height on which the great citadel stands, with another rocky projection, where every tenable spot has been strongly guarded by outworks; linking themselves, across the gorge of a deep ravine, to the side of a third fortress, finely built of stone, on the summit of a rock which commands the open country to the south. Within this fortress stands a low circular building decorated with tiles of various colours, evidently a Mohammedan tomb or chapel;* and the mouldering relics of two or three mosques are discoverable among the hillocks of ruins within the walls of the modern inclosure. Mounds and hollows, tombs and wells, are scattered all over the plain; but, as the materials used have been either brick or clay, they are of little interest, and can in many instances be with difficulty distinguished from mounds of earth. The ancient Rhages has shared the fate of Nineveh and Babylon; and the convulsions of nature have aided the devastation of war and the slow dilapidations of time.

From Tehraun, Sir W. Ouseley, in the months of February and March, 1812, made an excursion into Mazanderan, passing through Firoozkuh † and the

* This is apparently what Mr. Morier refers to as the tomb of one of the wives of Imaum Hoseih, i. 233.

† Firoozkuh (or Firukuh) is considered by the inhabitants as the last town of Persian Irak. At this town, the Pylæ Caspiæ are supposed to terminate northward, the other extremity being at Khaar, the ancient Choara. Sir W. Ouseley was prevented from passing the defile to Khaar, but he inclines to the opinion of Rennell and other geographers, that this was the strait through which Alexander entered Parthia in pursuit of Darius. See a learned note at vol. iii. 345—50. Mr. Fraser, however, who devotes a long note to this subject (pp. 291—3), adduces strong reasons for

forests of Hyrcania, to Saree, the ancient Zadracarta; and thence through Ashraff, (now reduced to a mean village,) Furahabad, and Balfurush, to Amool, formerly regarded as the capital of Tabristan, but now wearing an air of poverty, gloom, and progressive decay. In returning, he took a different route from Firoozkuh, through Damawend, "a very ancient and celebrated city," now in decay, which gives its name to the lofty mountain. The details of this journey, though illustrative of the geography of the country, furnish no matter of particular interest.

FROM TEHRAUN TO MUSHED.

Our contracting limits compel us also to confine ourselves to a brief notice of the longer and more adventurous journey undertaken by Mr. Fraser into Khorasan and the Caspian provinces. The Shah is extremely jealous of permitting any European to explore the country eastward of the usual line of road between Shiraz and Tehrauns; owing, it is supposed, to an unwillingness that any stranger should see the nakedness of the land, and discover the disaffection of its inhabitants. Mr. Fraser goes so far as to avow his belief, that the murder of Mr. Browne, the celebrated Traveller, was perpetrated at his Majesty's instigation: his gold chronometer is ascertained to have found its way into the possession of the Shah. Cer-

the opinion, that the *Feerooz-coooe* defile (as he strangely spells it) leading into Mazanderan by the steep and difficult pass called Sawachee, was not that through which Darius was pursued. He supposes it to have been the pass of *Gurdunee Sirdara*, two farsangs in length, leading through a ridge projecting southward from the Elbors range, and dividing the plains of Khawr and Vuromeen; Darius having taken the high road towards Mushed. See also on this subject, Morier, vol. ii. 363, 6.

tain Europeans, who had penetrated to Mushed, are, moreover, stated to have died under suspicious circumstances. Mr. Fraser, therefore, determined on leaving Tehraun without asking the royal permission, assuming the native dress, and travelling with the caravans. As an ostensible object, he provided himself with a few commodities suited to the markets of the towns he intended to visit, not forgetting a stock of medicines, that he might, on occasion, exact the physician; a character under which the Frank has often obtained protection and favour in eastern countries, where he would otherwise have been exposed to insult and danger. In Dec. 1821, he left Tehraun, attended by a faithful negro *valet* and four Persian servants, together with a young Persian of good family, considerable liberality of sentiment, and respectable mental endowments, whom he engaged as his travelling companion. The party, after encountering various detentions and some hazards, reached Mushed early in February, where Mr. Fraser remained six weeks, in the hope of being able to cross the desert to visit Bokhara and Samarcand. But the disturbed state of the country, which had put a total stop to all intercourse by caravans, rendered further progress in that direction impossible.

Mr. Fraser's route to Mushed led him through Semnoon, Doulutabad, Dapghan, Shahrood, Bostam, and Nishapore. The latter city, one of the most ancient in the country, and for a long time the favoured capital of the Seljookian dynasty, does not now contain above 2000 inhabited houses, but is surrounded with ruins and obscure vestiges of its former extent and consequence. Its fertile plain, however, in spite of the desolating effects of savage invasions and an oppressive government, can still boast of more culti-

vation than any other part of Persian Khorasan. Our Traveller visited the celebrated turquoise-mines near this city; and he gives some interesting details relative to the various forms in which the gem and its *matrix* present themselves.

Mushed, built originally of sun-dried brick or mud, and now exhibiting the usual appearance of depopulation and decay, has nothing to interest the Traveller, except the mausoleum of Imaum Reza and the magnificent groupe of buildings connected with it. All the pomp of eastern architecture has been lavished upon this edifice, where silver gates, jewelled doors, rails of solid gold, glittering domes and beautiful minarets, lofty gateways and handsome arcades, seem to realize the most gorgeous descriptions of Arabian romance. The mosque built by the queen of Shah Rokh, is pronounced to be by far the most beautiful and magnificent which the Author had seen in Persia. Yet, this shrine has been often plundered, and its revenues are greatly reduced. Of the sixteen *medressas*, the greater part are either deserted or in decay. Mushed contains the tomb also of the far-famed Haroun al Rashid.

Forced reluctantly to turn his steps homeward, Mr. Fraser resolved to vary his route, and accordingly proceeded by Kourdistan, (a district of Khorasan bordering on the great desert,) through the once populous and fertile plains of Georgaun, to Astrabad, at the south-east corner of the Caspian. He left Mushed on the 11th of March, and on the 6th of April entered Astrabad; having every where found, both among the Kourdish and Turkoman *Eels* *, who occupy, with

* *Eel*, Mr. Fraser says, is, in Persian, the singular, of which Eelhaut (Ilheyaut, Ilhat) is the plural: he, therefore, forms the English plural in the usual way, and writes it *eels*.

doubtful allegiance, the northern frontier of Persia, a hospitable reception.*

Astrabad (called, from the number of its *seyeds*, *Dar el Momenein*, the gate of the faithful,) is a walled town nearly four miles in circumference, and containing about 1000 families. Mr. Fraser gives a much more favourable account of its picturesque appearance, its well-paved and clean streets, and flourishing gardens, than Mr. Morier.† It can boast, however, of but little trade, and the sallow looks of the inhabitants afforded a too unequivocal confirmation of the reputed unwholesomeness of the place, arising from the noxious exhalations of the surrounding swamps and untrimmed forests or jungle.

From Astrabad, Mr. Fraser proceeded through Saree, Ashraff, and Balfroosh, to Resht, the capital of Ghilan; whence, after some personal adventures of no ordinary interest, connected with an unsuccessful endeavour to make his escape from a suspicious detention by the prince, he ultimately reached Tabriz by way of Ardebeel.‡

* Here, Mr. Fraser's "Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan" terminates. In an appendix is given a very valuable geographical sketch of Khorasan, of which use has been made in our introductory matter.

† Morier, vol. ii. p. 273.

‡ These adventures are detailed in Mr. Fraser's "Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea." 4to. 1826. This volume contains a very valuable appendix relating to the geology and commerce of Persia. The position of the following places was ascertained by the Author's observations. In Khorasan: Semnoon, lat. 35° 23' 30" N., long. 53° 29' 15" E. Damghan, lat. 36° 10' N., long. 54° 20' 32". Nishapore, lat. 36° 12' 26" N., long. 58° 49' 27" E. Mushed, lat. 36° 17' 40" N., long. 59° 32' 27" E. (a difference of nearly 2° further E. than has hitherto been assigned to it.) In the Caspian provinces: Astrabad, lat. 36° 51' N., long. 54° 29' 32" E. Saree, lat. 36° 34' 10" N., long. 53° 0' 20" E. Rushd, lat. 37° 17' 30" N., long. 49° 42' 55" E.

We must now very hastily sketch the remainder of the route from Tehraun to that city.

FROM TEHRAUN TO TABRIZ.

From Tehraun to the Russian frontier, at regular distances of from 24 to 32 miles, there are posts of eight, ten, or twelve horses established by Government. The first station is at Songoorabad, about 41 miles from Tehraun; the second at Suffer Koja, 22 miles; the third at Kazvin, 30 miles.*

Kazvin (Casbin, Kazweén) is a larger town in circumference than Tehraun, though not so populous, containing about 25,000 male inhabitants. It is surrounded with a mud-wall and towers, but has no ditch. All round the walls to a considerable distance extend vineyards and orchards: the former yield a grape celebrated throughout Persia. The soil is clay, fertilized by irrigation. Water is scarce, and is conducted by *kanauts* from a distance. The palace of the Sefi kings, who once held their court here, is still standing, but in faded splendour, surrounded with ruins; and the greater part of its once magnificent buildings are almost totally abandoned.

A fine level road on a hard gravel runs S. 40° W. to Siah-dehan (pronounced Siadeeon), a decayed village, distant 21 miles (6 *farsangs*). The next station is Aubhaur (Avher), distant 28 miles. This place presents a more respectable and pleasing aspect than

* Johnson, p. 178–3. Sir W. Ouseley halted, the first day, at Carelje (or Karetch), a stage of 22 or 24 miles: near this village the King was at that time erecting a new city, to be called Sulimaniah, from the city of that name, taken from the Kourdish chief. (Morier, vol. ii. p. 198.) The second stage was Nazelud, 22 or 23 miles; the third was to Sadder Khoajeh (Suffer Koja), 13 miles; the fourth, to Hassanabad, 19 miles; the fifth, about 11 miles, to Cazvin.

most Persian towns, being situated in the midst of gardens and groves, on a winding stream of the same name. Rising above the trees, are seen some ruined walls, occupying a height, which are called *Kalaa-i-Darab*. The castle of which they formed part, must once, Sir W. Ouseley says, have been as strong as brick and clay could make it, and the ramparts still inclose a considerable area.* This tract of country, including the plain and mountains of Sultaneah, is the *Shikar-Jah*, or hunting-place of the present Shah. Antelopes, partridges, and bustards are found in abundance. The King's principal summer palace is at Sultaneah, situated on a conspicuous eminence rising from the plain. The once populous city of Sultaneah, distant from Abhaur two stages of 16 and 18 miles,† is now reduced to a straggling village. Nothing remained, when Sir W. Ouseley travelled, but the decaying walls of edifices, some, even in ruin, magnificent and beautiful, and mouldering heaps of brick and clay. Immediately on entering the plain, a splendid edifice is seen towering above the village, its cupola of azure-coloured tile-work rising to the height of above 130 feet. This is the tomb of Sultan Mohammed Khodabunda Aly, one of the most beautiful structures originally in all Persia; yet, notwithstanding its sacred character, it has been almost en-

* "The materials are large mud bricks, mixed with straw and baked in the sun, the same which I remarked at Rey, and at the *Atash Goh* at Ispahan, and the same perhaps as those at Babylon. These circumstances will give greater force to the reasoning of Major Rennel, who only wanted the attestation of some existing remains, to prove it to be the ancient Habor, one of the three places to which the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh were sent into captivity."—MORIER, ii. 207.

† The intermediate stage is *Soin Kalaa*, written *Sihin Calah* and *Saingando*, and by Chardin transformed into *Château de Hassan*.

tirely pulled down for the sake of the materials, which have been used in constructing the paltry palace which forms his Majesty's summer residence. This dilapidation had been going on, in 1817, for the last seventeen years; but still, this noble monument was magnificent in ruin. The central apartment is about 60 feet in diameter, being one arched dome of great symmetry and beauty. A new city has been begun near the palace, which is to be called Sultanabad.

The plain of Sultaneh is about twelve miles broad, bordered by hills backed by snow-capped mountains. It is entirely devoted to the royal pastures. Here, in the month of June, his Majesty generally encamps; and it is here that he receives the Russian ambassador.

The next stage is to Zunjaun, distant about 24 miles. This town appears at a distance a flourishing place, abounding with trees; but, on entering it, Sir W. Ousley says, he rode at least for a mile through ruins. An ample cemetery attested its former populousness, and the inhabitants still amount to about 10,000. It is the capital of the *Iolouk* (district) of Khamseh,* containing 100 villages, which pays no revenue, but furnishes, in lieu, 5000 horsemen. A stage of 24 miles leads to Armeghaneh, a village with a fort, in the same district. The Turkish language, which begins to be spoken more or less after leaving Kazvin, is the only one understood by the boorish inhabitants. The road now lies over a high stony country, intersected by valleys, and bounded by distant mountains, and the change in the climate indicates its increasing elevation. At 26 miles is Aukhund (*Ak-*

* Sir W. Ousley couched this word (written by Mr. Morier *Hamse*) as answering to the Greek Pentapolis.

kand, white town), an inconsiderable place, with numerous ruins; and about 24 miles further, Meana (or Mianeh), infamous for its poisonous bugs, the bite of which is sometimes mortal.* It is nevertheless a thriving place, being a mart for the carpets made by the neighbouring Eelauts.

The whole country in this part, and especially towards the W. and N., seems to have been formed by some great convulsion of nature. There are lands, Mr. Morier says, of every soil, and of every form and colour. Aukhund is now the frontier town of Azerbijan. The original boundary was the *Kizzil Ooxan*, a deep and rapid stream running through a wild desert of mountains, which is crossed by an ancient bridge about 15 miles beyond. Immediately after passing this river, the road begins to ascend the *Kauflaun Koh* (or *Koplan Kúh*), separating Irak Ajem from Azerbijan. At Shehderabad, about eight miles S.W. of the road, is a copper mine, which, in 1817, an Englishman had begun to work.†

* Dr. Campbell, physician to the British Residence at Tehraun, describes the disease as beginning with nausea and vomiting, succeeded by visceral obstruction, and terminating in death within six weeks or two months. In form and colour, the mitch resembles the large dog-tick of India. It makes its appearance only in the hot season.—See JOHNSON, p. 106. OUSELEY, iii. 301. At Meana, Thevenot died in 1667.

† Johnson, p. 214. Lieut. Alexander calls the place Shaik Durah Bad, and says, "Here are, perhaps, the richest veins of copper in the world: silver and lead are also found in considerable quantities. The soil is ferruginous. The veins are at the bottom of a range of hills, running from N.W. to S.E., in front of the *Kafilan Koh*. The river Gharangoo, which is a branch of the Kizilooxun, runs through the district where the veins are met with. An unusual rise of its waters discovered the precious ore, a short time back.... Iron is obtained here in great quantity; and the oxide of lead is found on the surface of the ground: the latter is melted by the villagers into bullets. If ever a European colony

From Meana, a road strikes off to Ardebeel, running along the S.W. verge of the Moghaun plains, which was taken by Lieut. Alexander, in proceeding from Isfahan to the royal camp at Achar. His first stage from Shehderabad, was 25 miles, to Hereez; ascending, in the way, a steep *kostel*. Kureem, distant 25 miles, was the next stage; and the third day brought him to Ardebeel. The plain of Moghaun, on which it stands, is the winter resort of the Eelauts. It is celebrated for having impeded the victorious career of Pompey, whose army was here attacked by venomous serpents; and this Traveller was assured that some parts of the plain are still infested with an immense number of those reptiles. Ardebeel, at one time the capital of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, and venerated as the original seat of the Sefi family, has entirely declined from its former importance, and is remarkable only as containing the tombs of Sheikh Suffee and his illustrious descendant, Shah Ismail. Their remains repose under lofty domes, and the ark over the grave of the saint is fenced off by a silver grating. In one of the rooms, which are highly ornamented, is a large collection of China, among which are some beautiful agate cups and dishes; also, a library of splendidly bound books; all the offering of Shah Abbas. A square fort, with four bastions, has been constructed here by Major Menteith, which is garrisoned by a detachment of the *Jandaz*, or disciplined infantry.*

The next stage, from Meana towards Tabriz, is

were to be established in Persia, I know not of a better situation for it than this: the climate being good, the soil fertile, rich ores in abundance: and, as it is at a distance from the frontier, the colony would not run the risk of being disturbed during war."—ALEXANDER, pp. 183, 4.

* Alexander, pp. 187—9.

22 miles, to *Toorkmaunshahea* (or *Turkoman Chaï*): not a tree is to be seen, nor a human habitation, the whole way. The liquorice plant covers the hills; but, in the neighbourhood of the village, there has been a great deal of cultivation. An undulating country, covered with grasses, extends for the next 12 miles, to Usdenshee, an Armenian village,* situated in the *Kara-Chemen*, or Black Meadow. At 25 miles from Turkoman-chaï is the village of Tekmehdash; 6 miles beyond which are found, on an eminence, some large and upright hewn stones, arranged in lines, of apparently high antiquity, and affording abundant matter of speculation to the antiquary.† Whatever was their original purpose, the square area which they inclose, has, in later times, been used as a cemetery. About 6 miles further, is Oojaun, a wretched village in the midst of rich and extensive plains. Here, the King has a summer pavilion, to which he retires in the hottest weather, Oojaun being considered as the coldest part of Persia. Another stage, of 32 miles, over a bare and disagreeable tract, conducts the traveller to

TABRIZ.

Tabriz, Mr. Morier says, is no more the magnificent city described by Chardin. It then ranked as the second city in Persia, containing, according to his account,

* On ascending one of the hills near this place, Col. Johnson observed a very large spider, which proved to be a very venomous tarantula, called in Turkish *bheule*: in Georgia, it is known by the name of *phalang*. Its bite is almost certain death.—Johnson, 206.

† Chardin relates a legend which makes this to have been a place of assembly for giants in the times of the Kaianian dynasty; and a local tradition states, that during the reign of Ghazan Khan, his nobles used to assemble at these stones, to converse on military affairs, and therefore called them *Jan-goo*, the place of council. See Ouseley, vol. iii. pp. 305—7. Morier, vol. ii. p. 218.

15,000 houses, 300 caravanserais, 250 mosques, and 550,000 inhabitants. "At present," adds this Traveller, "if we allow it to be even one-tenth of that magnitude, we shall probably make an exaggerated estimate."*

"The modern town is situated nearly in the centre of the site of the former one; for, on all sides of it, to a considerable distance, are to be seen the ruins of houses, streets, &c., which afford a tolerable idea of the extent of that city which Chardin described. In his view of it, the *Mesjid Ali* is placed almost in the middle of the city: what remains of that building now forms a part of the fortification. Tabriz, at this day, is three miles and a quarter in circumference; it is surrounded with walls built of sun-burnt bricks, and with towers of kiln-burnt bricks, placed at irregular distances from each other. An attempt has been made to give the shape of bastions to several of the towers, but no guns are mounted upon them; and if they were, they could be of little use, as the irregularity of the walls baffles all the rules of science. There are seven gates, at each of which guards are stationed: they are closed an hour or two after sunset, and opened before sunrise.

"No public buildings of any note at present exist at Tabriz, and few are the remains of those described by former travellers. Indications of the great *maidan* are still to be observed, and the bazar *Kaiserieh* is still known, but a wooden roof has been substituted for its former arched one. The *Ark Ali Shah* (citadel of Ali Shah) is the most interesting structure at present in Tabriz; principally because it contains a proof of what the labour and ingenuity of a few Englishmen

* Sir R. K. Porter thinks it amounts to hardly 100,000. Lieut. Alexander says, it is estimated at 90,000.

will accomplish, under all the disadvantages of a bad administration and a want of resources. This building comprehends within its limits, the remains of a mosque, (a mass of brickwork as fine, perhaps, as any in the world,) about eighty feet in height; at the top of which, three small chambers have been constructed, whence the town and the surrounding country are seen as if laid out on a chart. The Prince had intended to make the Ark his own place of residence, but he subsequently preferred converting it into an arsenal, where we were delighted to find many of our European trades in full activity.

"A considerable part of the population of Tabriz may be said to live in the suburbs, which are every day increasing, and extend over the site of the ancient city. In all parts of the immediate vicinity, are seen large oblong and square blocks of black marble, which formerly were tombstones, but now are used in many places as stepping-stones over small streams, foundations to houses, channels for water, &c. These, as well as stone rams and stone lions, are constantly met with. Many of the entrances to the gardens and to the houses of the peasantry, like those of Isfahan, Julfa, and Kashan, are formed of one large stone slab. At the village of Shah Gazan, two miles from the walls of Tabriz, is a high mound of brick, the remains of some very considerable building, but of a Mohammedan age." *

Tabriz stands in lat. 38° 5′ 10″ N., long. 47° 17′ 46″ E. † The natives extol the salubrity of the air, to which, according to the native etymology, its name

* Morier, ii. 225, 6 [illegible]. See, for a further description of Tabriz, Porter, i. 220—27; Johnson, 211.

† Fraser. According to the late Mr. Browne, its longitude is 46° 20′, and its latitude, according to Major Menteith, is 38° 4′. Porter, i. 220.

refers.* They complain, however, of the frequent and violent earthquakes: these they attribute to the volcanoes to the eastward, which throw out smoke without flame. The climate is subject also to much thunder and lightning and rain. Between forty and fifty years ago, a dreadful convulsion of nature nearly destroyed the whole city, and caused the death of 80,000 people.† Almost every day, during Sir W. Ouseley's residence here (in June and July), sudden gusts of wind filled the streets with clouds of sand. The thermometer was then constantly below 75°; but it often varies, within twenty-fours, from 56° to 94°. In winter, the cold is so intense, that many instances occur of individuals, accidentally excluded from the city by arriving after the gates were shut, being found frozen to death in the morning.

No vestiges of antiquity have been found in this neighbourhood, that might serve to identify it with the Tabris of Ptolemy or with the Gaza, Gazaca, or Gazaca of other writers ‡. Sir R. K. Porter mentions, however, a massive and venerable fortress, on a commanding height, which, according to his account, merits examination, although it is probably a Mohammedan structure.

Chardin adopted the strangely erroneous notion, that Tabriz is the site of "the ancient and famous Ecbatana." The true representative of that city is

* Tab signifies a fever, and riz is the participle of rekhten, to disperse.

† Ouseley, III. 496. It is added, on the authority of Major D'Arcy, "that, towards the N.E., at the foot of lofty mountains, several hills of sulphur and arsenic were at that time thrown up: the sulphur being of a deep red colour like ochre, evidently crocus martius or rust of iron, on the pyrites of which the arsenic acting caused the earthquake."

‡ In Ptolemy, it is written Γαζακα: but this has been supposed to be an error. See Ouseley, III. 410; D'Anville, II. 94.

HAMADAN,

Situated, as Herodotus describes it, on a gentle ascent, about 12 *stadia* from the foot of Mount Orontes. The ancient capital of the Medes has dwindled down, however, to a mean, clay-built town, which, till of late, owed all its consequence to the manufacture of a superior sort of leather carried on there. It has been created by the present Shah, a royal government, or provincial capital; and contained, in 1818, about 3000 houses, with a population of between 40 and 50,000 souls, including about 600 Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians.* It lies in the route from Isfahan to Tabriz and Ardebeel, in lat. 34° 53′ N., long. 40° E., and is a great thoroughfare from the north for the trade to Baghdad. It is thus described by M. Morier.

"The situation of this city, at the foot of the mountain of Alwend, resembles that of Brousa, so beautifully situated on the declivity of the Asiatic Olympus; although the former mountain cannot, either in height or in beauty of form, enter into a competition with the latter. It evidently was once an immense city, but at present, it is a confused and melancholy heap of ruins. The roads which lead to its inhabited parts, wind through a long succession of broken walls, which, by the appearance of their fragments, attest the former existence of fine buildings. Like Olympus, Alwend abounds in fine springs of water, a torrent of which constantly flows through the city into the flat country, and renders Hamadan one of the best watered places in Persia. Its present habitations are profusely in-

* Porter, ii. 104. Lieut. Alexander says, 25,000. The latter Traveller took the road leading from Isfahan to Hamadan, in going to Ardebeel.

terspersed with trees, which give variety, and even beauty, to what would otherwise be an unpleasing view. Besides the poplar, the *sarurend*, a species of the elm, is a very common tree, and grows into shapes so formal, as to raise the supposition that they have acquired them by art."

"The most conspicuous building in Hamadan is the *Mesjid Jumah*, now falling to decay: before it is a *maidan*, which serves as a market-place. Near the mosque, in a court filled with tombs, stands a building called the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai. But the whole building does not look of greater antiquity than the Mohammedan age.*

"At about seven miles from our camp, carved on the surface of the rock, on a steep declivity of the mountain of Alwend, are to be seen two tablets, each of which is divided into three longitudinal compartments, inscribed with the arrow-headed character of Persepolis. These inscriptions are called by the Persians, *Genj-namah*, or tales of a treasure. Close to the foot of the rock runs a stream that issues from the mountain; and higher up, above the two tablets, is to be traced the commencement of others.

"Another monument of positive antiquity, we discovered casually, in exploring the northern skirts of the city. It consists of the base of a small column of the identical order of the larger bases of the columns at Persepolis, and appears to be of the same sort of stone. This led to a discovery of more importance;

* A Hebrew inscription, rudely carved on a stone in the wall of the inner chamber, states that the building was erected over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by two devout Jews of Kashan, A.M. 4474. Two wooden frames, carved all over with Hebrew characters, and shaped like sarcophagi, are alleged to be the tombs. Pilgrimages are still made by the Jews to this venerated spot. The original structure is said to have been destroyed at the sacking of Hamadan by Timour.

for, adjacent to this fragment, is a large but irregular terrace or platform, evidently the work of art, and perhaps the ground plan of some great building, of the remains of which its soil must be the repository. The situation of this spot agrees with that which Polybius would assign to the palace of the kings of Persia, which he says was below the citadel. Now the position of the ruins of the modern castle, which is most likely the site of that of the ancient, is much more elevated than the platform, and sufficiently near for the latter to be said to be below the former.

"We were conducted to the castle by the Persians; and from the height called the *musellah*, we had a complete view of the whole extent of the city, which, like the palace, might be said to be below it. A strong Persian fort formerly crowned this eminence, but it was destroyed by Aga Mahomed Khan, who has left only one large round tower to attest its former strength. If Ecbatana was situated where Hamadan now is, on this place must have been the fort mentioned by Arrian, in which Alexander ordered all the treasures of Persia to be secured; because common sense points it out as the only spot fit for such a building; and I can credit Polybius, who says, that its fortifications were of wonderful strength. I can also imagine the seven circles of walls mentioned by Herodotus, in the innermost of which the royal treasury was placed.

"On the site of the castle is a small square platform, which the Persians call the *Takht Ardeshir*. It has an exterior facing of white square stones, backed by masonry of common stone and mortar, and has the appearance of a building of the Sassanides, of which dynasty Ardeshir Babegan was the founder. This will lead to the supposition, that, from the time of the

Sassanides at least, to the present day, this spot has been regarded as the situation of the fortress.

"Of Mohamedan antiquities, Hamadan contains a great variety, consisting of sepulchral stones, towers, old mosques, old bazars, and Cufick inscriptions, which are met with at every turn. The burial-place of Avicenna is to be seen here. We were overwhelmed with Arsacidean and Sassanian coins, which are found in great quantities at Hamadan, as well as at a village three *farsungs* off; and we also got several intaglios on carnelion, and numerous Mohamedan talismans. One cylindrical stone with Persepolitan figures and characters upon it, fell into our hands; and several coins of the Seleucides were brought to us, but none of them rare, or in remarkably good preservation. On the whole, we found that Hamadan presented more objects of research to the antiquary, than any other city that we had visited in Persia; and there is every probability that excavations, particularly on the site of what I suppose to be the ancient palaces of the kings, would lead to valuable discoveries." *

Here we must terminate our topographical description of Persia. The mountains of Kourdistan, the plains of Mesopotamia, the sources of the Tigris, Ararat and Caucasus, the sites of Susa, Ctesiphon, Nineveh, and Babylon,—these we had hoped to explore; but they would demand another volume, and, after all, do not belong to modern Persia.

* Morier, ii. 264—9. Hamadan, Lieut. Alexander says, is the emporium of coins and antique gems, as Bagdad is of cylinders.

END OF PERSIA.

CHINA.

CHINA.

[A country of Eastern Asia (forming part of the Chinese Empire) extending from lat. 20° to lat. 41° N., and from long. 100° to long. 122° E. Bounded N., by Chinese Tatary; E., by the Yellow Sea and the Chinese Sea; S., by the Gulf of Ton-King and Birmah; and W., by Tibet.]

The Chinese empire, inferior in geographical extent only to that of Russia,* presents to our contemplation a vast area of seven millions of square miles, being somewhat less than a tenth part of the habitable globe; governed by one man of foreign race, and containing a dense population, highly civilized, yet carefully secluded from all other nations, and, by their peculiar language and literature, their physical characteristics and national customs, distinguished from every other race. It is not surprising that a people thus circumstanced should be the object of an intense curiosity, or that the mystery which hangs over their history and country, should have led to an exaggerated idea of their antiquity and attainments. It is not, in fact, the immense territory comprised within the "Celestial Empire," that gives it interest and importance in the eye of the philanthropist, so much as the appalling consideration, that it regulates the

* Reckoning from Kashgar to the mouth of the Amoor, the length of the Chinese empire is about 3000 miles, and its greatest breadth, from the Sacalian mountains to the southernmost point of China opposite to the island of Hay-nan, more than 2000 miles. The extent in square miles may be computed at 7,000,000 miles. Malte Brun, vol. ii. b. 63. Humboldt assigns to the Chinese empire 463,200 square marine leagues; to the Russian empire, 631,000; to Asiatic Russia, 463,000.

earthly destinies of more than a sixth part of the human race. While the Russian empire contains a scattered population not exceeding fifty-four millions, and Great Britain extends her dominion over about a hundred millions, the population of China Proper is equal to both these put together; and that of the whole Chinese empire is supposed to be not less than 175 millions, being nearly equal to that of all Europe, and more than five times that of both Americas.*

But if, in this point of view, China must be regarded as having strong claims upon our attention, it is, in other respects, one of the most barren and uninviting of countries. Unknown to ancient geography, except by doubtful report, unrelated to history, to either sacred or classic literature, its mountains and plains, its lakes and rivers, are consecrated by no poetic associations, and their barbarous names call up no recollections of the past. The western continent itself has hardly been more entirely separated from the Old World of history, nor is our knowledge of the country of much longer date. In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo penetrated to Cathay or Northern China, from Turkestaun; but in the fifteenth century, it remained to Europeans an unknown country, the accounts of the early travellers being regarded with suspicion. It was from the Portuguese navigators who succeeded Vasco de Gama, and who reached that country across the Indian seas, that Europe first received any certain information of the situation, extent, and resources of China; and some time

* Humboldt estimates the population of Europe as far as the Ural, at 193,000,000; that of America, including the West Indies and Newfoundland, at 34,834,000.—*Pers. Narr.* vol. vi. part 1. Note S.

elapsed before it was understood to be the same country as the Kataia or Cathay of Marco Polo and Rubruquis.* "Since that period," remarks M. Malte Brun, "we owe our knowledge of the country to some ambassadors who have seen the court and the great roads, to some merchants who have inhabited a suburb of a frontier town, and a considerable number of (Roman Catholic) missionaries, who have penetrated in every direction, and who being considered as credulous admirers, though artless narrators, inspired little confidence in their judgement; so that the world was left to guess at the truth of numerous facts which these well-meaning persons were ill qualified to appreciate. We have also some Chinese geographers, whose dry tables of nomenclature give us little information. Thus, any extended description of China that could be given, would consist of a series of repetitions."†

These considerations have decided us on confining our account of China within what may be deemed very narrow limits. It is, indeed, a boundless field of indefinite curiosity and vague speculation; but the country is almost unvisited by modern travellers, and therefore cannot claim to fill up any large portion of the present work. Were we to take our rule from the mass of materials relating to the country to be described, our task would not be very soon despatched. The General History of China, as given by Mailla

* In August, 1516, Albuquerque caused Rafael Perestrello to proceed from Malacca to Canton in the junk of a native merchant, to collect intelligence respecting the newly-discovered empire; and in the following year, the first unsuccessful attempt was made to open an intercourse with the Chinese.

† Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 558. For a succinct history of the Portuguese discoveries and the Missions, see Murray's History of Discoveries in Asia, vol. iii. book 5.

and Grosier, occupies thirteen quarto volumes; and the "Mémoires" of the Missionaries are in fifteen volumes; exclusive of which, the works published within the last fifty years, relating to China, would form a library of themselves.

"In the last century," M. Malte Brun observes, "China found her interested and ardent panegyrists in two powerful parties. The French philosophers and the Jesuits vied with each other in extolling the laws and the happiness of that country. The philosophers knew nothing of the subject on which they pronounced a judgement: the Jesuits knew a great deal. But those who reason with impartiality, will never prefer the natural religion of Confucius to Christianity; nor will the free and high-minded nations of Europe admit the arrangements of a tyrannical police, the annoyance of a childish etiquette, and the 'great walls' which have been erected for interrupting the communications of the human mind.

"Among these opinions, dictated by enthusiasm and party-spirit, we must particularize those which relate to the pretended antiquity of the Chinese empire. We know that the enemies of the Christian religion have made it an important object of research, to discover a people whose records are more ancient than Noah's flood, and more ancient than even the common term assigned as the epoch of the Mosaic creation. The pretended antiquity of the Egyptians and the Babylonians having been reduced to its proper value, they recurred to that of India and of China. The wonders of distant countries were fitted to inspire a greater degree of veneration. China was represented as a highly civilized and flourishing empire 4500 years before Christ; and if due time is allowed for the formation of such an empire, it must

have existed for a period of ten or twenty thousand years. Some ill-informed missionaries, wishing, from motives of vanity, to display the antiquity of an empire of which they pretended to have made a spiritual conquest, went blindly into the same system, without being aware of the consequences to which it led. A bad historical compilation, translated from the Chinese,* tells us, that Fohi founded the empire of China about 3000 years before Christ, and that, three centuries after this, Hoang-Ti reigned over flourishing states, which were 1660 miles long, and 1100 broad. Unfortunately for such narratives, China has produced historians candid enough to reject all the fables concerning Fohi and Hoang-Ti. They do not even venture to vouch for the traditions respecting the reign of Iao, probably an allegorical person, whose era is fixed twenty-three centuries before Christ. Let us consider in what the great actions of Iao consisted. He drained marshes; he hunted down wild beasts; he cultivated a desert country; and so narrow were the dimensions of his territory, that he surveyed the whole, four times in the year. Ten centuries after this (B. C. 1401), we find the princes of China moving from province to province, accompanied by all their subjects, nomadic like themselves, and living all alike, either in caves of the rocks, or in cubics of earth. In the time of Confucius (B. C. 551), the whole of China, south of the Hoang River, was still a desert. Nothing in the Chinese annals of that period affords any evidence of a great nation. There is no authentic monument to attest the power of those who erected it. Their books, written on very brittle paper, and very frequently re-copied,

* *L'Histoire Générale de la Chine.* Trad. par le P. Maila et l'Abbé Grosier. 12 vols.

can give no information worthy of our confidence. And we further know, that, two centuries before the Christian era, a barbarous monarch caused all the writings then in existence to be destroyed. We must, then, with the learned among the Chinese, give the history of China no further extension than eight or nine centuries at most before Christ. The hypothesis which finds it entitled to any higher antiquity, owes its origin to the caprice of some modern literati, and the vanity of the emperors.

"But we may be told, that astronomical observations, allowed by M. de la Place to be exact, are as ancient as 1100 years before Christ. Laying aside the objections to which the authenticity of these observations is liable, admitting that they are not composed by modern Chinese, they only prove that, 1100 years before Christ, a civilized tribe and town existed, which produced men of science. Eastern Asia may, like Europe, have had her Greeks and her Athenians: there is a great difference between that and the formation of an immense empire. From 1100 to 2300, there is also a long space of time. A shorter interval witnessed the rise, the civilization, and the extinction of Greece and Rome.

"Even subsequently to the commencement of our era, China has been divided into small states; and if her civilization is of more ancient date, it must oftener than once have perished." For, in the thirteenth century, the inhabitants of the province of Fou-kien, in Mangi or Southern China, ate with avidity the flesh of their fellow-creatures, nicely preferring that of persons in good bodily condition; drank the blood of their prisoners of war; and marked their skin with hot irons, like the most savage nations. The person who relates these facts, had the management of a

district of the country. It is a remarkable circumstance, that, from Marco Polo to M. de Guignes, all who have seen China, have observed facts so universally tending to assuage the enthusiasm of those who cherished at a distance an admiration of China. We may praise the character of her policy in some particulars. The politician of Europe may contemplate with mixed admiration and disappointment, the unyielding conviction entertained by the Government, of the hazard of giving access to the influence of our political intrigues. And the moral philosopher may admire the cool and considerate theories by which they explain and account for the errors both of one another and of other nations; so favourably contrasted with the mysterious reprobation of crime, and boastful displays of forgiveness, which have so often rendered European, and especially Spanish manifestos, ridiculous; and he may view with approbation the firmness with which they execute such acts as appear expedient for the safety of the state and social order. How have they acquired a tone so dignified, and so unlike that barbarous incapacity for thinking, which in other particulars they betray, and that inhumanity which marks many parts of their practical proceedings? What are the means by which the more respectable materials of the national character admit of being improved, and incorporated into a consistent system of social felicity? By what means can a condition thus formed become secure against the ambitious intermeddlings of other powers, consistently with a liberal interchange of social advantages? And finally, by what steps might such materials be adopted by those who at present value nothing so much as original genius in its free, romantic, and impassioned exercises, without weakening their mental vigour? These are problems

of great interest to the citizen of the world, who flatters himself that some Utopian state of society is within the reach of his species, while he is solicitous to exclude from his contemplations the reveries of idle imagination. Such a person can have nothing in common with those who entertain a bitter animosity towards the Chinese, and who speak and write as if it were somewhat unfortunate, that so singular a nation ever had existence. Yet, a candid wish to acknowledge their virtues, needs not be suffered to generate a blind credulity in the ridiculous pretensions which have so often been urged in favour of this nation."*

These sentiments do honour to the enlightened spirit and sound judgement of this able Geographer, whose opinion, will not, on this point, be imputed to prejudice. With regard to the much agitated question, whether China was known to the ancients, the Author sides with M. Gosselin in maintaining the negative, supposing the *Serica* of the ancients to have comprised part of Little Bukharia, Cashmeer, and the western part of Tibet. The progress of geographical discovery has, however, tended to confirm the correctness of Ptolemy's details, and to render it highly probable, that the caravans penetrated from Bactriana into the heart of China, which must, therefore, be regarded as the ancient Serica.† Yet, how little was

* Malte Brun, vol. ii. pp. 607—11.

† D'Anville places *Sera Metropolis* at Kan-tcheou, the Kamplon or Kampilion of Marco Polo, the chief city of the province of Tanguth, which now forms a part of the Chinese province of Shen-si. "A remarkable circumstance in its position is, having the latitude well ascertained by observation, in our days, to a fraction of a degree the same with that of Sera in Ptolemy."—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 92. See also Marsden's Marco Polo, ch. xl. and xli. and notes. It is, accordingly, in the provinces of Shen-si and Shan-si, in the north-west of China, that Gibbon places the original seat of the Chinese nation. See ch. xxvi.

known of the real situation of the country in the reign of Augustus, may be inferred from the references which occur in the works of the Roman Poets. Horace repeatedly mentions the *Seres* among other Oriental nations, and uniformly as bordering upon the Bactrians, Parthians, and Indians;* and Virgil, the most ancient writer who expressly mentions the soft wool which the *Seres* combed from their trees,† does not discover a more accurate information of the country, than of its singular production. Pausanias is the first writer who describes the Seric insect. When silk became a Roman luxury, it was brought to them by the Persian merchants who frequented the marts of Armenia and Mesopotamia, and who purchased it of the Sogdian and Bactrian traders.‡ In the third century, the Chinese empire appears to have extended as far as the neighbourhood of Sogdiana. "Vou-ti, the first emperor of the seventh dynasty, had political transactions with Fergaun, and is said to have received a Roman embassy. In those ages," we are

* Thus, in od. i. 12,

"*Sive subjectos Orientis oris,*
Seras et Indos."

Again, in od. iii. 29,

"*Et urbi solicitus times*
Quid Seres et regnato Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors."

And, in od. iv. 15,

"*Edicta rumpent Julia, non Getæ,*
Non Seres, infidive Persæ,
Non Tanaim prope flumen orti."

In od. i. xxix. the expression, "*sagittas Sericas*" seems to imply that they were classed with the Parthians and Scythians, among the nations formidable in that mode of warfare.

† "*Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?*
Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,
Extremi sinus orbis?" Georg. ii. 121.

‡ See Murray's Discoveries in Asia, vol. i. p. 485, et seq.

informed, "the Chinese kept a garrison at Kashgar; and one of their generals, about the time of Trajan, marched as far as the Caspian Sea."* In the reign of Justinian, the eggs of the Chinese worm were surreptitiously obtained by some Persian monks; and the Romans were taught to emulate the natives of that remote country, in the education of the insect and the manufacture of silk.

Such is briefly the history of the commercial intercourse between China and ancient Europe. Ecclesiastical history furnishes but very scanty and ill authenticated information as to any connexion subsisting in the early ages, between Christian nations and this remote part of the eastern world. The few notices which occur, are thus summed up by a learned Missionary of our own times.

"The first attempts to make known the truths of Christianity in China, were by the Nestorians, who, from the fifth century, when the sect arose, to the end of the seventh century, penetrated through the various countries eastward of Constantinople, to Tatary, where they spread their doctrines, and instituted Christian societies. In the end of the seventh century, they came into China, where, also, they established churches. Little more notice is taken of their proceedings for nearly five hundred years. In the thirteenth century, they are said to have had a flourishing church in the north of China, where it still continued to exist in the beginning of the fifteenth century, after it was nearly extinguished in Tatary.† In the fifteenth century and the commencement of the

* De Guignes in Gibbon, ch. xlii. (A.D. 280) and xl.

† Mosheim, vol. ii. Seventh Cent. part 1.; vol. iii. Fourteenth Cent. 1.

sixteenth, Nestorianism is thought to have entirely died away in China.

"With respect to the Nestorians in China, two remarks occur. The first is, that no authentic records that I have seen, mention the coming of that sect into China, or of their efforts, doctrines, sufferings, or extinction there. Nor, with the exception of the stone tablet of *See-Gan*,* mentioned by some Romish missionaries, have any monuments, inscriptions, remains of old churches, &c., been noticed by any Chinese writer that I have seen or heard of. The second remark is, that no part of the Nestorian doctrines or ceremonies of worship, seems to have mingled itself with the pagan systems of China. In many other countries, paganism has borrowed from Christianity; and in China, images and pictures of Christ, borrowed from the Roman Catholic religion, are found in some pagan temples, where, at certain times, they are worshipped. There is in the *Shin-seen-tung-keen*, a Chinese mythological history, a brief account of the birth, life, death, resurrection, ascension, and disciples of Christ; an account evidently borrowed from the Roman Catholics. These circumstances, if this view of them be just, are the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Chinese notice every other foreign sect which has entered their country. The Buddhists, the Mohammedans, and the Roman Catholics, are all particularly noticed by them. Moreover, *Choo-foo-tsze*, *Tsang-tsze*, and other eminent Chinese writers, lived in or near the time when Nestorianism must, according to the above accounts, have been in its most flourishing state in China. They notice a number of

* At Si-ngan-fu, the capital of Shen-si. This monument, found in 1625, is said to record the introduction of Christianity into China by the Nestorians in the seventh or eighth century.

religious sects that existed in the country at that time, but do not mention any sect of Christians. The Nestorians, according to Dr. Mosheim and other ecclesiastical historians, must have been in China during a period of more than eight hundred years; and it is a singular circumstance, that if they really were there for so great a length of time, Chinese history never mentions them.*

* On the other hand, there seems good reason to believe, that Christianity had established itself in Tartary at an early period. Marco Polo, in his account of the province of Zenduk (near Lake Baikal), says: "The king now reigning is a descendant of Prester John, and named George. He is both a Christian and a priest; the greater part of the inhabitants being also Christians." "Here," remarks his learned Editor, "we find the assertion circumstantially repeated, that not Ung-Khan (Prester John) only, but all his descendants, to the days of our author," (that is, from the end of the eleventh to the thirteenth century,) "were Christians; and although it has been common to doubt the fact, no arguments drawn from historical evidence have been employed to disprove it. On the other hand, it is supported by the testimony of the travellers Carpini and Rubruquis, and sanctioned by the authority of Abulfaradj·····. From the Chinese annals, it is true, it receives no confirmation. But so little informed and so incurious have these people been at all periods on the subject of foreigners, and particularly of their religions, which, without discrimination, they hold in contempt, that their silence carries with it no weight·····. It may be asked, why there should be so much hesitation to believe, as if it were, in itself, a thing improbable, that, at an early period, the Christian faith (according to the ritual of the Greek church) had spread extensively through Tartary, and penetrated to China? The fact does not rest upon the evidence of the Catholic friars alone, (who, however, were much more disposed to undervalue, than to exaggerate the successes and political consequence of their rivals,) but is corroborated by the annals of the Nestorian church."—MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, c. iii. 364, 365, 450. See also note 507. In a subsequent chapter, the Venetian Traveller, describing the city of Chan-ghian-fu, in the province of Man-ji, says: "There are in this city two churches of Nestorian Christians, which were built in 1274, when his Majesty appointed a Nestorian named Mar Sachis, to the government of it for three years. By him these churches were established where

"In the thirteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church first extended its efforts, rather indirectly, to China. An embassy, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, at whose head was Johannes à Monte Corvino, was sent from Pope Nicholas IV. to Kublai, Emperor of the Tatars. Their object seems principally to have regarded Tatary; yet, they are said to have erected churches in China also. In the year 1307, the Gospel is reported to have made so great progress in China, that Pope Clement V. erected Cambalu, which some think to be Peking,* into an archbishopric, which was conferred on Johannes à Monte Corvino, above mentioned.†

"Francis Xavier, the celebrated Jesuit, had contemplated the conversion of China to the Christian faith; but, in the midst of his benevolent plans, he was called away by death, while off the coast of that country, in the year 1552. Matthew Ricci, an Italian of the same order, after the death of Xavier, penetrated into China, preached the Catholic faith, and laid the foundation of the Romish Church there. Much stress cannot be laid on any thing done for the Gospel in China before the days of Ricci. In the commencement of the seventeenth century, numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins entered China, and published part of the Gospel, mixed with

there had not been any before; and they still subsist."—Marsden's *Marco Polo*, lib. c. lxv. The doubts expressed by Dr. Milne, have been also ably met by M. Abel Rémusat.—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. i. p. 31, etc.

* Properly *Khan-baligh*, signifying, in one of the Tatar dialects, the city of the khan or sovereign. It was the capital of Khatai, or Northern China, and was afterwards called Yen-king by the Chinese; now, Pe-king.—See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 300, note 556.

† This celebrated Italian friar laboured for many years in Tatary, and translated the New Testament and the Psalms of David into the Tatar language.

the superstitions of the Romish Church, and the peculiarities of their respective orders.

"During the reign of the Emperor Kang-he, the Missionaries had less to contend with, and enjoyed more freedom in their work, than either before or since. Several hundreds of Catholic Missionaries, including natives and foreigners, have at different times laboured in China; and it is but justice to say, that many of them appear to have been sincere and single-hearted in their work. Some of them wrote well, where the peculiar errors of their church did not warp their judgement; and several were distinguished for their knowledge of Chinese literature; while, on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that there were among them, some who were tainted with scepticism, and others who loved the honours of a court more than the labours of the Christian ministry. With respect to the doctrines and ceremonies which they taught in China, a fair specimen of the best of these is contained in the Chinese writings of the missionaries. The style of their publications is generally perspicuous, sometimes elegant; but the doctrines which they communicate, are mostly such as were propagated in Europe, in what Protestants call 'the darkest periods of the Church.' Here and there, a beautiful sentiment occurs, well expressed, and supported by appropriate quotations from the Fathers of the Latin Church; but it is often in close connexion with some traditional absurdity. Their Ritual has certainly lost nothing by being transported to the East. The fictions of Chinese paganism, and the legends of the priests of Fuh and Taou, together with imported relations of miracles and wonders, wrought at the shrines of saints, at the tombs of martyrs, or in the caves of hermits, have all contributed to produce con-

siderable additions to the ceremonies of the Church. The virtues attributed to the sign of the cross, to the ringing of bells, to the burning of wax-candles, and the powerful aids said to be afforded by the Virgin Goddess to females in seasons of peculiar solicitude, to sick children, to the aged and poor,—tended very much to render the system acceptable to the lower classes; especially to females, who, before their conversion, had been accustomed to pray for assistance to two Chinese goddesses. The talents of the Missionaries, their virtues, and their influence (for a time) at court, gained over not a few in the higher walks of life, to the profession of the Gospel. But the rays of Scripture light passing through so clouded an atmosphere, must have been faint indeed. These corruptions are, however, to be attributed to the system, and not to the men themselves. The fear and love of God would have restrained them from corrupting the truth intentionally; and we find the essential doctrines of Divine Revelation scattered through their Chinese publications. Their stedfastness and triumph in the midst of persecution even to blood, and to death in all imaginable forms of terror, which they endured in Japan, China, &c., shew that the adulterated Christianity which they taught, is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not to design; and also afford reason to believe, that they have joined the 'noble army of martyrs,' and are now wearing the crowns of those 'who spared not their lives from death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony.'

"Of late years, they have been greatly persecuted; there is, however, reason to believe, that the disputes which took place among the Missionaries themselves, did their cause more real injury than all the

persecutions which they endured. The contentions which arose about a term proper to express the Deity, and about the rites of sacrifice usually performed by the Chinese at the tombs of their ancestors, &c., followed by the arrival from Europe of ecclesiastical messengers clothed with secular glory, and invested with spiritual powers to settle controversies, led, in the issue, to the two greatest evils that can ever befall any body of men jointly labouring for the conversion of the Heathen, viz., external disrespect, and internal divisions. The high tone assumed by a legate from Rome, the imperious conduct of individual missionaries in high ecclesiastical stations, and the inflexible firmness (some have called it obstinacy) of the greater part, who were neither intimidated by the thunders of the Vatican, nor softened by the entreaties of the friends of truth, nor moved from their purpose by the pacific counsels of moderate pagans; all tended to lower their religion and its ministers in the estimation of the Chinese, while the introduction of separate and contending interests divided the Missionaries among themselves. Thus, a very considerable portion of their whole time, strength, and talents was thrown away, in defending the claims, in defining the peculiarities, and in supporting the pre-eminence of the several monastic orders, under the banners of which they had enlisted.

"The Europeans who were the life of the missions, have either died, been banished, or fallen by the hands of their persecutors; and the small number of their converts, partly for want of the holy Scriptures, and partly for want of living teachers, are now falling rapidly back into heathenism.

"There now exists a Greek church in Peking, at which the Russian commercial resident and others

from that country attend. The origin of this church is mentioned by Bell, in his account of China. During the reign of Kang-he, in one of his Tatarian wars, some Russians on the river Amoor, were taken prisoners, and brought to Peking. That emperor, who was distinguished for many excellent qualities, allowed them to build a church, and to enjoy their own religion. The attention of this church has been entirely confined to the foreigners attached to the Russian factory in the capital. The Dutch, though they extended Christianity to the Moluccas, to part of Celebes, and of the island of Formosa, do not appear to have attempted the introduction of the Gospel into China." *

The first attempt, on the part of this country, to open an amicable intercourse with the Celestial Empire, was the mission entrusted to Lord Macartney in 1794. That embassy having failed in its object, (although a gracious audience was vouchsafed to the envoy,) no further official intercourse took place till the recent embassy of Lord Amherst, which was totally unsuccessful: owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of the Emperor, originating in the gross mismanagement and bad faith of his ministers, the embassy was dismissed from the capital in disgrace, without being admitted to an interview with the *soi-disant* "Son of Heaven." Although little accession to our geographical knowledge has resulted from these embassies, they have thrown fresh light on the manners of the court, and enable us to form a tolerably correct estimate of the rank which this great empire holds in the scale of social existence.

* Milne's "First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China."—Malacca, 1820, pp. 7—16. The Russian Mission, composed of six ecclesiastics and four lay-members, is relieved about every ten years.

China, as a country, remains still impenetrable to our travellers;* but our knowledge of the Chinese, as a nation, is daily becoming more extensive and intimate, by means of the outposts occupied by our factories and missionaries. Of the population of Birmah, Siam, and Anam, and the Indian Archipelago, a considerable portion consists of either natives of China or the descendants of natives, speaking the language and retaining the customs and superstitions of their ancestors; and through their medium, under the well-directed efforts of British missionaries, it is probable that European civilization and Christian light will find the readiest and surest access to the empire. In September 1807, the first Protestant missionary to China sent out from this country, arrived at Canton. This was Mr. Morrison, who has since so highly distinguished himself by his philological labours. In conjunction with his able colleague, the late Dr. Milne, he completed, in 1823, a version of the whole Bible into Chinese: the New Testament, partly their own work, and partly compiled from a manuscript version executed by the Romish missionaries, had been printed and put in circulation in 1814. In the meantime, the Serampore Missionaries had been directing their attention, since the year 1806, to the study of the same language. In 1815, an independent and original version of the New Testament in Chinese was completed at their press, printed with moveable me-

* The Editor has received information, that a Scotch gentleman, who speaks the Chinese so well as to pass for a native, succeeded, not long ago, in eluding the vigilance of the local authorities: attended by a native servant, he had made his way about 300 miles into the interior, when he accidentally betrayed himself. His servant was instantly seized and strangled, and the adventurous traveller was himself sent back under guard, to Canton. His narrative would be highly interesting.

tallic characters cut at Serampore; the first of the kind ever attempted. In 1822, the whole of the Scriptures were completed; and this vast undertaking, which cost them the unremitting labour of sixteen years, was achieved under all the disadvantages attendant upon their being deprived of the aid of native assistants. The two translations have since been diligently collated, and a second edition of the Chinese Bible is now in progress at the Serampore press, in which both versions are used for the purpose of obtaining a corrected text. *

Missionaries from three Protestant nations are now unitedly labouring to promote the diffusion of religious knowledge among the Indo-Chinese nations; those of the various British Missionary Societies; those sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society, and the American Baptist Missionaries. Ever since the year 1813, divine service has been more or less regularly performed, both in English and in Chinese, either at Macao or at Canton. The latter station is occupied by Dr. Morrison. In 1818, the foundation-stone was laid of an Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca,

* One of the most accomplished Chinese scholars in Europe, has thus characterised these versions: "Equal praises are due to the respectable individuals whose zeal, patience, and talents have brought to a termination this double enterprise. In paying a just homage to the merit of his coadjutor (*concurrent*), Mr. Morrison has had the modesty himself to point out, how much the MS. 'Harmony of the Gospels,' must have contributed to the perfection of his own work. Mr. Marshman had to supply, by dint of application and labour, the want of foreign aid. If, however, it was wished to characterise the results of the studies of these two interpreters of the sacred books, we might say, that the Serampore version is the more literal, and the Canton one the most conformed to the Chinese taste." Their being alike without note or comment, must, however, the learned Author thinks, render them almost equally difficult and unattractive to the Chinese: a point which experience will decide."—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, par M. Abel Rémusat, tom. i. p. 17.

towards the erection of which the learned Missionary himself contributed the sum of £1000 sterling. In this college, there are now twenty-four students. Three missionaries are resident at this important station, at which divine service in Chinese is regularly conducted every Sunday, for the benefit of the students, the Chinese belonging to the printing establishment, and the native boys in the Chinese schools supported by the Mission. Several thousand tracts, containing portions of the Scripture in Chinese, or other useful instruction, have been printed and put in circulation. There are also missionaries stationed at Singapore and Penang. *

* "The English experienced, at the outset, many difficulties in printing their Chinese books. The natives whom they were obliged to employ as translators, revisers, engravers, or printers, aware that they were required to labour in works prohibited by the laws of the empire, demanded a high price for their co-operation. These expenses, and the risks attendant upon them, merit some attention, when it is known, from an exact list given by Mr. Milne, that the total number of copies of Chinese books published in 1818, as well at Canton as at Macao and Malacca, amounted to 140,340; that of Malay books to 20,500; without reckoning the Chinese Grammar of Mr. Morrison printed at Serampore, two Chinese-English Dictionaries, Family Dialogues in Chinese, the Indo-Chinese Gleaner edited by Mr. Milne, the translation of the Sacred Edict by the same Missionary, and the work ('Retrospect of the First Ten Years') from which we borrow these details. Among the Chinese works published in this manner, the Author specifies thirty-two, of which he has given particular notices. In this list, we remark, the Bible almost entire (since completed), an Outline of the Old Testament, History of the Life of Jesus Christ, a Monthly Magazine, a periodical Miscellany in Chinese, a Geographical Catechism with four maps, &c. Thus, we behold an entire literature called into existence at the very extremity of the world, and without our knowledge, by two or three indefatigable men, assisted by a certain number of zealous and liberal persons. These great enterprises of religious zeal have something remarkable in the era in which we live; the more so, as those who direct them, or at least those who execute them, appear, for the

These enterprising and successful labours have drawn the attention and admiration of the literati of Europe, and have extorted commendation from the members of different religious communions. They bid fair, indeed, to break down the great wall which has hitherto intellectually separated this vast section of the world from the rest of the globe, and to achieve, silently, but irresistibly, a mightier revolution than was ever effected by political conquest.

We must now hasten to lay before the reader a brief sketch of the physical geography of the country, preparatory to a description of the capital, with which we shall connect a general view of the national customs, manners, religion, and political condition.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE conquests of the emperors of the Mantchoo dynasty have extended the Chinese empire northward, over a great part of the countries formerly comprised under the general appellation of Independent Tatary; where, from the neighbourhood of Lake Palcati to the mouth of the river Amour, a line 3000 miles in length,

moment, to be strangers to any political or commercial views." After enumerating the five stations at Canton, Malacca, Penang, Batavia, and Singapore, as they stood in 1819, to which period only the learned Writer had received the Missionary accounts, he concludes the paper with the following remarks: "The Missionaries see, in this concurrence of circumstances, grounds for calculating on the success of their evangelical preaching. There are many of their countrymen who do not participate in all their hopes upon this point; but there is doubtless no one who does not view with lively interest, these proceedings, these literary studies, this abundant harvest of documents of all sorts, which seem to have for their principal effect, if not for their immediate object, to open new markets to their industry, and to prepare the way for their commerce and their policy."—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. i. pp. 43—50.

it is conterminous with the Russian frontier.* Lake Palcati, the Alak mountains, and the Beloot mountains, separate the Chinese empire, on the west, from the territories of the Kirguis, Uzbeg, and other independent tribes of genuine Tatars. In a south-westerly direction, it has extended itself over the vast regions of Tibet, and has almost become conterminous with the British possessions to the north of Bengal. Its south-eastern province of Yun-nan brings it into direct contact with the Birman empire; and further eastward, it is bounded by the once tributary states of Anam. Reckoning from the Tongkinese frontier to the mouth of the Amour, it has 3600 miles of coast, washed by the Eastern Ocean.

The extent of China Proper (to which we must now confine ourselves) is far less considerable, and is comprised between about twenty parallels of latitude and as many degrees of longitude, forming an area of about 537,000 square miles.† The whole of the empire is generally called *Ta-ts'hing-kwe*, the country of the *Ta-tsking* (the reigning dynasty): the province beyond the Great Wall, formerly denominated Chinese Tatary, bears the name of *Fong-t'hyen-fu*. China is called by the natives *Chung-kwe*, the central

* The vast province, north of the Gulf of Peking and the kingdom of Corea, of which Shing-king is the capital, must not be reckoned among those of China properly so called. It comprises the province of Liao-toung, and the ancient country of the Mantchoos and is traversed by the great river Saghalien, or Amour, and its tributaries.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 552. Humboldt assigns to China Proper, a territorial surface of 128,000 square marine leagues, with a population of 150 millions, being 1172 to the square league. The population of the whole Chinese empire is only 327 to the square league.—*Pers. Nar.* vol. vi. p. 337. That of England gives 2524 to the square league.

kingdom; and, in the reign of Kyen-long, was divided into the following provinces.

	Provinces.	Chief City.	Population, A.D. 1790.
I.	Pe-tche-li or King-se	Pe-king	3,504,038
II.	Shang-tong	Tsi-nan	25,447,683
III.	Shan-si	Tai-ywen	1,860,816
IV.	Kyang-nan		
	i. Kyang-su or Nan-king	Kyang-ning	26,967,235
	ii. Ngan-hwai	Ngan-king	1,438,123
V.	Ho-nan	Kai-fong, Tong-king, Si-king, Pyen-king	2,662,969
VI.	Shen-si		
	i. Shen-si	Si-ngan	257,704
	ii. Kan-su	Lan-cheu	340,086
VII.	Tche-kyang	Hang-cheu	18,975,099
VIII.	Kyang-si	Nan-chang	5,922,160
IX.	Hou-kwang		
	i. Hou-pe	Vu-chang	24,604,369
	ii. Hou-nan	Chang-sha	9,098,010
X.	Se-shwen	Ching-tu	7,709,782
XI.	Fo-kyen	Fo-cheu	1,084,528
XII.	Kwang-tong	Kwang-cheu	1,491,271
XIII.	Kwang-si	Kwei-lin	2,569,518
XIV.	Kwei-tchou	Kwei-yang	2,941,391
XV.	Yun-nang	Yun-nan	3,023,439
			148,638,091
	Fong-t'hyen-fu, or Chinese Tatary	Hing-king, Shing-king	390,714
			143,028,805 †

* This name seems to correspond to the *Medya-t'hami* or Middle Land of the Hindoos. It is also called *Tchon-kou*, the Centre of the World. The Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century give to Southern China the name of Sin, pronounced by the Persians, Tchin. But this appellation is, by D'Anville, with great probability, supposed to belong to Cochin China, which is the *Sinarum Regio* of the ancients. The *Magnus Sinus* which separated that region from Ultra-Gangetic India, he identifies with the Gulf of Siam; and the capital of the *Sinæ*, he places at Sin-hoa.—Vol. ii. pp. 128, 132. There was, however, another *Sinæ*, contiguous with *Serica*, and far distant from the *Sinæ* beyond the Ganges. "Shen-si, bordering on Serica, comprised, about 800 years before

The surface of the country is very diversified. It contains two distinct mountain regions; one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. The great southern chain, running from W. to E. between the provinces of Kwang-si, Kwang-tong, and Fo-kyen on the south, and Hou-kwang and Kyang-si on the north, separates the basin of the *Yang-tse-kyang* (Blue river) from that of the *Hoa-kyang*; till, on reaching the limits of Fo-kyen, it turns to the N.E., and separates the former river from the sea. Two branches of this chain cut the basin of the *Yang-tse-kyang* transversely. Gneiss and quartz are believed to be the prevailing rocks in this mountain-chain, which has been denominated the *Mangian*, from Mangi, the name of Southern China, and may be considered as rivalling the Apennines, or, perhaps, the Pyrenees.

The mountains of the north-west do not consist so much of regular chains, as of a succession of table-lands. In the western part of the province of Se-shwen, a chain of mountains runs parallel with the river *Ya-lou* from S. to N., till it reaches the Si-fan country; it then turns eastward, and enters the pro-

the Christian era, a kingdom called *Thin*. This name was preserved by the western people whom commerce brought across Serica."—*Ib.* p. 84. The learned Author thinks, that *Sinæ* might be an ancient generic name for all the nations of Tibet, China, and Indo-China. This is, however, cutting the knot. Northern China or Khatai (Cathay), and Southern China, or Han, appear always to have been distinguished, by whatever names they have been known. The *Sinæ*, of whom Ptolemy had a very imperfect knowledge, were, perhaps, the southern Chinese, as the *Seres*, better known to the ancients, were the northern.—See *Ency. Metrop.* art. China.

† Morrison's View, p. 61. Ency. Metrop., art. China. Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 582. The maritime provinces are six in number: Pe-tche-li, Shan-tong, Kyang-nan, Tche-kyang, Fo-kyen, and Kwang-tong.

vince of Shen-si, running parallel, first with the river *Hoei-ho*, and then with the *Hoan-ho*, and gradually disappearing in the province of Ho-nan. The province of Shan-si is full of mountains, which appear to belong to a chain extending from the banks of the Amoor across Mongolia. The province of Shan-tong consists for the most part of a groupe of mountains wholly detached from any other range, and running out towards the N.E. into a large peninsula. These mountains contain coal-mines.

The most extensive plains in China are found in the maritime province of Kyang-nan, which may be described as a Chinese Mesopotamia. The two great rivers, the *Hoan-ho* or *Whang-ho* (Yellow river), and the *Yang-tse-kyang*, each of which has its rise in the great table-land of Tibet, after describing an immense circuit in opposite directions, at a distance of 1100 miles, suddenly approach one another, and, like the Euphrates and the Tigris, wind along the same plain, communicating occasionally by canals and lakes, till they terminate, within a mutual distance of 110 miles, their long and majestic course. Among their respective tributaries are some streams which equal in size the largest rivers of Europe. The *Fuen-ho*, the *Hoei-ho*, and the *Hoay-ho* fall into the Yellow River. The *Ya-lou-kyang* (itself 700 miles in length), the *Tchoo* or *Yun-kyang*, the *Le-kyang*, and the *Fuen-kyang*, are tributary to the Blue River, which receives also the waters of several other rivers from the lakes *Tou-ting-hoo* and *Po-yang-hoo*. The former of these lakes, situated in the province of Hoo-kwang (which signifies the country of lakes), is more than 220 miles in circumference, and is one of a series of lakes, almost touching one another, extending northward and eastward, and occupying, in this region, a great part of

the basin of the Blue River. The lake *Po-gang-hoo*, in the province of Kyang-si, has a circumference of 90 or 100 miles, and receives four superb rivers. The *Tai-hoo*, a lake to the south of Nan-king, is surrounded with hills, and presents some romantic scenery. Those of *Hon-tse-hoo* and *Kao-yew-hoo*, to the north of that city, are also of vast extent. All these lakes are united by natural or artificial channels, and their tranquil basins are navigable by barks light enough to be portable. They abound with fish, and afford boundless scope for an aquatic sport, which seems intermediate between hawking and fishing. The Chinese pelican is trained for catching fish, a ring being fixed round his neck to prevent him from swallowing his prey.

There are two large rivers which maintain a perfect independence of both these vast reservoirs. The *Peyho*, in the north, after receiving the *Yun-ho*, falls into the Gulf of Peking; and the *Hoan-king*, descending from the mountains of Yun-nan, flows eastward through Kwang-si and Kwang-tong, and after a course of 740 miles, falls into the Gulf of Canton.

This multitude of rivers confers on the Chinese nation, incalculable advantages for agriculture as well as for inland navigation. Travellers are astonished at the length, depth, and commodiousness of the canals, which have a stone quay all along their margin, and are sometimes crossed by bridges constructed with singular art. The navigation, however, is slow, as the vessels are generally dragged by men. The most celebrated of these canals is the Imperial Canal, about 1660 miles in length, which forms a communication between Pekin and Canton, with the interruption of only a day's journey in crossing a mountain between the provinces of Kwang-tong and Kyang-si.

The difference of climate in the several provinces, is increased by the influence which the lofty mountains of Central Asia necessarily exert on the one hand, and the modifying effects of the Ocean, on the other, on the maritime provinces. The south of China, near the tropic, experiences heats more intense than those of Bengal, but they are moderated by the monsoons. The mean heat of Canton is about 76° Fahr. The northern and western parts have a far colder climate than the countries of Europe under the same parallel. The extremes of heat and cold are much greater at Pekin, than at Madrid, although the latitude is much the same. There are, properly, only two seasons there, summer and winter,—the seasons of snow and rain. It freezes daily in December, January, and February, and very often in November and March. The months of June, July, and August are very rainy, attended often by excessive heats. November is the driest month, and one of the pleasantest of the Chinese year.*

The Chinese are eminently an agricultural nation, and no branch of art or industry has been more highly patronized by its government, than the culture of the earth. "It is the most favoured occupation," we are told, "next to learning,† and is considered as the

* The mean of the greatest heat is 121°; that of the greatest cold is 69° below zero; the medium heat of the year, 52°. The average number of rainy days in the year is 50.

† "Every one has heard of the honours conferred upon agriculture by the Chinese government. Every year, on the fifteenth day of the first moon, which generally corresponds to some day in the beginning of March," (others say, at the vernal equinox,) "the Emperor in person goes through the ceremony of opening the ground. He repairs in great state to the field appointed for this ceremony, attended by the princes of the imperial family, the presidents of the five great tribunals, and an immense number of

basis of national prosperity. The Emperor is sole proprietor of the soil, and every tenant pays one-tenth of the produce as a rent for the land he holds.* It is a fixed maxim, never to dispossess any landholder who is exact in the payment of this charge; and he is allowed, if he pleases, to underlet his estate. This is commonly done at the rate of one-half of the whole produce, so that the tenant under government makes

mandarins. These line three sides of the field: the fourth is reserved for the labourers of the province. The Emperor enters the field alone, prostrates himself, and touches the ground with his head nine times, in adoration of Tien, the God of heaven. He pronounces with a loud voice, a prayer prepared by the Court of Ceremonies, in which he invokes the blessing of the Great Being on his labour and on that of his whole empire. Then, in the capacity of chief priest of the empire, he sacrifices an ox in homage to Heaven as the fountain of all good. While the victim is offered, a plough is brought to the Emperor, to which is yoked a pair of oxen, magnificently ornamented. The sovereign lays aside his imperial robes, lays hold of the plough, and opens several furrows all round the field. He then gives the plough into the hands of the chief mandarins, who, labouring in succession, display their comparative dexterity. The ceremony concludes with a distribution of money and pieces of cloth among the labourers."—Mailla Hist., ii. 361, 2. Another account of the ceremony, after stating that a cow is offered up in the temple of the Spirit presiding over the earth, adds, that "figures of the same animal, made of clay, are first carried in procession, and then broken and distributed among the people." (*Encyc. Metrop.*) After the field has received the necessary dressing, the Emperor commences the sowing with similar ceremonies, which are performed on the same day by the viceroys of all the provinces. The Russian ceremonies of blessing the first verdure of spring, and blessing the waters, present a striking resemblance to these Chinese solemnities.—See Mod. Trav., *Russia*, pp. 64, 5.

* A land-tax was substituted for the capitation tax by Yong-ching, who reigned in 1722-1735. This produced in 1777, according to an imperial rescript, 17,200,000*l.*, or nearly three-fifths of the revenue. The other receipts are derived from an assessment on the workshops of artisans, &c., producing about a million and a half sterling, which, with excise and customs, is supposed to form a total of nearly thirty millions.

a clear profit of two-fifths. The land is, on the whole, equally divided; little, except for the emperor's use, is devoted to pleasure-grounds, parks, &c.; and there are no restrictions on the taking fish or game. Famines, however, are very frequent, from drought, inundations, the ravages of locusts, and civil commotions. The government, also, with all its professions, is very improvident; while, on any emergency, the restrictions on external commerce, and the unproductive state of the adjoining countries, cut off all hope of a supply from abroad. The extraordinary diligence of the peasantry in cultivating every inch of soil, so much exaggerated by some of the earlier writers, is no fable with respect to the immediate neighbourhood of towns and cities. There, not a foot of ground is lost; and the hills are formed into terraces, as is the case in Malta and the Pays de Vaud. But banditti, want of cattle, imperfect drainage, and, beyond all, the oppression of men in power, counteract the letter as well as the spirit of the law, and check the cultivation of less favoured tracts to such an extent, that more than one-fourth, perhaps two-thirds, of the whole empire are either swamps or wastes. Any one may, as is the case in Turkey, obtain a grant of waste land, on engaging to pay the stipulated tenth into the hands of the proper officers; but the ignorance and poverty of the great body of the people prevent such speculations from being often attempted. The Chinese are, indeed, ill-adapted to manage land on a large scale; and are more fit for gardeners than for farmers. Their implements of husbandry are singularly defective; and their plough, drawn by a single buffalo, seldom makes a furrow more than four inches deep; new soil, therefore, is never turned up. The ground is never allowed to lie fallow. In some places, two

crops of rice are raised in one season; wheat follows cotton or indigo, and is cut in May or June; beans are sown between the drills of wheat, and ripen after harvest; lentils, sweet potatoes, and yams succeed wheat.

"The want of domestic animals is likewise the source of another evil, the scarcity of manure; an evil the more felt, as the soil is generally loose and sandy, and therefore soon impoverished. Dung can be procured in small quantities only in the north, where horned cattle are most plentiful. All sorts of excrements are therefore carefully collected and preserved; slime and mud are dredged up from ponds and ditches; and even the barbers diligently pocket every hair from the heads and beards of their customers, in order to sell it for the benefit of the soil. Lime, burnt bones, decayed wood and leaves, are mixed with these materials. Manure, in the form of dried cakes, is carried for sale from one part of the country to the other; and it is conveyed in every state by water-carriage over the whole empire. The combining of different soils is well understood; and sandy grounds are worked up with marl and clay, as stiff lands are with sand and gravel. Rice is the staple produce; then, barley; after that wheat, especially in the north; buck-wheat, millet (*sorghum*), maize, peas, beans, and other vetches, are the other kinds of grain and pulse most cultivated. Sugar-cane, cotton, hemp, linseed, tobacco, indigo, tea, mulberries, varnish-trees (*rhus vernix*), camphor, tallow-trees (*stillingia sebifera*), and cinnamon, are the trees and shrubs most common in the fields and gardens. Besides our esculent vegetables, a kind of cabbage, called *pe-t'sai*, earth-nuts (*arachis hypogæa*), yams, and sweet potatoes are raised in large quantities.

"For ornamental gardening, the Chinese have been extolled as far surpassing every other nation; and certainly, when their style is compared with the formal parterres and ponderous wildernesses of our forefathers, the contrast is striking. The variety, brilliancy, and airiness of the Chinese pleasure-grounds, leave the stiff, monotonous gardens of France and Italy, once so much admired, far behind them; because the Asiatics imitated Nature's beautiful irregularity, while the Europeans strove to force upon trees and greenswards, a symmetry which is entirely out of nature. The defect of the Chinese gardeners is, that they attempt too much. Rocks, forests, plains and valleys, all are to be crowded within the narrow compass of a few acres; while the uncouth forms of their artificial caverns, with an excessive profusion of cascades and pagodas, not only shew the effort of art at every step, but oppress the eye with a superfluity of surprising objects. The grotesque figures of lions, tigers, dragons, and other creatures of a distorted imagination, all from the kilns of the porcelain-manufacturer, are ornaments suggested by the same wretched taste which has peopled the gardens of Versailles and the Tuileries with the heroes and demi-gods of Greece and Rome. The imperial pleasure-grounds of Yuen-min-yuen, near Pé-king, occupying nearly 60,000 acres, and comprehending thirty separate palaces, as well as those of Je-hol, beyond the Great Wall, to the north-east of the capital, are magnificent samples of the Chinese taste and skill, well deserving, from their magnitude and constant succession of beauties, the admiration of Europeans as well as natives.

"If the Chinese have little to boast of with respect to the fine arts, their skill in several of those which

are more mechanical, is far from inconsiderable. In the construction and use of fire-arms, in printing and engraving, in the manufacture of silk and cotton cloths, and especially in their earthenware, they appear to have taken the lead; and in the two last, still equal, if they do not excel, the Europeans themselves.

"Their sculpture, which is almost all in low relief, is closely allied to the art of engraving; an art probably of great antiquity among them, from their constant use of seals as signatures to all deeds and public documents. Their works of this kind in wood, mother-of-pearl, and ivory, are known to every one; and their hollow spheres, included within each other, are often preserved as curiosities in public collections. Out of one solid ball of ivory, they will carve fifteen hollow globes, all distinct from each other, all moveable by a touch, and ornamented with figures and open work, like the sticks of a fan. Yet, these singular productions of art, which appear to require so much skill and labour, are soon finished, and sold for a trifle.

"From the impressions of their seals, it is probable that the Chinese caught the first idea of the art of printing; an art said to be known to them more than nine centuries before the Christian era, but, like most of their inventions, still in its infancy. It is nothing better than a clumsy kind of stereotype, with all the inconveniences and few of the advantages of that ingenious contrivance. The characters to be printed, are first drawn by a skilful manager of his pencil, on a sheet of thin, transparent paper, which, when dry, is glued on a smooth board. It is then delivered to the engraver, who scrapes out all the spaces between the strokes of the letters, which are thus left in relief, and the paper is carefully washed off. Each board contains two pages; ink, more fluid than that used in

writing, is laid on with a hard brush; a sheet of paper is applied, a softer brush is passed over it, and an impression is taken. Four or five can be thus thrown off without renewing the ink. The sheets, when printed, are folded back and form two pages. A few moveable types of the most common characters, are sometimes, but very rarely used. All authors who are mandarins, must lay their works before the Emperor, who orders the *Han-lin*, or Royal Society of Pĕ-king, to examine the manuscript; and, if approved, it is printed at the expense of government. Sŭ-cheu-fŭ, on the great canal, in the province of Kyang-nan, is a great emporium for books, particularly poetical works; but there are printing-offices in most of the large towns.

"The imitative powers of the Chinese are very great; and it may be in general remarked, that those nations which are least remarkable for original inventions, succeed most readily in arts which are merely imitative. A Chinese at Canton, who had never before seen a watch, made one in every point complete, except in the main-spring; they are therefore capable of imitating our machinery; yet they have scarcely any thing of the kind, their own being extremely clumsy and simple."

"The Jews are the best silk-manufacturers in the empire, and are most numerous in the provinces in which silk-worms are reared;* it has therefore been

* Dr. Morrison was informed, that, at Kae-fung-foo, in the province of Honan, there were a few families of the *Tsew-kin-kiaou*, or *sinew-plucking* sect; so called because they take away the sinews from all the flesh they eat. They had a *le-pae-sze*, or temple of worship, and observed the eighth day as a sabbath. The person who gave this statement, regarded them as the same with the *Tsew-chue-kiaou*, or Christians; but they are more likely to be Jews.

conjectured, that the art of weaving silk was introduced by Jewish emigrants after the conquests of Alexander. This, however, is very inconsistent with the lofty pretensions of the Chinese, one of whose historians speaks of brocades as being in use nearly 300 years before our era. The quantity of silk now produced and manufactured, is almost beyond calculation; it forms the principal article of clothing for the rich. The province of Che-kyang, between the twenty-seventh and thirty-first parallels of northern latitude, is the country from which the finest, softest, and whitest is brought; but the adjoining province of Kyang-nan has the greatest number of weavers; and all articles intended for the emperor's use, are made there, particularly in its capital, Nan-king. The productions of the Chinese looms are said to be more showy than substantial; their brocades are embroidered with gilt paper, and are therefore soon spoiled. Gauzes, whether flowered or plain, are the manufactures in which they excel; and those most in use, are a strong, dull satin, called *tá-ngan-tse*, and a close, grey taffety, which washes well, and is suitable for drawers, linings, &c. The *kyen-cheú*, spun by an insect somewhat differing from the silk-worm, and abounding in the province of Shan-tong, furnishes a thick, rough material, resembling drugget, and much valued by the Chinese. The silk goods exported to Europe are manufactured in or near Canton, and the raw material is brought from Kyang-nan. That province also produces the crown cotton (*gossypium religiosum*), which is manufactured into nankeens; particularly in the city of Nan-king, whence the name of those cotton cloths is derived. Narrow, stout, and fine linens are manufactured at Nan-king and in Fó-

kyen; they are called *ko-pé* by the natives, and *sunes* by the Portuguese.

"Paper is another article of which the Chinese claim the invention; the first having been made from the bark of a tree (*morus papyrifera*) and old linen, by Tsaï-lun, a mandarin who flourished about a century and a half before Christ. The bark of that tree, and the *Kŏ-ch'ŏu*, hemp, nettles, straw, the cocoons of the silk-worm, cotton, rags, and the fibres of the bamboo, are the materials now used: from the second of these, the most common sort is made; whence *kŏ-chŭ* has become the usual term for paper. The inner bark of the bamboo, after maceration in water, is reduced to a paste by boiling and bruising in a mortar; it is then spread out, on frames of fine bamboo threads, and formed into sheets of various lengths, from three to ten feet. The whitest, softest, and most durable, is made from cotton rags. A size, consisting of seventy-eight parts water, three isinglass, and one alum, is used to prevent the ink from running; but it makes the paper more liable to tear, or be injured by damp and worms. A strong, rose-coloured, transparent paper is used in the windows at Pĕ-king, as a substitute for glass. This kind is brought from Corea.

"That Peninsula is also said to be the country where the Chinese learned the secret of preparing their excellent ink now so universally used by our artists under the name of Indian ink. It was not brought to perfection till the ninth century; and is made of the soot deposited by the smoke of pines or oil. This is formed into a paste by a strong solution of isinglass, with the addition of a little musk, to correct the smell. Isinglass prepared from asses-skin and the soot of lamps, which is the lightest kind, make the best ink.

"The delicate painting-brushes, called camel's hair-pencils, were probably invented by the Chinese. The fur of rabbits is that of which they are generally made; and to the natives of China, they are as indispensable as pens to us.

"Almost all trades are itinerant in China, and the tools commonly used are few, clumsy, and unserviceable. The barbers are most active; shaving the whole face, extirpating bristles from the nostrils, adjusting the eye-brows, and plaiting the only lock which the Tatars will allow their Chinese subjects to retain. Carpenters and tailors also ply in the streets; but japanners always work in shops, and even keep their windows shut, as if to conceal the mysteries of their art. The Japanese were the inventors of it, and their neighbours on the continent have never been able to rival their skill. The articles varnished are either made of pasteboard (*papier maché*) or thin wood; black and red are the favourite colours; and the best workmanship is that of Kyang-nan. It is superior to that of Canton.

"Extreme indigence is the lot of thousands, and beggars abound; but charity is not a virtue much practised in China; a thimbleful of rice is all that a beggar can hope to obtain. The tradesmen, however, have associations like our benefit-societies or clubs, for the relief of their distressed brethren.

"The fishermen, a most numerous class, are generally in a very wretched condition, perhaps from living entirely on fish and ducks; though they have some vegetable food, for they raise onions, garlic, &c. on rafts of bamboo covered with beds of earth. They allure fish at night by lights, as is done elsewhere; but their most singular mode of fishing is the employment of a tame water-fowl, of the cormorant tribe,

perhaps the *pelicanus aquilus*, or man of war. These birds are carried out on rafts, and have a ring round their necks, which serves for the double purpose of bringing them back, by means of a string, and preventing them from swallowing the fish they have seized. After a certain time the ring is removed, and the bird is allowed to provide for himself. Their ducks also are so well trained, that they return to the boats on hearing their master whistle.

"But, of all the manufactures for which the Chinese have been celebrated, their earthenware is perhaps the most remarkable. Its peculiar excellence made it long an import of considerable value, gave its name to the finer kinds of pottery among ourselves, and rendered it a favourite article of luxury in the courts of Central and Western Asia, long before China was known to Europe. Their materials, and the care with which they are cleansed and prepared, are the real causes of the superiority of the Chinese porcelain over that of most European manufacturers. The forms of their invention, though not always inelegant, have neither the lightness, variety, nor beautiful outline of the Grecian vases; and their designs are wretched when compared with those of European artists, either ancient or modern. The two sorts of earth which are most used in the formation of their porcelain, are called *kao-ling* and *pé-tún-tsé*; the first, a kind of soap-stone mixed with a small proportion of mica; the other a granite in which quartz greatly predominates. The whitest pieces of each are always preferred. The *pé-tún-tsé* is reduced to powder, thrown into a vessel full of water, well stirred up, and then left to settle. A thick cream rises, which is skimmed off and poured into another vessel filled with water. This process is re-

peated till the cream ceases to rise; and that thrown into the second vessel is allowed to remain untouched, till a crust is deposited below, and the water above is quite clear. The paste thus formed, is dried in moulds, and, before it is completely hardened, is cut into cakes, having nearly the shape and size of a brick, which are sold in the market for so much per hundred. The *kao-ling* receives its name from a hill near King-tĕ-chin, where it is found in large masses under a stratum of red earth. It is subjected to the process just described, and is formed into cakes like those of the *pĕ-tŭn-tsĕ*. For the purpose of making porcelain, these earths are mixed together in different proportions, according to the degree of fineness required; for the best sort in equal quantities; for the second best, four parts of *kao-ling* are added to six of *pĕ-tŭn-tsĕ*; and for the worst, one of the former to three of the latter. A greasy kind of chalk, called *Hwaăh*, is sometimes substituted for *kao-ling*, after having been prepared in a similar manner; the porcelain thus made, is whiter and more transparent, but more brittle and expensive than the other. *Shĕ-kao*, a kind of gypsum, is likewise sometimes used; but it is not so hard and tenacious as *kao-ling*.

"The mixture, when properly worked up, is thrown into a pit, well paved and plastered with a hard cement; it is then trodden down till it has acquired a sufficient consistency. From this mass, portions are taken and spread upon large slates, on which they are rolled and kneaded till every vacuity and rough substance has been completely removed. The vessel is then formed, if spherical or cylindrical, by a wheel; and is delivered to a second workman, who adds the rims, feet, and other ornaments; a third shapes it on

a mould: a fourth pares its edges; and after passing through twelve or more hands, it is at length fit for the furnace. Figures in relief, spouts, handles, &c. are not formed at the same time as the vessel, but cemented on when nearly dry; the seams being so nicely pared and smoothed as not to appear at all. When sufficiently hardened, the vessel is given to the painters, each of whom has his peculiar province; one to trace circles round the edges, another to draw the landscape, a third to sketch the figures, and so on, till the last applies the colours. Each piece is then put into a separate case, at the bottom of which there is strewed a bed of fine sand, covered with a layer of powdered *kau-ling*. These cases are next placed in the furnace, resting on a floor of coarse sand, and piled one upon the other; first, those containing the coarser wares, then the finer, and lastly, the finest in-grain and colouring, which are nearest to the mouth of the oven. Just room enough is left between the piles to allow a passage for the flame; but, as they have no means of regulating the heat, it often happens that the whole is spoiled and converted into a shapeless mass. The cases are put into the furnace, and removed, when necessary, by means of a kind of iron ladle, with a long wooden handle.

"Porcelain is called *Tsé-ki* by the Chinese; and King-té-chin, a village to the east of the Lake Po-yang-hú, in the province of Kyang-si, is the place at which the finest China-ware is made. This is exclusively reserved for the Emperor. Blue and white are the ordinary colours; red is one of the most esteemed and expensive; and gilt figures on a black ground are in great request. The gilding is formed by mixing gold-dust, water, and sugar well together; and it is

laid on by a hair pencil first dipped in clear gum-water, and afterwards into this mixture. When the vessel has been taken out of the furnace, the gilding is polished with fine-grained moistened sand.

"A light-brown clay is also much used for making brown earthenware, in which the Chinese excel, as well as in porcelain. Jars and vases of every size, pots, cups, lamps, and spoons, &c. made of this material, are sold for a very small price. Fuller's-earth is used for making water coolers, and another kind of clay for vessels which are believed to improve the taste of the food cooked in them.

"Notwithstanding the perfection of their porcelain, the Chinese know scarcely any thing about the art of making glass. Their mirrors are metallic; a compound, it is said, of zinc and copper. It is dubious whether there is a single glass-house in the whole Empire, or any place at which that beautiful and useful manufacture is carried on, except Canton; and nothing more is done even there, than the melting down old glass, and blowing or moulding it into a new form.

"Among the minerals, the white copper of Yun-nan should be noticed as one of the more rare kinds.* It is naturally brittle, but is rendered ductile by a mixture of zinc. It is, perhaps, the grey copper of Professor Jamieson. Coal is not uncommon, and collieries are

* It is supposed to be a composition of copper, nickel, and iron: the Chinese call it *pe-tung*. The yellow copper is used for the current coin. The *tutenague*, or zinc, is found in the province of Hoo-kwang. Silver mines are said to be abundant, but are not worked. Gold is obtained from the sands of the rivers in Sze-chwen and Yun-nan; and quicksilver is abundant in the latter province. The lead and tin exported from Canton, come chiefly from Tibet and Japan.

numerous, particularly near Canton. They are worked by levels cut in the sides of the hills. The coals are charred at the pit, pounded, mixed with earth, and formed into cakes in the shape of bricks. Stones also are hewn and shaped in the quarry, before they are severed from the native rock, as was sometimes done by the Greeks. The torrents descending from the mountains of Yun-nan, Kwei-cheu, and Shen-si, wash down stones which yield an agreeable sound, and are used for making musical instruments. The stone called Yu is most esteemed. It varies in colour, from the hue of whey to that of a cinder, passing through all the different shades of blue, yellow, red, and green. That which is of a greenish white colour is most valued. It has been erroneously called Chinese Jade, Nephrite, or Prehnite, but is probably undetermined, and nearly allied to axe-stone. Some pieces of it are three feet long, and a foot and a half broad. Marvellous stories are told of their hardness and ponderosity. Another kind, resembling agate, and called ox-fat-stone, is not so hard or heavy, and is found in smaller masses. It is, perhaps, pyritous. Granite and lime-stone are the most common rocks; and no traces of volcanoes, either active or extinct, have yet been found on the main land, though there are many in the neighbouring islands.

"China produces all the European fruits, but some of them do not succeed well. The apples, grapes, and pomegranates are very indifferent; olives, though abundant, are gathered for eating, but not for making oil; a wild apricot, however, which flourishes in bleak tracts and a barren soil, is much used for that purpose. The oil is expressed from the kernels, and the stones are consumed as fuel. There are lemons no bigger

than walnuts, and large oranges with an almost solid pulp, which are valued for culinary and medical preparations. The southern provinces are warm enough for most tropical productions, so that the produce both of cold and hot climates is indigenous in China, and it has also many fruits and vegetables peculiar to itself. Such are the *li-chi* (*dimocarpus litchi*), the *long-yan*, dragon's eye (*dimocarpus longan*), *hwáng-pi* (*cookia punctata*), &c. The second is tart and juicy, and more wholesome than the *li-chi*, which it somewhat resembles. The *hwáng-pi* is like an unripe gooseberry. The *shi-tse* (*diospyros kaki*), called *shi-ping* when dried, is said to taste like a fig, but is a kind of date plum. The *lin-kyo* (*trapa bicornis*) is the fruit, or root, of a water plant, which has a peculiar taste, and is used in soup, or made into a cake with honey. *Pi-tsi*, used as a cooling diet for invalids, is the bulb of the *trapa natans*. A species of *chenopodium* (*lata*) is said to afford much nutritive food; its roots and stem, being dried and pulverized, are made into cakes, and used as bread, while its leaves are either boiled or dressed as sallad. The *pe-tsai*, or white herb, a kind of mustard (*sinapis brassicata*), is cultivated in large fields, and eaten either fresh or pickled, like the German *sauer-kraut*. Scarcely a lake or morass in the empire but produces the beautiful water-lily, called *nelumbium* by our botanists, and *lien-hwa* by the Chinese. Its seeds, most agreeable to the palate, but least digestible, when green, are as favourite articles of diet with the Chinese as they were with the Egyptians of old; for it is the *cyamus* or Egyptian bean, celebrated by Herodotus, Strabo, and Theophrastus.* Its

* See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. p. 24.

singular seed-vessel, and shield-formed leaves, which fold up at night like an Indian screen, figure on most of the Egyptian sculptures; and the whole plant, under the names of *sirisha*, *camala*, and *hó-fi*, is consecrated in the Hindu and Chinese mythologies. The root, as nutritive and pleasant as the bean, is sometimes pickled and eaten with rice; at others, ground into flour, and beat up with milk into a sort of hasty-pudding. This remarkable plant, which adorns every ditch and pool in China, resisting equally the cold of the northern, and the heat of the southern provinces, has hitherto baffled all attempts to naturalize it in Europe, and has long since disappeared in Asia Minor and Egypt; where we know, from the faithful descriptions of Dioscorides and Herodotus, it was once so universally cultivated. A kind of *begonia*, called *haï-tang*, resembling the peach-blossom in colour, is a favourite subject with the painters and poets of China. It has dark green leaves and purple branches, from the extremities of which its buds come out in clusters. The *yé-hyang-hoà*, or night-smelling-flower (*pergularia odoratissima ?*) is a trailing plant, the slender branches of which must be trained on a frame. Its greenish yellow blossoms emit a most fragrant and powerful odour in the night; and it is so highly valued, that a fine plant will sometimes sell for nearly ten guineas, but it is too tender to bear the open air at Peking. Of all the medical plants in request among the Chinese, none has obtained such universal repute as the *jin-seng*. The mountain forests of Eastern Tatary are the place of its native growth; and, in 1709, 10,000 soldiers were employed for six months in collecting it for the emperor, whose sole property it is. Father Jartoux gave so good a description of it in the

Lettres Edifiantes, that Lafitau, another Jesuit, recognised it in the woods of Canada, in 1745; and it has, since that time, been imported into China by our merchants. According to the Chinese practitioners, this plant is a sort of panacea, and an infallible remedy for diarrhœa, palsy, and convulsions; it is therefore naturally an essential ingredient in the immortal beverage dispensed by the priests of Lao-tsĕ; but the European physicians have not succeeded in discovering its virtues, and have never admitted it into their list of the *Materia Medica*, though it is well known as an umbelliferous plant, and called *panax quinquefolia* by modern botanists.

"Among the trees peculiar to China, the following deserve particular notice; the *tye-li-má*, or iron-wood (*laryngium*), used for making anchor-stocks; the *nan-má*, or cedar (*pinus cedrus*), used for beams and pillars; the *la-pa-song* (*larix?*), a deciduous pine, in the timber of which is said to abound a very acrid resin; and the *ayang*, or chestnut (*castanea*), of which the husks contain much of the tanning principle, and are therefore used for fixing colours, while the fruit serves as food for pigs. The *long-ja-tau* is used for household furniture, and yields a fruit which, when boiled to a jelly, is applied as a preventive against chilblains. The *u-kyeú-mu*, or tallow-tree (*stillingia sebifera*), has bright red, heart-shaped leaves, and bears a fruit, of which the pulp nearly resembles tallow in smell and colour; it must, however, be softened by linseed oil, in order to reduce it to a proper consistence for making candles. There are likewise two plants on which wax is deposited by insects; the one a shrub flourishing in a dry rocky soil, called *kan-la-shú* (dry wax tree) by the Chinese; the other, a tree

which requires moisture, named by them *shui-la-shù* (moist wax tree). The wax of the former is white, shining, and pellucid, and is supposed by the Chinese to heal and invigorate. The *tong-shu* (*dryandra cordata*), yields an oil which, when properly purified, is called *meng-gné*, oil of wood, and is used in painting. The *tsi-shu*, or varnish-tree (*augia sinensis*), exudes, from incisions in its trunk, a red acrid gum, a solution of which forms the far-famed vanish of the Chinese. The trees are let for the season at the rate of three-pence per foot, and the gum-gatherer must be carefully protected against its pernicious effluvia. *Tse-tan*, or rose wood, of a dark red and fragrant, is much used for furniture, as it requires no varnish. The *chang*, or camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*), grows to a large size. Its young shoots, when boiled and strained, yield camphor, which is purified by being laid on beds of pulverised earth, and then exposed to a moderate heat. The bamboo-cane, which forms so elegant an ornament in the landscapes on the Chinese screens and earthen-ware, is as useful as it is ornamental; and from the numberless variety of purposes to which it can be applied, deserves to be noticed, though not peculiar to China. Its tender shoots are brought to table; its fibres are used as the wick of candles; its macerated wood is converted into paper; and its stems serve for almost every object of the carpenter, wheelwright, and cabinet-maker.

"But the vegetable production which is now most peculiarly the exclusive property of China, is Tea. The shrub, from the leaves of which this beverage is prepared, is considered by some writers as a native of the mountainous tracts between the Burman and Chinese empires; but it has long been naturalized

In the latter; and the art of drying and preparing its leaves, seems to have indisputedly originated with the Chinese. The plant is by them called *ch'ha*, and, in some dialects, *chá* or *t'hé*, whence its European names have been borrowed. Yun-nan and Sü-chwen in the south and west; Hú-kwang and Kyang-nan in the centre; and Che-kyang, with Fö-kyen on the south-eastern side of the empire, are the provinces in which it is raised in the greatest quantities. The green teas (*sáng-lo*) are brought chiefly from Kyang-nan; the black (*wú-í*) or bohea, from Fö-kyen, called the Bohea country by the Supra-cargoes at Canton. Osbeck, however, conjectured, and the Chinese affirm, that the difference between those kinds of tea is occasioned entirely by a difference of soil and preparation. The flavour and quality appear to depend upon the age of the leaf, rather than upon any specific difference in the plants; and in fact, the distinctions between the *bohea* and *viridis*, established by Linnæus, are so trifling and liable to variation, that they have been disregarded by many botanists.

"China has scarcely any animals which are not common to other countries, except we give credit to a work on Natural History, published by authority of K'hang-hi, in which gigantic rats, scaly tigers, and dragons, the favourite emblems of power and majesty, are described and figured. The musk-deer is among the valuable quadrupeds which China possesses; its buffaloes are usually grey, instead of black; and its pigs so cleanly, as to be petted in the house as domestic favourites."*

* "Elephants are common in the south of China, and are found as high as the 30th parallel in the provinces of Hiang-nan and Yun-nan. The unicorn rhinoceros frequents the marshes in

"The *haï-tsing*, a kind of hawk, found only in Shensi, is called the king of birds, and is reserved for the emperor's exclusive use. Small birds of beautiful plumage and water-fowls abound, among which the Mandarin duck (*anas galericulata*) merits particular notice on account of its singular beauty, and the value set upon it by the great. The eggs of ducks, a favourite article of diet, are hatched in sand-baths, as the Egyptians hatched chickens in ovens.

"Besides the fish common in Europe, the Chinese have many unknown to us; as the *sho-kya-yu*, or fish in armour (*tetrodon*), which tastes like veal, and is covered with spines; a kind of cod, caught and salted on the shores of Fō-kyen; *haï-seng*, an unpalatable kind of blubber (*medusa*), which is eaten by the common people; and *kin-yu*, or gold-fish (*cyprinus auratus*), a constant ornament in the ponds and reservoirs in their pleasure-grounds.* The *pi-mú-yú*, of which absurd tales are told, is a kind of flat-fish; and the *ming-fú-yu*, or bright belly, is a *molluscum*, probably one of the *polypus* tribe.

Yun-nan and Quan-si. The lion, according to Duhalde and Trigault, is a stranger to China; but the animal figured by Neuhof, under the name of the tiger, seems to be the maneless lion known to the ancients, and seen by M. Olivier on the Euphrates. Marco Polo saw lions in Fo-kyen. The true tiger probably shews himself in the more southerly provinces, where there are also various kinds of monkeys (the *simia longicauda*, *simia inflaens*, and *simia sylvana*). The musk-animal, which seems peculiar to the central plateau of Asia, sometimes goes down into the western provinces of China. The deer, the boar, the fox, and other animals, some of which are little known, are found in the forests."—MALTE BRUN.

* The Chinese gold-fish is said to be a native of a lake at the foot of the high mountain of Tien-king, near the city of Tchang-hoo, in Tcho-kyang; whence it was taken to all the other provinces, and to Japan. It was first brought to England in 1611.

"The splendid butterflies and multitudes of singular insects peculiar to China, are well known as favourite subjects of the Chinese artists; but that country has one insect not so commonly known, which produces a substance called *U-peeĕ-tze*, (*i. e.* nests filled with eggs,) which has all the appearance of a gall-nut, and is filled with a fine and exquisitely bitter powder.

"The valuable productions of their soil, together with the many arts and manufactures successfully carried on by the Chinese, furnish materials for an extensive commerce. But foreign trade receives no support from the government; it is barely tolerated; for it is always at variance with that jealous policy which draws a line of perpetual demarcation between China and the rest of the world. Internal commerce, on the other hand, as it excites no apprehension of a dangerous rivalry, is not an object of distrust, but has met with some encouragement. In the construction and management of their boats, the Chinese shew much ingenuity: those designed for pleasure or parade are highly ornamented, as well as light and elegant in their forms. A projecting gang-way of broad planks, on each side, serves as a deck, on which the sailors can manœuvre the vessel without incommoding the passengers; and the large oars of bamboo, at the stern or near the bow, by which the boat is impelled against a contrary wind and current, are so well managed, as never to interfere with those of other boats passing close by them, in the same or an opposite direction.

"But it is only in their rivers and canals, that the Chinese are good sailors: at sea, they are awkward, unskilful, and cowardly; and their ships are as ill-

constructed as their seamen are clumsy in managing them; the long voyages, therefore, of which their historians speak, could have been nothing more than excursions in the eastern Archipelago, magnified by Chinese bombast and exaggeration. When at sea, they keep no reckoning, and steer from point to point, as the Greeks and Romans did, never, voluntarily, losing sight of land. Their compass is so imperfect as to be of little use, and is, therefore, rarely looked at. The discovery of that peculiar property of the magnet, by which it causes the needle to point northward, has indeed been ascribed to the Chinese; but, if they were the inventors of the mariner's compass, they have been no improvers of it. A shrine, altar, and spiral taper, kept constantly burning, are usually placed behind the compass, to which the sailors pay a kind of adoration.

"Their trading vessels, called *ch'huén*, (and by us *junk*, from the Malay word *ajong*,) are so ill-built and unfit for sea, that it is surprising how they can ever reach the Moluccas and New Holland, the most distant voyages they attempt. With a square bow, no keel or bow-sprit, thick masts of one piece, single sails of bamboo-matting, folded like a fan, heavy and unmanageable, and a moveable, unsteady rudder; these crescent-shaped vessels, adorned with dragons' mouths, frightful heads, and goggle eyes, are almost ungovernable in rough weather, and frequently upset from press of sail; for their seamen are often too lazy or too cowardly to take in sail while they have time; not being willing to climb the shrouds, and press the folds of the sails down with their feet, when the vessel labours. Instead of pitch, they use a compound of gum, lime, and bamboo-threads, (called *tong yéu*;)

which is said to become, by exposure to salt water, hard and impervious to moisture. The hold is subdivided by thick partitions well calked, a precaution of great service in case of leaks. These vessels draw little water, and are calculated for shallow seas. They sometimes carry as much as 1000 tons; but from 200 to 600 is their usual burden. They have occasionally 100 different owners, each of whom has his own birth and portion of the vessel, in which his goods are stowed, and placed under the charge of himself or one of his family.

"The military profession is one which the Chinese peasantry are eager to embrace, notwithstanding their cowardice; for the soldiers, who are rarely, if ever, removed from the province in which they are enrolled, are seldom called into actual service. But so decided a preference is given by the Government to its civil servants, that none who can obtain the education requisite to qualify them for a civil post are willing to enlist; the soldiers are therefore drawn from the lowest and poorest classes of the people. The Tatars, who are almost considered as soldiers from their birth, take the lead in this, as in every other department. The protection of the northern frontier and conquered provinces, is intrusted to the Tatar cavalry; and the regiments of Tatar infantry garrison all the great cities of the empire. The smaller towns and villages are occupied principally by Chinese troops. The ordinary pay of a horse-soldier may be estimated at about ten-pence per diem, including his rations; that of a foot soldier, at seven-pence; but each man has a house and garden of his own, and is allowed to work at his trade when not on duty. In time of war, six months' pay in advance is allowed; and a deduction is made

by Government for the support of a soldier's family, as long as he is absent from home.

"The dress of the military varies in different provinces; blue jackets, bordered with red, being worn in some, brown and yellow in others; but sugar-loaf caps, terminated by a spike and long tufts of scarlet hair, seem to be the proper distinction of a soldier, just as the bead on his bonnet marks the rank of a Mandarin. From each side of these conical helmets, long flaps hang down on the shoulders, and are tied by a riband under the chin: divers, also, are the materials of which these head-dresses are made, from gilt pasteboard to glittering steel. Cuirasses of quilted cloth, thickly studded with brass knobs, are worn in some districts, especially by the archers. Shields of basket-work, 2 feet long, and painted to look like the heads of dragons, are used by a corps called *the Tigers of War*; but the fans and umbrellas, which are a part of the equipment of every Chinese soldier, remind the European of that formidable corps, the Pope's body-guard. Their arms are swords, pikes, matchlocks, and bows; except when, acting as police-men, they exchange these for a more offensive weapon, the whip. Matchlocks are preferred to muskets, and are provided with a sort of stand, upon which they can be fixed when discharged: a pouch for balls, a powder-horn, and a match-bag fastened to his sleeve, complete a soldier's accoutrements. They estimate the power of a bow by the weight requisite to bend it; fifty pounds being the lowest, and eighty pounds the ordinary rate of the bows used by the army. The archer's thumb is guarded by a thimble of horn or agate. The form of their arrows is very various; some are barbed with small hooks, and others have cavities in which letters

may be conveyed clandestinely into the enemy's rank.

"Their tents are either made of coarse linen, and fixed on a wooden frame, 14 feet long and 5½ feet high, or they are round and covered with grey felts. The latter are peculiar to the Tatars. Five soldiers occupy each tent, together with two camp-followers, whose duty it is to pitch and dismantle it.

"Each company consists of twenty-five men, and has its own standard, which is triangular and about 6 feet high: hence, the Chinese army is estimated by the number of banners; but, in the Tatar army, each company has 100 men, according to the Manchou authorities quoted by Mr. Huttmann (*Annals of Orient. Lit.* 153). The colours of these banners vary in the Tatar regiments, being either white, yellow, red, or blue, with or without borders: among the Chinese, they are usually green. The Tatars and Chinese of the northern provinces form the most serviceable part of the army, which does not inspire a European with any exalted idea of its military skill or prowess. The Tatars, indeed, accustomed to the management of horses and to the use of arms from their infancy, are not deficient in spirit and enterprise; but their favourite proverb, 'that the neighing of a single Tatar horse would put the whole Chinese cavalry to flight,' shews the contemptible opinion which they entertain of the valour of their subjects. Great pains are taken by the Government to keep up this spirit; and no one who distinguishes himself in the field, is left unnoticed or unrewarded.

"Among the inventions ascribed to the Chinese, are the arts of manufacturing gunpowder, guns, and fire-works. The soil and climate in Tatary and China, as well as in India, are favourable to the spontaneous

production of nitre; it is, therefore, not unlikely, that its explosive power, when combined with sulphur and charcoal, may have been discovered by the natives of those countries long before it was known in Europe. This, however, seems very doubtful; and it is equally probable, that the art of making gunpowder, together with the use of fire-arms, was introduced into China by the Tatars in the latter half of the thirteenth century. But, whatever may be their claim as inventors, it is certain that the Chinese have made no progress in the art. They have neither any public powder-mills, nor any fixed rules for proportioning the ingredients. One part sulphur, one charcoal, and two nitre, are the quantities used by some, while others add two-thirds, or even five parts of nitre; which is, moreover, often employed in so impure a state, as speedily to attract moisture and render the powder useless. Having no method of granulating their powder, it is likewise very liable to cake into a solid mass. If they were ever acquainted with the use of artillery, they had forgotten it before the Missionaries entered the country, in the sixteenth century; and though they admired and imitated the cannons presented to the Emperor by the King of Portugal, in 1621, they have never been able to mount a park of artillery. Nor can any thing be more wretched than the condition of those Chinese batteries which have fallen under the notice of modern travellers. The petards with which they fire salutes, have a bore not larger than that of a pistol-barrel; they are stuck perpendicularly in the ground, and discharged by a train communicating from one to the other. Their fire-works are really excellent, and excited the admiration of Lord Macartney almost as much, at the close of the last century, as they astonished the Jesuits two hundred years earlier.

"The Chinese have many fortresses; but they are calculated as a protection against robbers, rather than as a check upon the progress of a regular force. Besides their castles on exposed points, their cities are all fortified by a broad rampart, sometimes flanked with square towers at intervals, faced with stone or brick, as well as protected by a ditch. These ramparts are usually 20 or 25 feet in breadth at their base, and from 25 to 30 feet high; their breadth at the top being 10 or 12 feet; the road to which is so gradual, that a man on horseback can ascend them with ease. Little attention is paid to the guns, but the gates are constructed and guarded with much care.* The single gates are a simple passage through the wall: in the double gates, this passage is faced by a semi-lunar outwork, the entrance to which is placed obliquely with respect to that which passes through the wall. The triple gate is the most uncommon, and differs from the double one by a returning passage between the outwork and the city wall, so that the first and third gates are nearly on a line. The gateway is seldom ornamented, but sometimes surmounted with small towers, and provided with a few small cannons laid flat on blocks of stones.

"The ornamental architecture of the Chinese is principally remarkable for its airiness and singularity. Some of their pagodas are from 80 to 160 feet in height, and have as many as nine stories, but always an uneven number. They seem to be intended merely for ornament, and, though occasionally attached to temples, are never, it is said, used as places of worship. They do not appear to suit the taste of the Tatar sovereigns, for there are none of modern date, and most of them are in ruins. Such splendid ones as the tower of Nanking are rare: the greater number have only two or

three stories, and few can rival that which adorns Kew-gardens.

"Their numerous triumphal archways have all the same form, and seldom exceed 25 feet in height. They are often sculptured with flowers and other figures, but are generally ill-proportioned and heavy. In their sepulchral monuments, a great diversity of taste is indulged.* Diminutive dwelling-houses, ornamented vaults of various shapes and sizes, and a series of terraces, within the highest of which the corpse is deposited, are some of the singular expedients which they have adopted in order to soothe the spirit of the deceased. Figures of his favourite slaves, dogs, and horses, are dispersed over the terraces, to remind him of his former pleasures and attachments. Cylindrical or angular columns are also usually erected over the graves.

"The bridges of the Chinese are not less light and elegant than their pagodas; but they are seldom either solid or durable, often unprovided with side-rails, and frequently in such a dilapidated state as to be dangerous. As wood is the usual material, the builder can indulge in every variety of arch or ornament which his fancy may suggest, from a flat causeway on a line with the level bank of the stream, to an arch of such a span that a vessel of 200 tons can pass under it in full sail. The arches of stone are occasionally formed like ours, but are more frequently constructed of stones five or ten feet long, hewn into seg-

* On a mountain in the neighbourhood of Tai-yuen, the capital of Shan-si, are found the royal sepulchres of the Tsin-ming-chau dynasty; consisting of monuments of stone or marble, triumphal arches, and statues of men and animals, interspersed through a grove of cypresses. Tsi-nan, the capital of Shan-tong, was also the residence of a dynasty of sovereigns, whose tombs form a conspicuous object on the neighbouring mountain.

ments of the arch required; and instead of a key-stone, ribs of wood are fitted to the convex part, and bolted into the stones by iron bars. In other cases, the curved stones are mortised into long transverse blocks, running along the whole width of the arch. Some of these bridges are of great magnitude. That at Ts8-chen, 600 feet long, is adorned with well-executed sculptures; and one was noticed by Lord Macartney's suite, which had ninety arches, the central ones being thirty feet high and forty wide.

"But of all the architectural monuments in China, the Great Wall is certainly the most remarkable. A large bulwark or pile of stones thrown up on the edge of the Hwang Haï, or Yellow Sea, at the boundary of Iryao-tung, (nearly in lat. 40° N. and long. 119° 30′ E.) forms one extremity of this vast work. From that point, it proceeds westward, with various curvatures, along the borders of the northern provinces, Pê-chê-li, Shan-si, and Shen-si, to the mountains north-west of Ling-tao, (37° 20′ N. 103° 30′ E.) where almost impassable rocks and extensive deserts of sand afford a sufficient protection against an invading army without any artificial defence. It is called by the Chinese *Wan-li-chang-ch'hing*, 'the Long Wall of 10,000 li,' of which sixteen make a league. The sum of these would amount to nearly 1900 miles; and, in point of fact, including all its windings, it cannot be estimated at less than 1500. The only interruptions of its continuity, are a ridge of lofty mountains near Suen-hao, in Pê-chê-li, and the stream of the Whang-ho, which crosses it twice. It is carried by means of arches over smaller streams, and continued through valleys and morasses, as well as over all but inaccessible mountains. It consists of an embankment of earth, raised upon a foundation of large square stones, cased with the

same materials or brick, and paved with flag-stones. The space between the inclosing walls is in many places broad enough for six horsemen abreast. Its height varies; but, in valleys and plains, it is not less than thirty feet. In such places, it is strengthened by square projecting towers, at the distance of a bow-shot from each other. It is said to be a mere mound of earth near its western extremity, and was probably never quite completed in that direction. Its magnitude is such, that a calculation has been made, by which it appears that its materials, supposing it were a solid mass of masonry, would be sufficient to surround the earth, on two of its great circles, with a wall six feet high and two thick. There are gates in it at intervals, strongly fortified and garrisoned. It was probably begun as early as two centuries and a half before the commencement of our era, under the Princes of Chao and Yen, petty states on the northern frontier; but was completed, according to the Chinese historians, (Martinii, *Hist. Sin.* 237—239,) in the thirty-third year of the reign of Shi-hwang-ti, (B. C. 215,) under the direction of Mung-tyen, who had been sent at the head of 300,000 men, to disperse the Tatars and desolate their country. It was finished, say the same authorities, in the space of five years; every third man in the empire, capable of such labour, being pressed into this service. When they add, that the greater number sank under the pressure of such severe fatigue, their account is more credible; but the whole appears to have been much misrepresented and exaggerated; and it is more probable, that this stupendous undertaking was the work of several generations, than of one prince, who had scarcely united the whole empire under his own authority.

"The Yun-lo, or Great Canal, is another of those

vast undertakings which exceed the power of almost any but an absolute sovereign, and which, from its extensive utility, may be considered as a sort of compensation for the injuries occasioned by its compulsory construction. It was completed in about 120 years, between 1289 and 1409, and unites the waters of the Wĕi-ho with those of the Hwang-ho and Yang-tsĕ-kyang, terminating at the city of Han-chĕú-fŭ, a course of almost 1000 miles. It commences near a small town called Lin-tsin, (nearly in 37° N. and 116° E.) crosses the province of Shan-tong, and a part of Kyang-nan, and enters the river Hwang-ho at the town of Yang-kya-yn. It passes by Yang-chĕú-fŭ, enters the Yang-tsĕ-kyang at Kwa-chĕú, and resuming its course at Ching-kyang-fŭ, continues till it reaches Han-chĕú-fŭ, on an arm of the Tung-haĭ or Eastern Sea; supplied, in the greater part of its course, through a flat and probably alluvial country, by innumerable streams and pools. Strong dikes, formed of alternate layers of earth and straw, and sometimes cased with stone, prevent its waters from overflowing wherever the country is low and swampy: the level of the soil being sometimes as much as 20 feet below that of the canal. In other places, a bed has been excavated to the depth of 60 or 70 feet, and the whole has a width of about 200 feet. The slope of the country through which it passes, is from north to south, and its current moves at the rate of about three miles in an hour. There are no locks but flood-gates; and in hilly tracts, inclined planes interrupt and regulate the rapidity of the stream. So slight are the materials of which public works are constructed in China, that, excepting those just mentioned, there are scarcely any monuments to be found, the age of which exceeds three or four centuries.

"A tent suggested the first idea of a Chinese house, as is obvious from the upright posts which support its projecting and slightly inclined roof. This moreover shews what were the ancient habits of the people. High enclosures and a wider area are the principal points which distinguish the habitation of a grandee from that of an ordinary individual. The poor live in wretched huts: a small court, with two or three low apartments, is sufficient to lodge a whole family of the middle rank. Brick and wood are the common materials; rarely stone. The ground floor, the part principally inhabited, is raised a foot or two above the soil, to guard against damps, and is paved with tiles. The upper chambers are used for store-rooms; and the staircases are mere ladders. The houses of the great occupy much space, are built round several courts, many of which contain three or four separate habitations, raised on stone terraces three or four feet high, and communicating by corridors with wooden pillars painted red. Oiled paper, horn, gauze, or mother-of-pearl, are the substitutes for glass in the windows. The rooms are sometimes heated by flues in the walls and under the floor. A table, some clumsy chairs, porcelain vases containing fragrant shrubs, copper chafing-dishes for perfumes, and ornamented lanterns of various materials, are the principal articles of furniture. The rich have splendid bedsteads with gauze or silk hangings: persons of moderate fortune use benches formed in the walls of the house, which are heated by a stove in winter. A mat in the southern, and a mattress in the northern provinces, with a coverlid of felt, and a wooden cylinder covered with leather for a pillow, are the articles of bedding commonly used. The ornaments of their internal courts, flowering shrubs, vases filled with

gold and silver fish," artificial rocks, &c. are well known from their screens and porcelain dishes. The principal entrance is generally splendid; and of the three gates, the central one is never opened except for strangers of distinction. Even within the palace of the Emperor, many of the apartments are wretchedly furnished and miserably out of repair; and the hall of audience itself has little of the splendour, and less of the luxury, of the dwellings of most Asiatic princes. Larger dimensions, and a greater abundance of painting and gilding, are the only points in which the imperial residence surpasses any other." *

In their physiognomy and the general conformation of the head, the Chinese approach the Mongol race. The head is almost quadrangular, the nose short, without being flattened, the complexion yellow, the beard thin. The oblique direction of the eyes is more particularly characteristic of the Chinese, and of their neighbours, the Japanese and the Coreans. "There is, undoubtedly," M. Malte Brun remarks, "a great difference between the Southern and the Northern Chinese; between the inhabitants of the mountains, those of the plains, and those of the maritime districts. In colour, we know there are great varieties; but we have not sufficient information to enable us to trace the successive shades by which the rude Kalmuck is separated from the polished inhabitant of Canton."†

* For the preceding details relating to the Arts, Manufactures, Productions, and Public Edifices, we are indebted to a very able article in Part xiii. of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana; a work which deserves particular praise for the pains and talent employed in drawing up the geographical articles.

† "The Chinese, in general, are of a middle stature. Their limbs, especially their hands and feet, are very small. Those of the northern provinces are much fairer and taller than those of Kiang-si and Kwang-tong. . . The difference between the Chinese

A difference has also been remarked in the national character of the inhabitants of the northern and those of the southern provinces; the latter being more supple, lively, and acute, and consequently more inclined to literary pursuits than the former, who, though excelling them in bodily strength and courage, are inferior in intelligence. A Chinese woman becomes vain of her beauty, in proportion to the smallness of her eyes, the protuberance of her lips, the lankness and blackness of her hair, and the unnatural smallness of her feet. "The size of the foot determines the value of the bride." Almost as soon as they are born, the nurse sews up the feet of the female infant very tight in stiff leather; and they are afterwards swathed with bandages to prevent their growing, so that the pointed foot seems to have but a single toe. Including the heel, it is seldom more than five inches in length. Their handsome embroidered shoes only render the deformity more striking. The feet are extremely thick at the instep; a defect which is partly concealed by silk trowsers adorned with fringe. This absurd custom, whatever may have been its original design,* effectually deprives the women of the power of walking with ease; they totter, rather than walk. The country women compress their feet, but much less than the rich ladies,

and the Mantchoo is almost imperceptible; the latter, however, are fatter and more robust."—Timkowski's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 128.

* Excessive jealousy, it has been thought, can alone have introduced so cruel a custom. The affectation of rank, as indicated by their not being required to use their feet in so vulgar an exercise as walking, is more likely to have given rise to it, as the ladies pride themselves on this genteel deformity. There is some reason to suppose that this barbarous custom is not very ancient, as Marco Polo, who describes the dress of the Chinese ladies, does not mention it.

who are scarcely able to cross the apartments of their magnificent prisons. The Mantchoo women, however, M. Timkowski says, let their feet grow to their natural size; but they wear a singular shoe with a wooden sole five inches thick, which hinders them from moving freely, and gives loud notice of their approach. M. Timkowski supposes that they have adopted it, to imitate the tottering gait of the Chinese. Among the Mantchoo ladies, more especially, individuals may be found, of as fair complexion as any European women, "without the aid of white paint and rouge, of which many of them make an immoderate use." Their small, though black and brilliant eyes, have not, to a European, a pleasing expression. Among the men, corpulence, as an indication of an easy life, commands a certain degree of respect, and a spare form passes for a sign of want of talent. People of quality, moreover, allow their nails to grow. The hair of the head and beard are stained black.

The Chinese have been characterized with some justice by M. Malte Brun, as a nation of subjugated and well disciplined barbarians. "A despotism of the most absolute kind has either acquired or preserved for China the external forms of patriarchal government;" but, since the country fell under the yoke of the Mantchoos, "the whip of the Tatar has been conjoined with the paternal rod by which China was previously governed." "The Emperor is styled the sacred son of heaven, sole ruler of the earth, the great father of his people. Offerings are made to his image and to his throne; his person is adored; his people prostrate themselves in his presence; the noblemen of his court, when addressed by him and receiving his orders, must bend the knee. When this demigod

goes abroad, all the Chinese take care to shut themselves up in their houses. Whoever is found in his way, is exposed to instant death, unless he turns his back, or lies flat with his face to the ground. All the shops by which the Emperor is to pass, must be shut; and this prince never goes out without being preceded by two thousand lictors, carrying chains, axes, and various other instruments characteristic of eastern despotism.

"The power of the mandarin is fully as absolute as that of the sovereign from whom he derives his authority. An officer of this description, on entering a city, can order any person whom he chooses to be arrested, and to die under his hand; and no one can venture to undertake his defence. He is preceded by a hundred executioners, who, with a sort of yell, announce his approach. Should any one forget to retire to the side of the wall, he is mauled with whips of chains or rods of bamboos. The mandarin himself, however, in his turn, is not secured against the punishment of flogging. For the slightest prevarication, the Emperor will order the bastinado....In short, all the notions of a Chinese, from his infancy, are directed to a single point, obedience. The sacred nature of social rank is perpetually impressed on his mind by innumerable ceremonies. At every step he makes a bow; every phrase that he utters, must be a compliment; not a word can he address to a superior, without calling to mind his own utter insignificance."

"But the great secret of Chinese policy," continues M. Malte Brun, "and the very basis of the empire, is to be found in an institution which in some measure deprives the inhabitants of the power of forming new thoughts, by depriving them of the liberty of

expressing them by means of external characters corresponding to the words of their language. Such is the effect of the Chinese mode of writing. It has been compared, though not with much propriety, to the hieroglyphical or figured language of the Egyptians. It can only be compared to those systems of pasigraphy or universal character, by which some wrong-headed persons in Europe have brought on themselves universal ridicule....This institution, not singular in the end at which it aims, but altogether unique in its method of proceeding, perpetuates that eternal infantine imbecility of intellect by which the Chinese are degraded. The spoken language, in the first place, is left in a deficient state. The ideas of the people receive no enlargement, because the higher classes cannot express their thoughts except in a language totally distinct, and understood only by the select few. The information of the privileged class has no means of becoming disseminated by speech, where the signs for representing ideas have no corresponding words. This information must become obscure or utterly extinct, even among those to whose care it is confided."*

The radical and incurable defect of such a written medium is, that while it may serve to call up ideas, to suggest and convey simple sentiments and a certain degree of information, it affords no facilities for the acquisition of new ideas. It is knowledge in stereotype: the impression may be indefinitely multiplied, but the characters are fixed. The language is the mould of the ideas received into it, rather than the body which they assume, and through which they develop themselves; and thus, it makes no provision for the expansion of the national mind. It depends,

* Malte Brun, vol. ii. pp. 502—5.

for being understood, upon certain fixed associations of ideas, and is all but absolutely impotent to express new and foreign associations. It gives us language in its crude state, in which the only mode of expressing ideas relating to immaterial objects, is by palpable metaphor. For the next stage in the progress of language, in which metaphorical terms become the simple signs of abstract ideas, such a system of symbols is wholly unsuitable. The difficulty of translating Chinese poetry into a foreign language, is all but insuperable; and a verbal translation would be unintelligible, because it would not express the allusion on which the meaning depends. What must be the difficulty of transfusing into such a language, European notions and Christian ideas?

The colloquial medium of the Chinese, which has no connexion whatever with the written character, has all the meagreness of a monosyllabic language; the same term being made, by various inflections of the voice, to express the most different objects. It has been asserted, that the vernacular Chinese scarcely contains 350 terms, which the unpractised ear of a European can distinguish from one another. Such a language may be melodious, and even expressive of the passions of the speaker; but it must lie under the disadvantages inseparable from an unwritten dialect; it must be at once defective and ambiguous, totally destitute of the precision necessary for conducting any process of reasoning, and incapable of being made the medium of any wide range of ideas. All unwritten languages are liable to the endless diversification of provincial dialect. Accordingly, the oral dialects of China are very numerous, and the inhabitants of neighbouring provinces are frequently unable to carry on a conversation of any length,

without having recourse to writing. Various are the contrivances which the natives themselves employ, in order to obviate the extreme ambiguity of their oral language. Expressive gestures, signs made in the air, contortions of the features, are all continually called into action. But the addition of synonymes is the most common expedient; and double words, thus compounded of synonymous verbs or substantives, have so far become integral parts of the language as to render it in some degree polysyllabic. A similar process has apparently taken place in some of the Indo-Chinese dialects, which were originally monosyllabic. By whatever process the change is brought about, a language must cease to be monosyllabic, by the introduction of the finer mechanism of inflection and declension, long before it can become available as the vehicle of any thing deserving the name of philosophy or literature.

The ancient religion of China appears to have been a species of Sabianism; but it has been smothered under the numerous sects which have been grafted upon it. Buddhism, under the name of the religion of Foh, was introduced from India about A.D. 65, and has become the creed of the majority of the Chinese.* The religion of the Mantchoo dynasty is that of the Dalaï Lama. Perhaps it may be said, that the worship of the Emperor is the religion of their subjects.

We must now proceed to give a brief description of the capital.

* See our history of Buddhism in Mod. Trav., Birmah, pp. 91—116. A valuable account of the Chinese sects is given by Dr. Milne, "Retrospect," &c. Sec. 2.

ONE OF THE WESTERN GATES OF THE CITY OF PEKIN

PEKING.

PE-KING (the court of the north), otherwise called *Chun-thian-fou*,* the present metropolis of China, is situated in the northern part of the province of Pe-tche-li, about 26 miles to the south of the Great Wall, in lat. 39° 42′ 15″ N., long. 114° 5′ 30″ E. (Paris.) It stands in a sandy, arid plain, destitute of all vegetation, bounded, westward, by a chain of lofty mountains extending from N.E. to S.W. From these mountains issue several small rivers, which water part of the plain. One of these enters the city on the north, and dividing into several arms, surrounds the imperial palace, forms some artificial lakes, and again uniting its waters, falls into the Pe-ho, about 20 miles E. of Pe-king. The city is divided by a high wall into two parts. The northern quarter, which forms nearly a perfect square, is called *King-tching*, or the City of the Court: this is the Mantchoo town, and contains the imperial palace. The southern quarter, or Chinese town, is called *Wai-tching*: it is in the form of a parallelogram. Both together occupy an area seventeen miles in circuit, inclosed with walls built of brick. Those of *King-tching* are 40 feet in height, and 20 feet thick, forming a rampart broad enough for horsemen to ride on the top: for this purpose, a gentle slope is made at intervals, by which cavalry can ascend with ease.* The walls of the Chinese quarter are less massive. The gates are sixteen in number. Those of the Mantchoo town are lofty and strongly vaulted: above them rise towers nine stories high, with embrasures, and their commanding height gives them at a distance an air of grandeur.

* This is interpreted, "city of the first order, obedient to heaven." It is said to have been founded by Kublai, the grandson of Tchengis Khan.

Before each gate is a walled space about 300 feet square, forming a parade. The walls are besides flanked with small square towers, at intervals of 40 yards, and with larger ones at the angles.

The streets of Pe-king are, for the most part, broad, and in straight lines; the largest is sixty yards in width, and nearly three miles in length, running from E. to W. They are unpaved, but clean and well kept. The houses are very low, often of only one story; built of brick and tiled. The shops are handsomely ornamented, and the brilliancy and variety of the goods exposed to sale, give them a gay appearance. The courts of justice and the palaces of the princes have a lofty basement story and handsome entrances. The latter are covered with varnished green tiles. The finest buildings in Pe-king are the temples, which are spacious and magnificent, adorned with columns and staircases of fine white marble. The streets and houses in the Chinese town are very inferior to those in *King-tching*. Besides these two towns, Pe-king has twelve large suburbs, which altogether form a very large city. Half of the Chinese town, however, according to Father Gaubil, is uninhabited; and a large part is occupied with temples, cemeteries, fields, and gardens. In the Mantchoo town, besides the Imperial palace and park, there are several other palaces, and various public edifices, powder-magazines, temples, and lakes, occupying above half of the city. The breadth of the streets and lowness of the houses must also be taken into consideration in estimating the population. Many of the Chinese, on the other hand, will herd together in a room; so that the population of the city and suburbs may, perhaps, amount to two millions of souls.*

* This is the estimate of Father Gaubil as cited by Mr. Tim-

The magnificence of the Imperial palace, we are told, does not consist so much in the imposing elegance of its architecture, as in the multitude of its buildings, its courts, and its gardens. The walls of the palace comprehend a little town, inhabited by the great officers of the court, and a great quantity of mechanics, all in the Emperor's service. Father Artier, a French Jesuit who obtained permission to visit the palace, says, that it is a league in circumference; that its front is embellished with paintings, gilding, and varnished work, and that the furniture and ornaments of the interior comprise every thing that is most rare and valued in China, India, and Europe. The gardens of the palace form a vast park, in which, at proper distances, mountains rise twenty or sixty feet in height, separated from one another by little valleys, which are watered with canals; these waters unite to form lakes and broad ponds, which are navigated by magnificent pleasure-boats, and their banks are adorned with a series of buildings of which no two are alike. Each valley contains a summer-house or villa, sufficiently spacious to accommodate one of the first noblemen of Europe, with all his attendants. The cedar of which these houses are built, is not found within a less distance than 1400 miles from Peking. In the midst of a lake which is a mile and a half broad, there is a rocky island, crowned with a superb palace, containing more than a hundred apartments. The mountains and hills are covered with trees and fine aromatic flowers; the canals, skirted

howski, confirmed by that Traveller's own observation. M. Malte Brun says: "The English make the number of inhabitants amount to three millions; an estimate ridiculously extravagant." He is even disposed to bring down the estimate to 6 or 700,000 inhabitants.

with rocks, so artfully arranged as to be a perfect imitation of nature in her wildest and most desolate forms. The whole has an air of enchantment. On the summits of the highest mountains, tall trees encircle pavilions and kiosks consecrated to retirement and pleasure.

The air of Peking is deemed salubrious. Epidemic disorders are very rare. The heat is very great in summer, attended by abundant rains. Sometimes, the torrents, pouring down from the mountains, do great damage, destroying whole villages. From the middle of December to March, the water is frozen. The autumn is the pleasantest season; the air is then mild and the sky serene.

To this general description of the city, may be added, from the recent publication by M. Timkowski, the following details and observations.

"Peking is distinguished from other capitals and great cities of Asia by the peculiar style of its buildings, and the order which reigns in its interior. We must not look for houses of four or five stories in height; there are no fine quays, no foot-pavements, nor are the streets lighted at night. Every thing, however, in the Chinese capital indicates a country that has long been civilized. The tranquillity of the inhabitants is secured by moral institutions, by stable regulations, and by an active police. There are constantly in the streets, soldiers with swords at their sides and whips in their hands, ready to strike those who are disposed to create any confusion. They take care that the streets of King-tching are kept perfectly clean, and in case of need, put their hands to the work themselves. They keep watch during the night, and allow nobody to go in the streets unless with a lantern, and for some necessary business, as to fetch a physi-

cian. They even question those who may be charged with commissions from the Emperor, and a satisfactory answer must always be given them. They have a right provisionally to arrest any person who resists them, or is thought suspicious. The governor of the city often makes visits when they are least expected. The officers of the guard are bound to be extremely vigilant with respect to the soldiers under their command. The slightest negligence would be punished, and the officer cashiered the following day. These police soldiers are Chinese infantry belonging to the regular troops.

"There is besides at Peking, a body of cavalry said to amount to 80,000 men. Their principal business is to do duty at the gates and on the walls, and to be ready to march on the shortest notice.

"One of the principal duties of the police at Peking is to prevent famine. In the city, as well as in the suburbs, there are numerous granaries, where a great quantity of rice is warehoused against seasons of scarcity. The regulations respecting these granaries are faithfully executed in the vicinity of the court; if they were equally well observed in the provinces, there would be no famine; but this calamity frequently occurs through the negligence of the mandarins. Besides those granaries, the Emperor has others, which are filled with wheat, pulse, and fodder for the beasts of burden.

"At Peking, we rarely hear of dissensions in families. The maxims of the religion of Confucius, and the principles of the education of youth, which are impressed on the memory of the Chinese, serve them as guides on all occasions throughout their lives. The unlimited submission of children to their parents regulates the conduct of each towards his fellow-citizens.

It is this principle which leads the Chinese to obey the orders of the government, and to respect and venerate its civil and military agents.

"On the other hand, the Chinese, like all other nations, have their failings and their vices. They are indifferent not only to strangers, but also to their own countrymen: this is one of their greatest defects. They are proud, vindictive, interested, jealous, very distrustful, and very cunning. The poverty which is very common in all classes, obliges them to employ address which often degenerates into roguery. The population is so considerable that the national wealth, though very great, cannot be properly distributed. A Chinese officer having the rank of colonel, has less to live upon than one of our inferior officers; that is, if both have no other income than their pay.

"In general, the Chinese are inclined to a dissolute way of life. The rich, besides their lawful wife, have a harem; yet, yielding to bad example, they visit women of ill fame, and even indulge in still greater depravities.

"The principal class of inhabitants in Peking is composed of the Mantchoo troops: the officers, who are at the same time members of the civil tribunals, but too indolent to employ themselves in investigating the causes brought before them, leave the management of business to their Chinese secretaries. When the Mantchoos took possession of Peking, the officers and privates had for their share, the houses of the inhabitants in the southern cities. But these Mantchoos have long ceased to be any thing more than the tenants of the houses, and the lands which have been granted to them; they have consumed their property, and the estates have fallen into the hands of Chinese merchants. The military, who are in good circum-

stances, possess houses and shops which bring them in a considerable income.

"The merchants and artisans compose the second class of inhabitants; the former principally live in the Vai lo tching: the great population of the empire deprives many of the inhabitants of the means of supporting themselves by agriculture. A great number of people resort from all the provinces to the capital, to gain their livelihood; but they do not always succeed, the class who have need of workmen being very moderate in their desires. It is said, that there are in Peking fifty thousand persons, who, being without employment, have recourse to robbery and cheating. The vigilance and the severity of the police, however, keep them in good order; for, during a residence of about six months at Peking, I did not hear of a single robbery of importance. As the Chinese are extremely distrustful of the poor, and beggars always meet with a decided refusal, it is but seldom that a poor individual has recourse to this easy means of gaining a livelihood. The poor are employed in cleaning and watering the streets and gardens, and cultivating the ground; they also do the business of porters, and increase or compose the groupes which follow the processions at marriages, funerals, &c. I have often met some of these poor creatures, who had scarcely clothes to cover them, wearing cloaks of ceremony, and caps with red feathers, accompanying the funeral of some rich man. When a tradesman employs a man of this class to carry the goods which he has sold to any body, the porter faithfully delivers them, and contents himself with a remuneration of about three pence, even if he has worked for two hours.

"Wherever two streets meet, and at every bridge, there are two-wheeled carriages, answering the same

purposes as hackney-coaches in Europe. They are lined with satin and velvet, and drawn by mules or horses; the first of which in particular are very active. The great people, and especially the ladies, use sedan chairs, but they must first obtain permission from the Emperor. Persons in office prefer riding on horseback, which, on account of the unevenness of the streets and the great crowd, is the most convenient and expeditious mode of conveyance, as I know by experience. There are many officers in Peking who have their own carriages and horses; but, notwithstanding this, the owners of the above-mentioned coaches or chaises carry on a very lucrative business.

"The inhabitants of Peking receive every thing from the southern provinces. In Peking itself, there are no good manufactories, except of coloured glass. Precious stones are also cut and polished in the capital. The inhabitants of the city, and the Chinese in general, prefer pork, which is here better flavoured, and more easy of digestion than in Russia. The Mantchoos and Mongols eat mutton, and the latter, beef. Mutton and beef are not very good in China, because the cattle coming from Mongolia are too much exhausted, and are not properly attended to after they reach the capital. Butter, especially made of sheep's milk, comes from Mongolia. The Chinese prefer hogs' lard, and cannot bear even the smell of butter made of cow's milk. The most common domestic fowl are geese, ducks, and chickens. The first are indispensable at grand entertainments. The physicians forbid patients to eat poultry, as indigestible and unwholesome. A species of duck called ya-tsu is a very favourite dish on grand occasions, and is dressed in more than thirty different ways. The ducks of Peking are very large, very fat, and

juicy. In the winter, there are partridges, pheasants, and game of all kinds. But it is necessary to be very careful in purchasing provisions, for the Chinese dealers mix plaster or sand in the flour to increase the weight. Often they sell the flesh of animals that have died of some disorder, or of such as are not generally used for food; for instance, asses, mules, camels, &c. They improve the appearance of ducks and chickens by blowing the air between the skin and flesh, which makes them look very white and plump.

"The Chinese have but little inclination for gymnastic exercises. It seems that they are not well fitted for amusements of this description, on account of their weak constitutions, arising partly from the heat of the climate, and partly from the bad quality of their food. The soldiers, especially the Mantchoos, are obliged to ride a great deal, to exercise with the bow and arrow, &c. The Chinese have no dances except a very imperfect kind of pantomime, which is executed by the actors on the stage.

One of the darkest traits in the national character of the Chinese is, the prevalence of at least *female* infanticide. With regard to the extent to which this is systematically practised, authorities are at variance, and we do not, therefore, venture upon specific details. Dr. Morrison, while he gives the Chinese credit for their mildness and urbanity, their docility and industry, their subordination to authority, and reverence for age, and those virtues which are enforced by public opinion,—is compelled to place to their account, on the darker side, insincerity and jealousy, an atheistic spirit, ill concealed by a little frigid ratiocination, cold-blooded selfishness, and inhumanity. †

* Thirkowski's Travels, pp. 143—131.

† Morrison's View, pp. 124, 5.

"Since the union of China to Mantchoo Tatary," remarks Dr. Milne, "there have been two national characters in the Empire, of a very opposite kind, affecting each other by a mutual re-action. The ruder qualities of the Tatar have been softened by the more mild and polished ones of the Chinese. The cowardly imbecility and the slow, calculating prudence of the Chinese, have been improved by the warlike spirit and elastic activity of the Tatar. The intrigue and deceit of the Chinese, and the rude courage of the Tatar, unite in what may be considered as the present national character."*

Such, alas! are the fruits of the boasted wisdom and civilization of this enigmatical nation! The country itself may deserve the investigation of the naturalist; but, to use the words of the learned Author of the "View," "abstract science and the fine arts can learn nothing from China; and, perhaps, as much is already known, as can be known, to aid the general philosopher in his reasonings."

* "Retrospect," &c., p. 33.

THE END.

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CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

TURKEY.

[A country of Europe, forming part of the Ottoman Empire: lying between lat. 40° and 49° 50′ N., and long. 17° and 30° E.: bounded, on the N., by the Russian and Austrian territories: on the E. by the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmora: on the S. by the Egean Sea and Greece: on the W. by the Ionian and Adriatic Seas and Austria.]

Turkey is a barbarous term of equivocal import, which ought long ago to have been excluded from geography. Whether we understand it as denoting the country of the Turks or the dominions of the Grand Turk, (as the Sultan used to be denominated,) the appellation has little propriety. That portion of Europe which bears the Ottoman yoke cannot be considered as characteristically a Turkish country, since, in those provinces, the Turks do not form a third of the population; and they appear there, as it has been well remarked, less as a nation, than as an army encamped in the midst of vanquished nations. But, if the word Turkey be regarded as synonymous with the Turkish empire, it ought to include not only Armenia and the region of the Euphrates, but Syria and even Egypt; countries which form as much integral parts of the Ottoman dominions

as the Dacian and Grecian provinces. Nevertheless, the word, though an improper one, has been so long sanctioned by usage, that, not being provided with a substitute, we have adopted it in the title to the present volume; intending by it the whole of the European dominions of the Grand Signior, with the exception of the Morea and Ancient Greece south of Mount Œta.

According to this definition, Turkey will include a very irregular groupe of countries, lying between the Euxine and Egean seas and the Adriatic, extending westward as far as the river Unna, which divides Turkish from Austrian Croatia, in long. 17° E., and the continuation of the arbitrary line of the Austrian frontier; northward, to the Dniester and the Russian territory; and southward to Greece. These countries, which are supposed to contain in superficial extent about 186,000 square miles, are distinguished by modern geographers under the following denominations, to which we have annexed the ancient and Turkish names.

	Ancient Name.	Turkish.	Sq. Miles.
1. Moldavia.	Dacia.	Kara Iflak, or Bogdan †.	26,630
2. Wallachia.		Ak Iflak.	23,668

* According to Malte Brun; but he includes, under Moldavia, Bessarabia and the Russian part of the province: so that the present extent of Turkey is less than the total given on his authority. Pinkerton makes the total extent, including Greece and the Morea, only 182,500 square miles: its extreme length, from the northern boundary of Moldavia to Cape Matapan, 870 miles; and its utmost breadth, (which in general is less than half its length,) from the River Unna to the Bosphorus in lat. 42°, 600 miles. In the Supplement to the Ency. Britan., Turkey in Europe is stated, on the authority of Hassel, to comprise only 160,674 square miles, being 20,000 less than Malte Brun's estimate. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, it is given in round numbers at 200,000 square miles.

† Iflak or Ivlak is stated by Thornton to be a corrupt pronun-

	Ancient Name.	Turkish.	Sq. Miles.
3. Bulgaria.	Mœsia.	Beylerbeylik of Bosnia.	27,174
4. Servia.	Pannonia.		31,366
5. Bosnia.			
6. Croatia.			
7. Dalmatia.	Dalmatia.		
8. Romania Proper.	Thrace.	Beylerbeylik of Roum-Ili.	25,716
	Macedonia.		21,142
9. Albania.	Illyricum.		16,645
10. Livadia and Thessaly.			14,915
			186,963

If to this we add the Morea, Eubœa, Crete, and the Grecian Isles, estimated at..... 15,646

The total extent of European Turkey will be 202,309

ciation of Wallachia. Bogdan signifies, in the Slavonic, the gift of God, being synonymous with Theodosius; and the name of the province is derived, according to D'Herbelot, from that of the Christian princes of Mœsia. Colonel Leake asserts, that Kara Iviak is Wallachia, not Moldavia; and the latter province, he says, is written by the Greeks Μελδο Βλαχια, not Μαυρα Βλαχια, as stated by Mr. Hobhouse. It is remarkable, however, that both Maura Vlachia and Kara Iflak signify Black Vlachia, as Ak Iflak is White Vlachia. The Black and White Vlachi may have been originally distinguished by the colour of their tents or of their flocks, like the Tatars of the black and white sheep; but they are now known by their different costume. "The colour of their cap," says Dr. Neale, "distinguishes the Moldavians from the Wallachians, whose head-dresses are black, while those of the Moldavians are white." If this be correct, it certainly favours the statement of Colonel Leake, that Wallachia is Black Vlachia; and Thornton must have misapplied the names. Dr. A. Neale tells us, that Moldavia took its name from a *mollah*, or priest, named Xamolxis, the Pythagoras or Boudh of the primeval Scythian inhabitants; and that the word is corrupted from *Mollah-dis-ia*, the territory of the immortal mollah. He gives no authority, however, for this etymology. See Neale's Travels, 4to. pp. 163, 170. Wilkinson states, that it takes its name from the river Moldau. The modern Wallachians, who call themselves *Rumunn* (Romans), give to their country the name of *Tsara Rumanesca*, Romanland.

The European territories form but a fourth part of the Ottoman Empire, even in its present contracted state; that is, if we take Egypt into the calculation, and exclude the Barbary States. The following estimate is that of M. Malte Brun.

	Square Miles.
Asia Minor, as far as the Euphrates	200,196
Syria, exclusive of the Desert	81,778
Armenia, with Turkish Georgia, &c.	64,802
Diarbekir, Mesopotamia, &c.	144,650
Total of Asiatic Turkey	490,926
Egypt	152,951
European Provinces	202,309
Total of the Ottoman Empire	815,186

In this estimate, however, Cyprus and the Asiatic Islands do not appear to be included, which would add about 11,000 square miles to the calculation.* At the zenith of its greatness, the Turkish dominion was still more widely extended. In Europe, it comprised Transylvania, Slavonia, the whole of Croatia, and the greater part of Hungary, with the whole course of the Danube from Belgrade to Gran; also New Servia and the Crimea; in Asia, the whole of Georgia and the Persian province of Shirvan; nominally at least, the Arabian Peninsula; and in Africa, the Barbary States, which still acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan-khalif of Constantinople, as the head of Islam.

* In the Supp. to Ency. Britan. the total extent of the Turkish empire is thus given:—

European Turkey			130,674
Asiatic Turkey,	Continent	436,629	447,679
	Islands	11,050	
African dominions			276,480
			904,833

The population of a state in which registers and a regular census are unknown, it is impossible to ascertain with any approximation to accuracy. Supposing the houses to be as thinly scattered as in the less populous parts of Spain, M. Malte Brun says, the population of the whole Ottoman empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa may amount to between five-and-twenty and thirty millions. Hassel, in 1816, calculated it at twenty-four millions, and Baron Humboldt, in his Political Essay on New Spain, estimates the population of the Turkish empire at 25,330,000. Other writers bring it much lower.* Of this total, one half is assigned to Asiatic Turkey, which is thus distributed by the French Geographer,

Anatolia, &c.	5,000,000	
Armenia, &c.	2,000,000	
Koordistan	1,000,000	
Pashaliks of Mosul, Bagdadt, and Diarbekir	1,500,000	
Syria (at most)	2,000,000	
	11,500,000	
Egypt contains, according to Humboldt,	2,400,000	
		13,900,000

The population of European Turkey may be thus conjecturally stated.

* See Supp. to Ency. Brit. Art. Turkish Empire. Lichtenstein, in 1810, calculated it at 24,000,000; Graberg at 25,000,000. In the Ency. Britan. itself, it is stated at 21,000,000, two-thirds of which are allotted to Asiatic Turkey, and one-third to Turkey in Europe; no account being taken of Egypt. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, the population of European Turkey is placed below ten millions, and that of Asiatic Turkey, in round numbers, at the same sum. In the General Gazetteer (1822), the total population is conjecturally stated at between thirteen and fifteen millions.

Moldavia and Wallachia	1,500,000 *
Bulgaria and Bosnia	850,000 †
Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Greece	2,350,000 ‡
Remainder of Roumelia	6,000,000 §
	10,700,000
Population of Asiatic Turkey, &c.	12,000,000
Total Population	24,000,000

In assigning between ten and eleven millions as the total population of European Turkey, inclusive of Greece, we offer merely a conjecture, founded on the average of conflicting statements, and taking into consideration the active causes of depopulation which have been operating with peculiar force during the past few years. Of this population, it has already been stated, that the Turkish natives do not form a third;

* Wallachia is stated to contain about a million of inhabitants, and Turkish Moldavia half that number. See Wilkinson's Wallachia, p. 60. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, the Wallachians and Moldavians are set down at only 400,000. Thornton estimates them at a million.

† According to the above-cited article, in Sup. to Ency. Brit.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 23.

§ "Some writers," says Malte Brun, "estimate the population of European Turkey at twenty-two millions, while others have reduced it to eight, and both assign equally plausible grounds for their opinions." Eton seems disposed to estimate the population of the continental provinces at little more than ten millions; founding his calculation upon the assumed fact, that they contained fifty millions two centuries ago. Thornton contents himself with asserting, that the progress of depopulation in these provinces is "infinitely over-rated in this calculation;" but he offers no corrected estimate. In Rees's Cyclopædia, the number of inhabitants in Turkey in Europe is stated to have been estimated at eight millions, or about forty-three to each square mile; but this estimate, it is added, is supposed to exceed the truth. In the Ency. Brit. it is estimated as low as seven millions; but, in the Supplement, it is carried to nearly nine; viz. Roumelia, 6,000,000; Bosnia, 850,000; Islands, 325,000; Wallachia and Moldavia, 1,800,000: total, 8,975,000. But nothing can be more uncertain than the basis of this calculation.

but they may be taken at between three and four millions. The remainder are supposed to consist of various Mohammedan, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants, in the following relative proportions:

Turks and Tatars	3,500,000
Greeks	2,000,000
Wallachians	1,000,000
Arnauts and Albanians	1,500,000
Bulgarians (Slavonians)	500,000
Chingenehs or Gipsies	250,000
Bosniacs, Servians, &c.	750,000
Armenians	200,000
Jews	300,000
Franks	uncertain.

The Turkish divisions of the empire are purely military, founded upon the feudal system, which still prevails. All lands in Turkey are held on the condition of military service for a limited term. These grand military departments or captaincies are subdivided into *sanjaks* or standards, each *sanjak* containing a number of lordships or manors, called *ziamets* and *timars*, (sabres). *

It devolves upon the *sanjak-bey*, in time of war, to summon the janizaries, *spahis*, *zaims*, and *timariots* of his jurisdiction, and to await the orders of the pasha.†

* In the reign of Soliman I. according to the *Canon-Nameh*, or Imperial Constitutions, the number of *ziamets*, or estates of five hundred acres and upwards, amounted to 3192; and the number of *timars*, or estates of from three to five hundred acres, to 30,160. The whole furnished a revenue of nearly four millions of rix-dollars.—Tournefort's Travels, vol. i. p. 228.

† Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants of a district, between sixteen and sixty, are summoned to join the standard of the pasha, and to rendezvous at a certain place: but the obligation to remain in the field is not permanent even upon the feudal troops. A soldier is punished by mulct or disgrace, who delays to join the army beyond the 23d of April, O. S.: but having served to the 20th of October, the judge of the camp cannot refuse him his certificate, and he may return to his home without being subject to

The title of pasha, which is merely personal,* is sometimes given to the sanjak-beys; and the larger sanjiakats are called pashaliks: others, under the government of a mutselim, are styled mutselimliks. The military governors of provinces, who are subordinate only to the Grand Vizir, are styled beylerbeys, and the district under their command, beylerbeyliks. European Turkey is divided into two beylerbeyliks; that of Roum-ili or Romania, comprising their conquests from the Greek empire; and that of Bosnia, under which are comprehended Servia, Croatia, and their other acquisitions to the westward. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia are not included in this division, being considered as tributary provinces. Constantinople is also a separate jurisdiction, as well as the Islands, which are under that of the Capitan Pasha or High-admiral. The Pasha of Kutaya has the title of *Anadol Beylerbey*, or Captain-general of Anatolia, and as such, has the chief command of all the Anatolian troops, when they join the imperial standard. The pasha of Diarbekir is also a beylerbey. It is not easy to ascertain with any precision the number of these grand divisions, more especially as there are some independent agaliks and mutselimliks not included in the jurisdiction of the beylerbeys. There are also other divisions, used purely for the civil and financial purposes of the government.†

pain or penalty. This will account for the supposed desertions in large bodies which frequently take place at the approach of winter.—See THORNTON, vol. i. p. 225.

* Pasha, according to Thornton, is formed of two Persian words, pa-sha, signifying literally viceroy.

† Asiatic Turkey is divided into twenty-one governments: viz. 1. The beylerbeylik of Anadol (or Anadhoudy). 2. The pashalik of Kostieh, or Karamania. 3. The pashalik of Adana or Itchili (Cilicia). 4. The mutselimlik of Kibris (Cyprus). 5. The pasha-

The pashas consist, in fact, of three classes, who are distinguished by the number of horse-tails carried before them as standards; a custom supposed to have been derived from the Tatars, and indicating the barbaric origin of the Turks. The governors of large districts, who are entitled to three tails, assume the name of vizir.* All these governments are nominally held for the term of one year only; and at the ensuing *bairam*, the appointment must be renewed. There are some rare instances, however, in which they have been held and transmitted as hereditary fiefs. Mehemmed Bey was created by Selim I., beylerbey of Diarbekir, with the privilege of transmitting it to his male children. The lordship (*agalik*) of Magnesia in Anatolia was for a long time hereditary in the family of Kara-Osman-

lik of Siwas (Sebaste), or Roum. 6. The pashalik of Merashe. 7. The pashalik of Tarabosan (Trebisond). [See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 89.] 8. The pashalik of Akhlesa, or Tshalder (Chaldea). 9. The pashalik of Kars (in Armenia). 10. The pashalik of Erzeroum. 11. The pashalik of Van. 12. The pashalik of Shersour (in Kourdistan). 13. The pashalik of Bagdate. 14. The pashalik of Bassora. 15. The pashalik of Mosul. 16. The pashalik of Diarbekir. 17. The pashalik of Rakka (Nicephorium). 18. The pashalik of Haleb (Aleppo). 19. The pashalik of Tarabalous (Tripoli). 20. The pashalik of Akka (Acre). 21. The pashalik of Sham (Damascus).

* Ali, Vizir of Epirus, had thirteen horse-tails carried before him in all grand processions, representing the various dignities which he held. "The insignia of a vizir, governor of a province, are, the *alem*, a large broad standard, the staff of which, instead of a spear-head, is surmounted with a silver plate in the form of a crescent; the *tabl* or military music, consisting of nine drums, nine *diles*, seven trumpets, and four cymbals; the *tugh*, consisting of three horse-tails artificially plaited: one *sanjak*, or standard of green silk, and of the same form and size with Mahomed's standard; and two large standards called *bairak*. Other pashas, who are not honoured with the title of vizir, have two horse-tails with the other insignia. A bey has but one horse-tail, together with the standard. Agas, and others of an inferior order, are allowed only one *sanjak* and no horse-tails."—Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. p. 368.

Oglou; and that of the Ghavrinos possessed several *agaliks* in Macedonia, by virtue of similar concessions. The great pashaliks of the remoter Asiatic provinces may be considered as tributary principalities, as regards their virtual independence,* but it is rarely that they have been allowed to descend to an hereditary successor. The name by which the Sultan is known to his subjects is that of *Padishah* (emperor), of which Grand Signior seems to be a sort of translation: he has, however, various other titles, among which that of Vicar of the Prophet is the most valuable, and that of Imperial Man-slayer the most characteristic of a ruthless despotism.†

It will not be expected that we shall attempt to give a history of the Turks, whose origin is involved in much obscurity. They are supposed to have been a branch of the great Sarmatian family, known to the Greek writers under the denomination of the Scythians

* Of this description, more especially, are the pashaliks of Bagdadt, Trebisond, and some others.

† "By the constitution of Mohammedan government, not only the executive, but the legislative power essentially resides in the sovereign. His spiritual and temporal authority are indicated, in the language of the jurists, by the titles of *imam* and *sultan*. In virtue of his sacerdotal authority, he assumes the titles of *padishah-islam* (emperor of islamism), *imam-ul-muslimin* (pontiff of musulmans), and *sultan-dina* (protector of the faith). At court, when mention is made of the sultan, the appellation of *alem-penah* (refuge of the world) is usually added to his title of padishah. His loftiest title, and the most esteemed because given to him by the kings of Persia, is *zil-ullah* (shadow of God); and one of the most remote from our manners, though common among all ranks of his subjects, is *kunkiar* (the manslayer). This is given to him, because the law has invested him alone with absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Turkish casuists allow that he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without assigning a cause, or without imputation of tyranny. Death by his hand, or by his order, if submitted to without resistance, confers martyrdom."—THORN-

beyond the Imaus.* Their original country appears to have been the Altaian mountains, whence they spread as far as the Lake Mæotis and the banks of the Oxus. It was towards the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era, according to Gibbon, that Europe felt the shock of that revolution which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the Turks. But the fact is, that their name, like that of the Huns, from whom the Bulgarians are supposed to derive their origin, is too vague and general to determine the identity of the people to whom it is applied. The word Turk is said to signify wanderer: by the Ottomans, it is regarded as a contumelious appellation, nearly equivalent to boor. It appears to be used by Al Edrisi, the Nubian Geographer, as the generic designation of the various hordes inhabiting Eastern and Western Tartary; and as he makes no mention of either Tatars or Moguls, it has been inferred, that the latter ought to be considered as two branches of the Turkish nation, instead of our classing the Turks as Tatars.† With regard to the Modern Turks, their exterior gives no countenance to the Mongol extraction which their national authors ascribe to them; but their language, according to the unanimous opinion of philologists, bears a closer affinity, in its radicals, to the Ta-

ron, vol. i. pp. 111—3. The Greeks with strict propriety, then, designate their late master by the name of Sultan Kassapi (Butcher).

* Pliny mentions the Turks, ranking them among the Sarmatian tribes (Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 7.); and Pomponius Mela speaks of the *Tegusagetæ Turcæque*, as inhabiting the region near Mæotis, —"*vastos agros occupant alunturque renundo.*"

† It is remarkable, that, in the hostile correspondence between Tamerlane and Bajazet, the Mogul Emperor distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turk*, and stigmatises the race and nation of the Ottomans, as *Turkmans*.

taric dialects, than to those of any other class.* It has received, however, so large an admixture of Arabic and Persian, as to be denominated on that account *Mulemma*, the pied mare. Nor are the people themselves of a race less mixed than their language. For ages, they have blended themselves with the nations they have conquered; and the large admixture of Persian, Circassian, Greek, and perhaps Gothic and Slavonic blood may explain their differing so widely from other Tatar nations. They are, in general, a tall, robust, and well-formed race, of a rather harsh, yet often noble physiognomy, a tawny complexion, dark brown hair, and their natural gravity of mien is aided by long mustaches, which are reckoned an indispensable ornament.

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

WHATEVER be the origin of the Turks as a nation, the foundation of the Ottoman empire dates no farther back than the conquest of Prusa, the capital of Bithynia, by Othman,† the son of Ertogrul, or Orthogrul, a Turcoman chieftain in the service of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium, who had established himself at Shughut on the banks of the Sangarius.‡ "Othman possessed," says Gibbon, "and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of

* The language of the Mongols, as well as the Calmuck, is stated to have a sufficient connexion with the "Caspian" dialects, to be arranged as belonging to the Turco-Tatarian family. That of the Bucharians is little known, but that of the Nogay and Crimean Tatars is said to be much like the Turkish, but mixed with some Mongol. See Quart. Rev. No. xix. art. Adelung's Mithridates.

† Also written Thaman and Athaman, and from Othman softened into Osman; whence Osmanlee, the national appellation of the Turks, which we translate into Ottomans.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 257.

time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war against the infidels, and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. It was on the 27th of July in the year 1299 of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia; and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster.

"The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts; fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capital. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation.* From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era of the Ottoman

* Osman enjoined his son to exercise a just friendship towards the Rumaian kingdoms, a charge which has been variously understood as relating either to the Seljukian emirs or the Christian powers. The moderation and pacific nature of this counsel depend wholly on the way in which it is interpreted.

empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of 30,000 crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mohammedan capital. Prusa was decorated with a mosch, a college, and a hospital of royal foundation;* the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Alaidin, the brother of Orchan."

Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330,† and Nicomedia fell nine years after. The Moslem conqueror "granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The Emperor Andronicus the younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman: he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet, Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Room or Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Gharmian and Cara-

* See, for a description of Brousa (Prusa), Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 358.

† Nice had previously been taken by the Sultan of Room; but was recovered by the Crusaders in 1097. It is now, under the name of Isnik, a wretched village. Isnikmid, the representative of Nicomedia, is governed by a pasha of two tails.—See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. pp. 329—333.

manis, each of whom could bring into the field an army of 40,000 men."* On the death of Amir, the Turkish prince of Aidin (Mysia), who had been the friend and ally of Cantacuzene, the Bithynian emir was applied to, to join his arms with those of the Greek emperor against the Latins. Orchan readily entered into this advantageous alliance, as the reward of which he obtained in marriage the daughter of Cantacuzene. "The Greek clergy," says the Historian, "connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mohammed. Without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord; but it had been stipulated, that she should preserve her religion in the harem of Bourza; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest; and in the Genoese war, he joined without a blush the enemies of Cantacuzene."

In this account of the Bithynian Emir, we seem to have a counterpart to the artful and varying policy by which, in our own days, the Vizir of Ioannina

* "The sovereignty of the emir of Caramania, which derives its name from the mountain Amanus, extended over Cilicia and part of the frontiers of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia. Ionia Maritima, as far as the city of Smyrna, obeyed the family of Sarukhan. The chief part of Lydia, with some part of Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia, formed the principality of Caras or Kara. Aidin consisted of the greater part of Mysia, together with some part of Lydia. The principality of Menteshe derived its name from a city in Caria, called Mendela or Myndus. The city of Beli was the seat of government of the sons of Omar (Amir), whose sway extended over Paphlagonia and Pontus, comprising the cities of Heraclea, Castamona, Sinope, and several others on the Euxine Sea. These were the chief divisions of the Seljukian territory."—Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. p. 5. But in this enumeration, German or Kermian is omitted.

succeeded in rendering himself the master of Epirus and the greater part of Greece.* Alternately the ally of the Latins and the Greeks, Orchan steadily pursued his own aggrandisement. In the civil wars of Romania, the Turkish cavalry, under the command of Soliman, his eldest son, performed some service for the Emperor, but perpetrated more mischief. The Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony, and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, which had been partially destroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt and peopled by the policy of Soliman. That prince having been killed by a fall from his horse, the aged Orchan was succeeded in his dominions by his son Murad, or Amurath I., who subdued, without resistance, the whole of Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and made Adrianople the seat of a beylerbeylik, or vice-royalty, about 1365. The Emperor, John Palæologus, appears to have purchased his friendship or forbearance by the most abject submission; and Constantinople remained the capital of a shadowy empire. It was, perhaps, as his ally that Amurath extended his inroads as far as the Slavonian provinces between the Danube and the Adriatic, chastising those warlike tribes who had so often insulted the majesty of the eastern empire. The military bands called *Yengi cheri*, new soldiers, (corrupted into Janizaries,) were composed originally of European captives taken in these wars: they formed the first regular body of infantry ever maintained in constant exercise and pay by any European sovereign, and

* Like Orchan, Ali had for his favourite wife a Christian: his capital, the principal seat of modern Greek literature, might once have vied with that of Bithynia: and his tolerant policy corresponded not less remarkably to that of Orchan, than his duplicity and perfidy.

soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies.

Amurath is said to have been of mild temper and unostentatious deportment, a lover of learning and virtue. He perished by the hand of a foreign assassin, after gaining the victory of Cossova over the confederated Slavonian tribes; and was succeeded, in 1389, by the renowned Bajazet, or Bayazid, surnamed Ilderim, the Thunderbolt, whose reign forms one of the most splendid epochs in the Turkish annals. Pursuing the plans and policy of his father, he led his triumphant armies from Bourssa to Adrianople, and from the Danube to the Euphrates. The Seljukian emirs of Asia Minor had taken advantage of the distant expeditions of Amurath, to unite their arms for the purpose of recovering their independence. Among these, the most powerful were the princes of Caramania, who, by their influence over the minor chieftains, and by their coalitions with the Greek emperors and the Christian princes beyond the Hæmus and the Danube, stirred up war alternately on that frontier from which the Ottoman army was farthest removed. These revolts and disturbances, by embarrassing the progress of the conqueror, protracted the final overthrow of the Greek empire. A victory obtained by Amurath over the Caramanians and their allies in the plain of Iconium, destroyed for the time this formidable confederacy; but Bajazet, not content with their equivocal submission, resolved to annex by force their territories to his empire. Openly renouncing the peaceable maxims of his predecessors, he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Ghermian (or Kermian) and Karaman, of Aidin and Sarukhan. The northern regions of Anatolia, from Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, had already been

reduced to obedience; and after the conquest of Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians might be considered as revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet in Europe less rapid or important. "No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. An obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may observe," adds Gibbon, whose words we are citing, "that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys to command the Hellespont, and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp."

"The humble title of emir," continues the Historian, "was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the khalifs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes. The ambition of the Sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors

of the West; his cause was that of Europe and the Church; and on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the Cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. .....The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians; but it might have been gloriously won had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia; forced a rampart of stakes which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors.* In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the Count of Nevers and four-and-twenty lords whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day,

* The French army did not exceed in number a thousand knights and squires, among whom were the young Count of Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, and four princes his cousins, under the command of the famous Enguerrand VII., Sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains in Christendom.

were led before his throne; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The Sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners, they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation.....After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of 200,000 ducats for the Count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons. The Marshal Boucicault (who afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour) was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the Sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Bourssa. ....Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Bourssa; and the French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of 7000 huntsmen and 7000 falconers."

But Bajazet had now reached the term of his greatness. His conquests in Armenia and on the banks of the Euphrates had brought him in immediate contact with a Moslem conqueror of ambition equally restless and insatiable, united to superior genius and exhaustless resources. This was the famous Timour-beg (or bey), whose nick-name of *Lenc*, or *Leng*, the lame, joined to his proper appellation, has been corrupted into Tamerlane.* The Mogul conqueror was in his sixty-fourth year, when intelligence reached him on the banks of the Ganges, that the Sultan Bajazet, the Kaisar (Cæsar) of Roum, after subju-

* Demir, or Timour, is said to signify, in Turkish, Iron.

gating the whole of Asia Minor, was meditating the conquest of Syria and Egypt. An occasion of quarrel was not long wanting. "Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory, of threatening his vassals, and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life and liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and, in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior." A hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces was carried on for two years before the final explosion. Satisfied, in his first expedition, with the siege and destruction of Sebaste, Timour postponed his invasion of Anatolia, to attempt the reduction of Syria and Egypt. Aleppo and Damascus were sacked and reduced to ashes by this ruthless sectary of Ali, who is stated to have erected a pyramid of 90,000 heads on the ruins of Bagdad; but the armies of Egypt barred his further progress in that direction. On his return, he collected all his force for the long-meditated expedition against his rival. At length, resolved to strike the blow in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he moved his army from the Araxes through Armenia and Pontus, and dexterously avoiding the camp of Bajazet, which had been established near Sebaste, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora. The plains around that city were the scene of the memorable battle which led to the captivity of Bajazet, and placed his kingdom at the mercy and disposal of the Mogul conqueror. In that day, the greater part of the Ottoman troops, formed of Anatolian levies, loyal in their desertion, revolted from Bajazet

at the decisive moment, and revenged their ancient emirs. Timour planted his standard at Kutaya. Bursa, Nice, and Smyrna fell successively into his hands; and the humbled and captive Ilderim escaped being led in triumph to Samarcand, by a death which is variously attributed to the severities he suffered, or to apoplexy.* The sons of Bajazet and the Seljukian emirs were re-instated in their hereditary dominions, and the Ottoman empire in Asia, under its ancient name of Roum, was numbered among the twenty-seven kingdoms which acknowledged the sovereignty of the mighty Tamerlane. Soliman, however, the eldest son of Bajazet, having escaped from the field of battle into Europe, was enabled to preserve the Ottoman name from the ignominy of total subjugation, while he soothed the pride of the conqueror by tributary gifts, and accepted the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword. The Greek Emperor, too, though he withheld the transports which Timour demanded under pretence of attacking his enemy,† submitted to pay the

* The Persian historians represent, that Timour treated his captive with the utmost respect and kindness, and that he expired of apoplexy at Akshehr (Antioch of Pisidia), about nine months after his defeat. His harsh and ignominious confinement in an iron cage is considered by Gibbon as credibly attested by a chain of witnesses.

† "From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour. The Christian kingdoms of the West already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an impassable, though narrow sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia; and the lord of so many myriads of horse was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause."—Gibbon.

same tribute that he had stipulated with the Turkish Sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance. On the throne of Samarcand, the King of the World gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tatary, Russia, Spain, and France;* and in his seventieth year, he was invading the empire of China, and had proceeded three hundred miles from his capital, when a fever arrested him in his career, and terminated his triumphs and his crimes.†

The death of Tamerlane, the division of his empire among his sons, their discord, and the ambition of his great captains, relieved the Turkish provinces from the Mogul yoke. Eleven years, however, elapsed in the mutual endeavours of the sons of Bajazet to supplant each other, before Mohammed, who had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, effected his final triumph, and assumed the title of sultan. Soliman, after a reign of nearly eight years at Adrianople, having made himself odious by his vices, and especially by his scandalous habit of inebriation, was

* Henry III. of Castile sent two embassies to the court of Samarcand, of which a curious relation is to be found in Mariana; and there appears to have been at least some correspondence between Charles VII. of France and Tamerlane.

† "A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh his youngest son; but after his decease, the name was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Usbeks from the North, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if a heir, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Usbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern Ocean."—Gibbon.

assassinated by order of his brother Musa. The fratricide, as well as his brother Isa, who for some time reigned over a district in the neighbourhood of Angora, fell a victim to the jealous policy of the sovereign of Amasia, who stood forward as the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. At his death in 1421, Mahommed I. bequeathed an undivided empire to his successor. Murad (or Amurath) II., at the commencement of his reign, was reduced to the greatest difficulties by the victorious progress of a competitor, supported by the Wallachian princes and the Greek Emperor, who assumed the name and character of Mustafa, the eldest son of Bajazet. At Adrianople, he was recognised as the heir of the Ottoman empire; but "his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt."* The galleys of the Genoese transported the Ottoman Sultan from Asia to Europe, and Italian mercenaries assisted him in the conquest of Adrianople, by which Romania and Anatolia were again united under one sceptre. Servia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, and the whole of Greece to the north of the Isthmus, were reduced to subjection during this reign; and the battle of Varna, in which Ladislaus, King of Hungary, lost his life, and 10,000 Christians were slain, defeated the last combined effort of the Christians to check the fatal progress of the Turkish power.†

* Whether this Perkin Warbeck of the Turkish history was the true Mustafa, or an impostor, is considered by Gibbon as, after all, doubtful. The death of the real prince was never ascertained. A similar character and claim were asserted by several rival pretenders; and no fewer than thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of Mustafa.

† The most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath II. is his double abdication of the Ottoman throne. Voltaire gives [illegible] philosophic Turk, who at the age of forty could discern the

The "just," the "magnanimous" Amurath was succeeded in 1451 by the Conqueror of Constantinople, the accomplished and execrable Mohammed II. For the details of this memorable siege, we must refer to the pages of Gibbon. On the 6th of April, 1453, the imperial standard of the besiegers was planted before the gate of St. Romanus; and after a siege of fifty-three days, "that Constantinople which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the khalifs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohammed the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors."

"From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople,

vanity of human greatness. "Would he," asks Gibbon, "have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery?" "Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. The lord of nations subscribed to fast, and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state.....Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repented his preference of a private life." The annals of the Spanish monarchy present the nearest parallel. Ramiro, the brother of the warlike Alfonso I., was summoned from a monastery to succeed him on the throne; but when his daughter was two years of age, he abdicated the crown, and again buried himself in a monastery.

till the eighth hour of the same day, when the Sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his viziers, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under-jaw of one of these monsters, which, in the eyes of the Turks, were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that, on observing a zealous Musselman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command, the metropolis of the Eastern Church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed, the crosses were thrown down, and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so

lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia, he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of a hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind, and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: 'The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab.' Yet, his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine, whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death. The body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. The Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral."

The final subversion of the Byzantine empire was immediately followed by the subjugation of the principalities of the Morea, and the resignation of the sovereignty of Trebisond by David Comnenes into the hands of the same haughty conqueror. Mohammed II. united under his sceptre all the provinces in Europe which had formerly belonged to the eastern division of the Roman Empire,* and the whole of Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. He expelled the Genoese colony from Kaffa, in the Crimea, and the Tatar Khan submitted to receive from the Ottoman Sultan

*In his reign, the famous Scanderbeg, the Prince of Albania, who for twenty-three years resisted the power and defied the vengeance of the Ottoman empire, was finally compelled to seek refuge in the Venetian territory, where he died a fugitive.

the investiture of his dominions in that peninsula. Not satisfied with these conquests, his generals had commenced the invasion of Italy by the siege and sack of Otranto, and Pope Sixtus was preparing to flee beyond the Alps, when, in 1481, the danger was dispelled by the death of the Sultan in the fifty-first year of his age.

Bajazet II. succeeded his father; but his pretensions to the throne were disputed by his brother, who held the government of Magnesia, at the head of a powerful army. Bajazet, however, was supported by the Janizaries, who now began to exert that political influence which has subsequently proved so dangerous to the throne. His competitor was defeated by the grand-vizir Ahmed; and after vainly seeking to engage the Sultan of Egypt in his cause, was ultimately compelled to seek refuge in the states of Christendom, where Bajazet found means to have him assassinated.* This monarch wrested from the Vene-

* In Mr. Thornton's sketch of the Turkish history, the unfortunate son of Bajazet is stated to have been named Djem, and to have founded his title to the succession on the circumstance of his having been born the son of a sultan; whereas the birth of Bajazet had preceded the elevation of his father to the imperial dignity. After his defeat and flight, Djem is represented as having "resided at Rome in safe but honourable custody, until the French King Charles VIII., having seized upon the kingdom of Naples, and extended his schemes of conquest to Greece and European Turkey, claimed possession of his person, and removed him to Naples, where he was soon after murdered by an emissary of the Sultan. Such," it is added, "is the relation of the Turkish historians." The writer in the Ency. Britan., who appears to have followed Mignet, states, that Bajazet was the second son of Mohammed II., and that he was preferred by the Janizaries to his *elder* brother, Zizim, who fled for protection to Pope Alexander VI., by whom he is said to have been poisoned, at the instigation of Bajazet, and for the reward of 300,000 ducats." Such are the uncertainties and discrepancies even in modern history!

tians some important maritime towns on the coasts of Albania and the Morea; he restrained the piracies of the Moldavians on the Black Sea, by the capture of the strong fortresses of Killa on the Danube and Akkiermah on the Dniester; and he annexed to the Ottoman empire, the Cilician pashaliks of Tarsus and Adana. After a reign of one-and-thirty years, having intimated his wish to abdicate in favour of his son Ahmed, he was compelled by the Janizaries to descend from the throne; but they conferred the sovereignty on his youngest son, Selim, who had already given proof of his turbulent ambition, by taking up arms against his father and sovereign.

Selim I., surnamed *Yavuz*, the Cruel, commenced his reign by the murder of all his brothers. His first military expedition was against Shah Ismail, the founder of the Sefi dynasty, who, having conquered the Usbeg tribes, had made himself Lord of Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, and the Greater Armenia. Selim forced a passage over the lofty range of Taurus, encountered the perils of the desert, and having obtained a decisive victory over the Persians in the plain of Chalderan, marched against Tauris, which immediately opened its gates to the conqueror. Disease, however, had begun to thin the ranks of his troops; and he led back his army to Amasia, loaded with booty, but much diminished in numbers. The Kourds and other mountaineers harassed their retreat; and Selim gratified at once his resentment and his policy by subjugating Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Kourdistan, from the Lake of Van to the confines of Syria. The state of things in Europe having assumed a threatening aspect, he then rapidly marched from Mount Taurus to the Danube, and by his appearance frustrated the intended confederate invasion of the

Ottoman territories. He next led a numerous army to Aleppo, with a view to execute the long-cherished object of the Ottoman ambition, that of annexing Syria and Egypt to their empire. The governors both of Aleppo and Damascus readily transferred their allegiance from the Lord of Cairo to the Sovereign of Constantinople; and the power of the Mamlouks was dissolved by the decisive battle of Meriz Dabik, in which the Egyptian Sultan was slain, with the flower of his army. The submission of Syria and Palestine and the conquest of Egypt immediately followed this victory. The Fatimite Sherref of Mekka acknowledged Selim as his sovereign; and the conqueror led back with him to his capital the last khalif of the house of Abbas, by whose resignation he obtained for the princes of the Ottoman dynasty, the envied title which confers ecclesiastical supremacy and the powers of sovereign pontiff, exalting the possessor above all the rival monarchs of Islam.* This was the most important acquisition of his reign. The government of the Egyptian provinces was confided by Selim to a divan, or council of regency, and twenty-four Mamlouk beys; but Syria and Palestine were divided into pashaliks, and became incorporated with the Ottoman empire. The Sultan was projecting new conquests when he died, in the ninth year of his reign; agreeably, it is said, to the prediction of a holy man of Damascus, who foretold at the same time his victory

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 98. Thornton states, that "Mecca sent her keys to the conqueror;" but Mecca is an open city without walls: the keys of the temple were transmitted to Selim; and at Constantinople, Mahommed XII., the last of the Abassides, formally renounced the khalifate. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Chinese emperor in like manner dates from the removal of the visible head of the Buddhic faith from the banks of the Ganges to China.—See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 106.

and the lengthened reign of his son. It is possible, that the effect of the prediction on the superstitious mind of Selim might contribute to its fulfilment.

The reign of Soliman I., who ascended the throne of his father under these favourable auspices, is regarded as the most brilliant in the Ottoman annals. The first event of consequence which distinguished it, was the siege and capture of Belgrade, which had successfully repelled the attacks of Mahommed the Great and his father, Amurath II. This important place, the bulwark of Hungary, and then regarded as the chief barrier of Christendom against the Turks, at the end of a month's siege, was surrendered by treachery. The conquest of Rhodes, after a furious and protracted siege, was the next splendid achievement of the Ottomans, in alliance with the Christian lords of the Adriatic. Rhodes, in the hands of the Knights of St. John, who had held it for two hundred and twenty years, was acknowledged to be the main defence of Italy against the fleets and armies of the Turks; yet it received no assistance from the Christian princes in its last struggle. The civil and religious dissensions which distracted Christendom, precluded, indeed, any effectual co-operation on the part of any other state than that republic which was in league with the enemy. The Ottoman had now assumed the novel attitude of a maritime power; and when Soliman, at the head of 200,000 men, advanced into Hungary, he was supported by a strong fleet of observation in the Mediterranean, while a large convoy of transports were appointed to ascend the Danube with supplies for his army. In the field of Mohatz (A.D. 1526), in which the Hungarian monarch was induced to attack an army eight times more

numerous than his own, Lewis was killed, with 20,000 Hungarians; and the capital, the chief fortresses, and the open country, surrendered to the conqueror. At the approach of winter, however, according to the usual practice of the Ottoman armies, Soliman led back his army, loaded with booty and encumbered with captives, leaving the impoverished and depopulated country to be contended for by the rival pretenders to the vacant throne.

John de Zapoli, Count of Zips and Vaivode of Transylvania, having convoked an assembly of the States at Tokay, obtained for himself the election to the throne of Hungary. But a diet, assembled at Presburg, under the auspices of a more powerful party, reversed this election in favour of a foreign candidate, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and brother of the Emperor Charles V. The Hungarian Count, unable to contend with the armies of his rival, fled to his brother-in-law, Sigismond, in Poland, whence he despatched an emissary to Soliman, the invader and enemy of his country, offering to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Ottoman empire. With the pretended object of supporting his claims, Soliman again entered Hungary in 1529, and marched to Buda without meeting resistance. The German garrison capitulated, but a pretence was found for putting them to the sword; the principal fortresses along the Danube were captured with equal facility, and Vienna was invested by the Asiatic barbarians. But the loss of his heavy artillery, which had been intercepted and sunk in the Danube by the garrison of Presburg, and the approach of the rainy season, together with the scientific and vigorous resistance of the governor and garrison, finally compelled him to raise the siege and draw off

his army. To assuage his disappointment or to expedite his retreat, the Sultan issued a general order for the massacre of all his prisoners.

Three years after, Soliman again invaded Hungary at the head of an immense army; but this expedition proved an inglorious one. Causes which are not clearly ascertained occasioned him to retire, after wasting the open country of Styria and Carinthia, and spending eight and twenty days in the fruitless siege of the insignificant and badly-fortified town of Gunts. Many thousands of the country-people were, however, led into captivity. The civil contest between the rival claimants of the throne of Hungary, each of whom appealed to the Turkish Emperor as his lord paramount for protection and support, invited Soliman, in 1541, once more to march into that unhappy country.* He entered Buda in triumph, and converting its churches into mosques, treacherously annexed the disputed kingdom, as a beylerbeylik, to the Ottoman empire. The people were consoled by the enjoyment of repose, and the nobles were reconciled to the loss of national independence by the preservation of their religion, their privileges, and their possessions. The Archduke was ultimately glad to secure his hereditary dominions by a truce of five years, on the humiliating condition of a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats.

The conquest of the kingdom of Hungary, although the most important feature in the annals of this brilliant reign, did not exclusively occupy the attention of the ambitious Soliman. He conducted an army in

* John de Zapoli was now dead, but had left an infant son, who was acknowledged by the greater part of the Hungarian nobility; and his widow, who was appointed co-regent with the Bishop of Waradin, possessed ambition and spirit to support the rights of the infant monarch.

person into Persia,* and prosecuted the war through several destructive and disastrous campaigns. Bagdadt surrendered to the Ottoman Soliman in 1534, but not till after two campaigns, which are stated to have cost the Turks 200,000 men, on account of the peculiar hardships of Persian warfare, the insalubrity of the climate, and the scarcity of water, provisions, and forage. Van was besieged and taken in 1548, and Erivan, then the capital of the Persian monarchy, was sacked and destroyed in 1553. By his victories and his perseverance, Soliman eventually succeeded in obtaining a considerable augmentation of territory beyond the Araxes and the Tigris, and in forcing the Georgian princes to surrender their strongest castles, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Porte. He owed the submission of Moldavia to the mere terror of his name, and the homage of Algiers to the renown of his power. His admiral, the celebrated Barbarossa, supported, in several well-contested naval combats, the reputation of the Ottoman fleet. He retook Castelnuovo, in Dalmatia, notwithstanding the desperate defence of the garrison, consisting of 4000 Spaniards; he reduced Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, in the Morea; and, by the conquest of these important places and of several islands in the Archipelago, so terrified the Venetians, who had been induced to join the maritime confederacy against the Porte, that they purchased a separate peace by the cession of Syra, Patmos, Paros, Ægina, Naxos, and several other islands. The Ottoman navy was now brought to equal, in number and in strength, those of the Spaniards and Italians; and Barbarossa was esteemed, in courage and in experience, the rival of the celebrated Doria, their greatest admiral. In fact, Soliman the Magnificent held a distinguished rank

among the contemporary princes of the sixteenth century;* and during his reign, the political and military administration of the empire attained the greatest perfection of which they were susceptible. Learning and the arts were encouraged by his munificence, and his enlightened policy invited a commerce with the remotest nations of the west. In the estimation of his people, the splendour of his military achievements was surpassed by the wisdom of his legislation, which has obtained for him the surname of *Canuni*, or the Instituter of Rules. He caused a compilation to be made of all the maxims and regulations of his predecessors, and in his *Canun Nameh*, strictly defined the duties, powers, and privileges of all governors, commanders, and public functionaries. Having divided his dominions into districts, he appointed the number of soldiers which each should furnish; regulated, with a minute accuracy, everything relative to their discipline, equipment, and service; prescribed the mode of collecting as well as of applying the revenue, and introduced order and economy into the financial administration. But the latter years of his reign were beclouded by a domestic tragedy of deepest horror. A Russian captive, named Roxalana, who had obtained so unbounded an influence over the doting monarch as to induce him to make her his empress, succeeded in instilling into the mind of Soliman a jealous fear and hatred of his son, Mustafa. By her artifice, Soliman was led to suppose that his own safety

* Soliman began his reign a few months only after Charles V. was placed on the imperial throne of Germany; and this brilliant epoch in the Ottoman annals belongs to that interesting portion of the History of Europe which has been illustrated by Dr. Robertson and his authorities, to which the reader may be referred for further details respecting the affairs of Hungary and the Algerine war.

could be secured by no other method than the fatal order which is said to have been executed in his own presence. The only son of Mustafa fell a victim to the same horrid policy, and no rival was left to dispute the throne with the son of Roxalana. Soliman was preparing an expedition to complete the conquest of Hungary, and Seigeth had already fallen, when he died on the 4th of September, 1566, after a reign of forty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son, Selim II.*

On the accession of the new Sultan, the Emperor Maximilian sent an ambassador with overtures of peace; and an armistice for eight years was concluded, on the condition that both parties should retain the territories of which they were in actual possession. The protection afforded by the Venetians to the pirates of Istria, and the admission of the galleys of the Maltese into the harbours of Cyprus, were, however, made the pretence of dissolving the league which Soliman had made with the Republic. Cyprus soon yielded to the Ottomans, who, in all the Greek islands possessed by the Franks, were welcomed by the oppressed natives and a host of insurgents as deliverers from a worse than Turkish yoke; and they gratified the religious animosities of the Greeks by an indiscriminate massacre of the Latin nobility and clergy.

* See Robertson's Charles V., book xi. Mr. Ean tells us, that Chihangar, another son of Soliman, killed himself in despair, and that a third son, Bajazet, was strangled, with five of his children. The same writer makes Amurath II. die of grief at his ill success against Scanderbeg, and Mahomet II. die of poison, after having put to death 80,000 Christians of both sexes: Bajazet II. he poisons also; Selim I., he tells us, died of a cancer in his nose: and Soliman II. of a disease not less dreadful. As he gives no authorities, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the Turkish history is falsified by his embellishments.

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Ottoman fleet scoured the Gulf of Venice, blocked up the ports, and threw the city itself into the utmost consternation. The naval battle of Lepanto, which took place some time afterwards, was very fatal to the Ottomans. The allies captured, burned, or sunk two hundred of their vessels; and all Christendom rejoiced on the occasion of the first signal defeat which had been sustained by the common enemy.* Yet, in the interval of a single winter, the Ottomans built and equipped a new fleet, which effaced the recollection of this disgrace by new triumphs. Tunis was recovered from the Spaniards; and an insurrection of the Moldavians was quelled by the vigour which still characterised the councils and proceedings of the Ottoman power. After a reign of eight years, Selim was frightened to death by a fire which broke out in the offices of the Seraglio.

The reign and character of his son and successor, Murad III., are not distinguished by any features of remarkable interest; and from this period, the Ottoman power began to decline. Being at peace with Christendom, the Sultan was left at liberty to direct his whole attention to the affairs of the East. The war with Persia was protracted through twelve campaigns; and though it was not rendered memorable by any great event or decisive battle, it was fatal to the Ottomans, on account of the mortality occasioned by famine, disease, the temerity of their generals, and the peculiar nature of the warfare. The Persians, adhering to their plan of defensive war, deferred their chief attacks till the winter, when the main party of the Ottoman army was disbanded; the dispersed gar-

* Purchas states, that "our gracious sovereign King James has written a poem of this battle." It must have been a juvenile essay.

risons then became an easy prey, and they re-occupied the country which had been lost during the summer campaign. Both parties were at length exhausted by the long duration of these destructive hostilities, and the Sultan was glad to accede to the proposals of the Shah, who resigned to his dominion, the cities of Erivan, Tauris, and Ganja, together with the conquered territory in Armenia, Georgia, and Shirvan.

Although the Ottoman and Austrian monarchies were ostensibly at peace, the military commanders on the Hungarian and Croatian frontier encouraged or permitted incursions into the neighbouring territories for the purpose of plunder. In these savage inroads, castles were surprised, and villages were destroyed; the cultivated country was spoiled of its cattle and produce, and the peasantry were driven into slavery. It was for the avowed purpose of punishing the injuries which his subjects had received from the Uscocks, (a band of adventurers who had obtained a settlement in Styria,) that the Pasha of Bosnia was directed, without any previous declaration of war, to invade Croatia with an army of 50,000 men. The Austrians at first obtained some advantages, and were besieging Gran, when they were completely routed by the Grand Vizir, who, in his turn, made himself master of Raab, one of the strongest fortresses of Lower Hungary. The Sultan was preparing to take the field in person, when his life was terminated by a fever.* The Hungarian

* Murad III. appears to have been a feeble-minded monarch, avaricious, and the slave of a gloomy superstition. It is said that he was so intimidated by the frequent seditions of the Janizaries, that, for two years, he durst not go out of the seraglio. The Turkish writers pass over his character in silence. On his accession, he caused five of his brethren to be strangled; and his nineteen sons, with six of his wives, were put to death by his eldest son and successor, Mahomet III., who is said to have caused his own sub

war was prosecuted throughout the reign of his successor, Mahommed III., which extended from 1595 to 1603; but almost every subsequent campaign tended to weaken the opinion which had been entertained, that the Ottoman armies were invincible. Both the belligerent parties were at length disposed, by the exhausted state of their finances and intestine troubles, to treat for peace. The Sultan died while the negotiation was pending, but it was eventually concluded with his successor, Ahmed I., whose inglorious reign of fourteen years is a blank in the Ottoman annals.

In 1617, Mustafa I., the brother of Ahmed, was declared the rightful successor to the throne; but, after a reign of four months, he was deposed by the army, having rendered himself at once contemptible and odious by his incapacity and cruelty. Osman, the son of Ahmed I., was then proclaimed sultan, though he had scarcely attained the age of twelve. He held his precarious sovereignty during four years, when he excited a general insurrection of the Janizaries, by measures which betrayed an intention to abolish or to reduce the power of their order. They compelled him to resign the throne to his deposed uncle, and conducted him to the prison of the Seven Towers, where he was soon afterwards strangled by the ministers of Mustafa. When tidings of these atrocious proceedings reached the Asiatic provinces, a strong feeling of indignation was excited, and, disclaiming all allegiance to Mustafa, they took up arms to avenge the murder of Osman. The divan and the members of the ulema secretly favoured this loyal revolt, and at length, the Janizaries were induced to abandon the cause of Mus-

also to be strangled on suspicion of treasonable designs. From this time, it became the almost invariable practice, when a sultan mounted the throne, to put to death his brothers and nephews.

tafa, who was led to the same chamber in which his nephew was murdered, and there executed.

Murad IV., surnamed *Gazi*, the Conqueror, restored in some measure the glory of the Ottoman name. He was but fourteen years old on his accession to the throne, at the death of his uncle, in 1623, and he found the empire in complete disorder. The public treasury was empty; the ordinary resources of the state were exhausted; the Janizaries continued mutinous and insolent; and the provinces were in a state of declared rebellion. The Tatars of the Crimea had refused to submit to the khan nominated by the Porte, and had expelled the Turkish garrison from Kaffa; while the Cossacks had fitted out an armament of 150 boats on the Dnieper, and entering the Bosphorus, where not a single galley was left to oppose them, continued, during several days, to insult the capital, and to plunder the adjacent villages almost with impunity. The Persians also had taken advantage of the distracted state of the empire, to recover the province and city of Bagdad, and to ravage the frontier provinces from Arabia to the Euxine. Had the Christian powers of Europe been prepared to unite their force at this crisis, they might, apparently, with ease have recovered from the Ottomans a considerable portion of their conquests. During the first ten years of his reign, the young Sultan gave little indication of his possessing those qualities which the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, and the exigencies of the state, called for. He is said even to have excited discontent by his dissolute habits. But on attaining his twenty-fifth year, he took the government into his own hands, and began to display the energy and ferocious severity of his character. He suppressed an insurrection occasioned by some new

taxes, and beheaded fifty of the ringleaders; hanged a kadi, to the great displeasure of the ulema; and subsequently caused the mufti and his son to be strangled. Being dissatisfied with the dilatory proceedings of his generals in the East, he put himself at the head of his army, and succeeded in terminating the Persian war after four campaigns, by forcing the Shah to cede the cities and territories which Abbas the Great had wrested from the Ottoman empire. He returned in triumph to his capital in June 1639, but expired suddenly, the victim, it is said, of a debauch, in the February of the following year, in the thirty-first year of his age and the seventeenth of his reign. The character of this Sultan has been variously represented.* That he displayed an energy and courage which strikingly contrasted with the feebleness of his immediate predecessors, is unquestionable; but he had none of the attributes of true greatness: he was at once cruel and licentious. "At the beginning of his reign," says Thornton, "his indignation had been excited against the standing army; but, when he had subdued the haughtiness of the Janizaries by rigour and discipline, he encouraged

* Thornton, the apologist for the Turks, as Eton is the panegyrist of the Russians, styles Mustafa "this great Sultan." Rycaut says, "he was so bad that he had scarcely any alloy of virtue." Voltaire asserts, that, "in the opinion of the Turks, he had no other merit than his valour." "Contents," says Thornton, "has collected from accounts which he acknowledges to be in part fabulous, some ridiculous and improbable anecdotes." Some specimens of these are given by Eton as authentic facts. Among other atrocities, he is said to have amused himself by shooting his subjects with arrows or a carbine as he sat in his kiosk; to have executed his cook for not seasoning a dish to his palate; and to have hanged a Venetian merchant for having on the top of his house a high gallery which it was thought might overlook the garden of the seraglio.

their obedience by his favour, and stimulated their enterprise by his example. He assisted at their public exercises, and contended with them in feats of strength or address. He marched at the head of their corps, dressed in the uniform of their order, made his saddle his pillow, endured suffering with patience, and encountered danger with intrepidity. He sanctioned the severity of his government by subjecting even himself to its salutary discipline; and notwithstanding the occasional excesses of his intemperance, and the habitual ferocity of his character, his army served him with zeal, and his subjects regarded him with veneration."

Ibrahim, the brother and successor of Murad IV., was deformed in body and imbecile in mind; he resigned himself to the indulgence of his appetites, leaving the administration of government wholly in the hands of his vizir, and at length became so odious, that he was deposed and subsequently strangled.* During this reign, however, the divan displayed at once the restless ambition and the perfidy which characterise the Ottoman government. Under pretence of invading Malta, and clearing the Mediterranean from pirates, they fitted out a formidable armament, which excited jealous apprehensions on the part of the Venetians, notwithstanding that they were at peace with the Porte. The divan endeavoured to allay their suspicions by assurances of unshaken amity; their ambassador was honoured with every mark of distinction; and the Turkish fleet even put into the island of Tino for water and refreshments. The Ve-

* The circumstances of the brutal outrage which led to his excommunication by the mufti, and subsequent deposition, as related by Rycaut, are rejected by Thornton as certainly fabulous; but he admits, that both Turkish and Christian writers agree as to the licentious and slanderous character of this prince.

netians did not wholly neglect to provide the means of defence, but, conscious of their comparative weakness, they avoided giving umbrage by any open indication of their suspicions, till, in 1645, the Ottoman fleet, entering the harbours of Candia, disembarked an army of 74,000 men, who immediately invested and captured the cities of Canea and Retimo. The whole island, with the exception of the capital, was reduced in less than two years. Thus began, by an act of perfidious injustice, a long and sanguinary contest, which lasted until the end of the century.

Mohammed IV. was but seven years old at the deposition of his father. His minority was one continued scene of intestine discord and revolt. Transylvania and Hungary were again, during this reign, made the theatre of hostilities between the Porte and Austria. In 1663, the Grand Vizir, Kioprili Mehemed, invading Hungary, besieged and took Neuhäusel, Neutra, Novigrad, Levents, and Freystadt; while a detachment of his army entered Moravia and Austria, and intimidated the Emperor into a removal from Vienna. The success of the Turks was counterbalanced, in the ensuing campaign, by the re-capture of Neutra and Levents, and by the defeat and slaughter of their bravest troops at the passage of St. Gothard on the Raab. The result was a truce for twenty years, by which the possession of Great Varadin and Neuhäusel was confirmed to the Porte. On the termination of the Hungarian war, the Vizir resolved to undertake in person the reduction of the city of Candia, the garrison of which had continued to defy the successive attempts of the Ottomans to gain possession of that place. On the 10th of May, 1667, the siege began, which was sustained with heroic firmness by the Venetians for two years and four months. The

Turks are said to have lost, in two months, no fewer than 30,000 men.* At length, the garrison were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, after exhausting all the military resources of the age in defence of the place; and peace was concluded with the Republic.

The Ottoman arms were next employed in supporting the Cossacks of the Ukraine in their revolt against their Polish sovereign. The result of this war was advantageous to the Porte, who obtained by force possession of Kaminiec, and by treaty the sovereignty over Podolia and the Ukraine. This was, however, the last campaign from which any important advantage accrued to the Ottoman empire; and on the first exercise of its authority, the Cossacks threw themselves upon the protection of Russia, by whose co-operation they defeated the armies and abolished the authority of the Sultan.

In 1683, war again broke out between the Porte and Austria; and the Ottoman army, under Kara Mustafa, penetrated to Vienna. The siege of that capital was commenced on the 14th of July, and prosecuted till the 12th of September, when the allied army under Sobieski resolved to attack the besiegers, and the victory was most complete. The Turks fought in disorder, and, after a short resistance, abandoned their camp, together with their artillery, baggage, and magazines; continuing their retreat by moonlight, they did not halt till they had crossed the Raab, at the distance of fifty-five miles from Vienna. This flight and their subsequent defeats unveiled their weakness to Europe. The Czar and the Republic of Venice were emboldened to join the confederacy against the Porte, and to assist the operations of the war in

* It is stated that, in this celebrated siege, 60,000 Christians and 120,000 Turks were computed to have been destroyed.

Hungary, by invading the maritime provinces of Greece, and by diverting the forces of the Tatars. And now it appeared how far behind, the Ottomans had been thrown by the rapid improvement which the Christian states had made in the art of war. Their troops were routed and cut to pieces in every battle; their strongest fortresses were surrendered; Buda was taken by storm; and in the fourth year of the war, they had been expelled from Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia, while the Venetians, besides possessing themselves of several places in Dalmatia and Albania, had conquered the whole of the Morea. Through the whole of this war, the vanquished Turks "expiated," says Thornton, "under the sword of the Christians, the cruelties of which their ancestors have been accused." After sustaining a signal defeat on the plains of Mohatz, the army revolted against their commanders, and the Sultan, by endeavouring to screen his visir from the public resentment, excited an insurrection which cost him his throne. His brother, Soliman II., who succeeded him in 1687, was eminent for the austerity of his life and the fervour of his devotion; and it was fondly imagined that his prayers would avert the evils which threatened the empire with destruction. But the Germans, pursuing their victorious career, took Belgrade by assault, and penetrated into Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. Soliman was so far humbled as to send ambassadors to Vienna to sue for peace, but his proposals were haughtily rejected. In the mean time, however, the King of France, by invading the palatinate, made a diversion in his favour; and the recovery of Nissa, Widdin, and Belgrade, by the Grand Visir, restored a transient lustre to the Ottoman arms.

Soliman II. was succeeded, in 1690, by the youngest

son of Sultan Ibrahim, under the name of Ahmed II. The events of his short reign corresponded to the feebleness of his government. His nephew, Mustafa II.,* was not less deficient in those talents and acquirements which were now become essential to the success of military operations. He endeavoured to reanimate his subjects with a martial spirit by taking the field in person; but, after witnessing from the opposite bank of the Theis, the defeat and slaughter of his army at Zenta, by the Imperialists under the command of Prince Eugene, he confirmed the humiliation of the Ottoman power, by relinquishing to the Emperor, at the congress of Carlovitz, in 1698, Transylvania and almost the whole of Hungary and Sclavonia. The Morea remained in the possession of the Venetians, Podolia and the fortress of Kaminiec in that of the Poles, and Azof in that of the Russians. A new insurrection was the result of the exasperated feelings produced by a sense of national disgrace in the turbulent soldiery, and their now unpopular sovereign was forced, in 1703, to yield the throne to Ahmed III.

The peace of Carlovitz was first violated by the Czar Peter Alexiovitch, who infringed its implied conditions by building forts along the Don and the Dnieper, and fitting out a fleet of galleys on the Sea of Azof. The Porte observed with anxiety his continual encroachments both in Poland and on their own frontier, but stifled its resentment, till the remonstrances of the Tatar Khan rendered hostilities inevitable. At this period, too, the illustrious madman of Sweden, Charles XII., having taken refuge, after the battle of Pultowa, in the dominions of the Sultan,

* Eldest son of Mohammed IV.

exerted some influence on the councils of the divan. The imprudence of the Czar, who suffered himself to be cooped up and surrounded in an angle of Moldavia formed by the river Pruth, where he was reduced to extremities by the want of forage and provisions, enabled the Sultan to make peace on his own terms. He allowed the Czar to purchase provisions for his army, and to retreat unmolested, on his engaging to evacuate Poland, to surrender Azof, to destroy his fleet, and to demolish his forts on the frontier of the Tatar territory. This took place in 1711. Three years after, the Morea was recovered from the Venetians in a single campaign; and though the Emperor professedly took up arms in the cause of his allies, the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, which was negotiated through the mediation of England and Holland, secured to the Porte the possession of its Grecian provinces, in exchange for the banat of Temeswar, and the territory and fortress of Belgrade, which were re-annexed to the kingdom of Hungary.*

The history of Turkey now becomes again involved with that of Persia, which country had been made the scene of desolation by the insurrection of the Afghan Tatars. In the desperate state of his affairs, Tamasp, the fugitive heir to the throne of the Sefi,† adopted the dangerous expedient of imploring military

* The treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 was brought about by the mediation of the same powers; and from this time, England began to exert a considerable influence in the affairs of the Levant. The British Levant Company was first instituted by royal charter in 1605; its privileges were defined and extended in 1642; the charter was renewed at the Restoration, and again in 1753. Wortley Montagu was appointed ambassador to the Porte in 1716.

† Improperly written Sophy. Mahmoud, the Afghan, usurped the regal power in 1722, and was succeeded by his son Ashrof, in 1725.

succour from the Russians and the Turks. The French ambassador is stated to have had address enough to prevail upon the cabinets of Constantinople and St. Petersburgh to concur in a treaty for the partition of Persia, by which the house of Sefi was to have been re-established in its sovereignty over a portion of the divided empire. But, as the Afghans were Sunnites or orthodox Moslems, like the Ottomans, the soldiery were averse to the war; and Ahmed consented to make peace with Ashroof, the son of the usurper Mahmoud, on the condition that he would acknowledge the *imaumath* or ecclesiastical supremacy of the Sultan. Persia was rescued from both the Afghans and the Ottomans by a Turkman shepherd, named Nadir, whose brilliant exploits procured for him the title of Kouli Khan, and who, in 1727, restored the Sefi dynasty in the person of Shah Tamasp. On the refusal of the Porte to cede the conquered provinces, Nadir began the war anew, by expelling the Ottoman forces from Tauris and the province of Azerbijan. A revolt at home was the consequence, as in former instances, of this fresh disgrace of the army; and Ahmed was deposed in 1730, while collecting an army to oppose the progress of the Persians. His nephew, Sultan Mahmoud, made peace with Shah Tamasp; but the Persian general disavowed the treaty, which abandoned Armenia and Georgia to the Porte. Having deposed his master, he prosecuted the war with so much vigour, that, of all the conquests made by the former sultans, he left their degenerate successor only the city and territory of Bagdad.*

A peace with Persia had become the more necessary in consequence of the menacing attitude of Russia.

* Kouli Khan usurped the throne in 1736, and assumed the name of Nadir Shah.

The declaration of war by the Czarina was followed by the siege and capture of Azof, and the invasion of the Crimea by a powerful Russian army. The Porte in vain endeavoured to avert the war by soliciting the mediation of the cabinet of Vienna. After affecting to yield to its solicitations, the Emperor joined his troops to those of the Czarina. Owing, however, to the feebleness and corruption which now pervaded the councils and administration of the imperial government, this perfidious policy terminated only in disgrace. The Ottomans, notwithstanding a defeat which they suffered at the commencement of the second campaign, took Orsova, and drove the Imperialists before them beyond Belgrade, which they invested and besieged in form. The surrender of this fortress to the Ottomans formed one of the conditions proposed by the Austrians as the basis of a treaty of peace, which restored to the Porte the whole of Servia, as well as that part of Wallachia which borders on the bannat of Temeswar. The Czarina also was compelled to concur in the treaty of Belgrade, and consented to restore Oczakof, to abandon Azof, and to relinquish the navigation of the Black Sea. This treaty was concluded in the year 1739.

The reign of Sultan Mahmoud extends over nearly the quarter of a century; and, what must now be regarded as an extraordinary circumstance in the Turkish annals, it appears to have been terminated, in 1754, by his natural decease. His brother, Osman III., was then elevated from his state prison to the throne; but he survived his elevation only three years, and was succeeded, in 1757, by Mustafa III.

The encroachments of the Empress Catherine in Poland were the occasion of the war between Russia and the Porte, which broke out in 1769, and lasted

till 1774, when the successes of the Russians compelled the Sultan Abdulhamid, who had succeeded to his brother, to conclude a dishonourable peace by signing the treaty of Kainargik. By this treaty, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Ottomans, while the Crimea was declared independent; but its nominal independence was subsequently annulled by a mere manifesto of the Empress, who annexed it to her own dominions. The plan for the conquest and seizure of the whole of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, is believed to have been arranged in the personal interviews of the Emperor Joseph and Catherine II., during their journey to the Crimea; and the Porte only anticipated their hostile intentions by a precipitate declaration of war in August 1787.* During four campaigns, it was able to support the unequal contest with both empires; but the efforts of the Ottomans seemed nearly exhausted, when the Emperor was compelled, by the intervention of England, Holland, and Prussia, to enter into an armistice, and eventually to conclude a separate treaty of peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.† The Empress persevered in hostilities, but at length, to secure the final partition of Poland, she concluded with the Porte a definitive treaty of peace at Yassy, by which she added to her dominions only the steppe between the Bogh and the Dniester.

In the meantime, Selim III. had, in 1789, acceded to the throne as the eldest surviving male heir,‡ to

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 71, *et seq.*

† The treaty of Reichenbach was concluded in Aug. 1790.

‡ Mr. Thornton states, that the hereditary succession is not in a right line, from father to son, but devolves of right to the eldest surviving male of the imperial family; "a law intended to guard against the inconveniences of a minor's reign;" but the right of seniority has not always been respected. The empire "never falls to the spindle."

the exhaustion of his cousins, the sons of Abdulhamid. The leading events of his reign have already been detailed in the history of the Greek Revolution. Alternately at war with Great Britain and France, as either interest prevailed at Constantinople, the Porte acquired little or no advantage from the contest to which it was reluctantly made a party.

It appears to have been the wish of the Ottoman Government, to keep aloof from the storm produced by the French Revolution; and the invasion of Egypt by the French first compelled a departure from the system of neutrality which it was anxious to maintain. The capital trembled at the Syrian victories of Bonaparte; and at the moment of indecision, when it was yet a question in the divan, whether war should be declared against France, the discontents of the people were expressed by repeated conflagrations, and Selim tottered on his throne. The passage of a Russian squadron from the Black Sea through the Straits, and the anchorage of a Christian fleet under the walls of the Seraglio, excited not less horror and consternation than the loss of Egypt; and the Sultan was endangered alike by his allies and his enemies. The exploits of Nelson and Abercromby recovered the Ottomans from the despondency produced by the defeats of Gaza, Jaffa, and Akka, of Aboukir and Heliopolis; but the triumphant return of their Christian allies from Corfu,* and the second display of the Russian standard under the walls of the capital, renewed their jealousies and discords, which burst forth in fresh assassinations and disturbances. The popularity of the Sultan was still further diminished by the public punishment of the delinquents.*

* It is certain, Mr. Hobhouse states, that when the two Greeks supposed to have been concerned in shooting the Russian

The death of the Emperor Paul and the subsequent general peace, quieted the apprehensions which had been entertained of foreign enemies; but the recommencement of hostilities renewed the distresses of the empire. The intrigues which had disturbed the civilised courts of the continent were now transferred to the palace of the Reis Effendi. Russia and England united their strength against France in the divan; and "the Sultan," says Mr. Hobhouse, "was the sad spectator of a contest of which he was himself the unwilling umpire, the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin: he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. Never was sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with the power of the land, the other with that of the sea; both, to all appearance, able to destroy, but neither capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The precipitate flight of the British ambassador had scarcely relieved him from the embarrassment of making a selection between the menacing parties, when his capital was alarmed, for the first time, by the presence of a hostile force,* and the last of calamities seemed reserved for the reign of Selim. The good fortune which interposed to save the seat of empire, was not extended to the sovereign; and the evils which were inevitable from the triumph of either party, gathered fast around him from the day that saw

officers at Galata, were hanged, their bodies were taken from the gallows, and followed to the grave by a large body of Musulmans, and even some chiaoux attached to the arsenal; "an exhibition of honour, when paid to the corpse of an infidel, a dog, a giaour."

* For the particulars of the expedition to the Dardanelles, the reader may be referred to a very clear and satisfactory account in Mr. Hobhouse's Letters on Albania, vol. ii. pp. 111. et seq.

the city of the Faithful delivered from the insults of a Christian flag."

The war which broke out in 1811, between Russia and the Porte, was short but most disastrous. In December of that year, after losing several battles, the main body of the Ottoman army surrendered as prisoners of war, and the Russians continued to advance, almost without opposition, along the western shores of the Black Sea. But, in 1812, the invasion of Russia by the French saved the Ottoman empire from the danger which threatened to overwhelm it, and peace was obtained by the sacrifice of Bessarabia and part of Moldavia. Since that period, the Greek insurrection has employed the chief attention, while it has disclosed the weakness of the Government, and its security has been chiefly owing to the policy and mutual rivalry of the Christian powers.

Before these events occurred, two successive Sultans had ceased to reign. The year 1807 had witnessed another of those sanguinary insurrections which have repeatedly been excited by national disaster. The remote cause of this formidable revolt, was an attempt on the part of Sultan Selim, acting under French influence, to introduce such reforms into the military and naval establishments, as should place them more on a par with the improved system of European tactics. For an account of the circumstances which attended, as well as those which led to this revolution, we shall avail ourselves of the interesting narrative furnished by Mr. Hobhouse, in the fifty-first letter of his "Journey through Albania," &c.

Sultan Selim had evinced, at an early period of his reign, a determination to attempt some changes in the organization of the military force, and in the internal administration of the government. The great council

of state was more frequently assembled than in former reigns, and thereby diminished the labours as well as importance of the Grand Vizir. Yussuf Aga, the intendant of the Valide, and Hussein, the Capitan Pasha, possessed the confidence and wielded the power of the Sultan; but the chief originator of the plans of reform was Mahmoud Rayf Effendi, who, after having passed through various subordinate offices, and visited the courts of Vienna, Paris, and London, was raised to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, as *reis-effendi*, was entrusted with the execution of those projects of which he had been the most strenuous adviser. The Sultan is stated to have received himself the suggestions of the French and other Frank residents, and his ministers availed themselves of their skill and personal advice.

"The new regulations of the Ottoman empire bear the date of 1796. The levy of twelve thousand men, who were to be disciplined according to the principles of European tactics, and armed in every respect like the soldier of France or England, although inserted at the end of Mahmoud's treatise, was the chief arrangement. The new troops were to wear a uniform, and they were to be taught the manual exercise, of which the regulations contain a minute detail, and a representation in one large plate. In order to detach them as much as possible from the Janissaries, it was resolved they should belong nominally to the corps of Bostandges, whose red bonnet they were to wear when at home, although they were to change it for a lighter cap of the same make and shape upon actual service.

"For these Bostandge fusileers (*Bostany Tufenktchissy*), as they were called, were erected handsome barracks in the middle of a down three miles to the

north-east of Pera, capable of containing fifteen thousand soldiers. Levend Tchiftlik was supplied with an exercising-ground, shaded on every side with avenues of limes, a marble kiosk for the reception of the Sultan, a mosck with baths, fountains, and reservoirs, a spacious saloon or refectory, a powder-magazine, and rows of shops for armourers and sutlers.

"For the same purpose, barracks were constructed also at Scutari for thirty thousand men, with a railed enclosure for the exercise of the soldiers, and all other conveniences similar to those of Levend Tchiftlik. Near these barracks, Selim built a mosck, and a range of wide, regular streets for the cotton and silk manufacturers.

"The inspector of the new troops was one of the principal men of the empire: their commander was a *cepidge-bashe*, assisted by an intendant, two commissaries, and two clerks. Each regiment, commanded by a *bin-bashe*, consisted of one thousand and eighty privates, divided into twelve companies; and to these were attached ninety-six *topges* (or cannoniers), sixty *arabdges* (or carmen), twenty-four *sakas* (or water-carriers), and seventy-two attendants, called *cara-collouckes*, with their proper officers. Each company had a field-piece, and was commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, a *tchaouchi* (or serjeant) and ten corporals.

"That the military bodies attached to the regular troops might be effective, a reform was introduced into all their departments. The *topges* were improved in every respect: their old barracks were demolished, and new ones were built on a regular and better plan. Large quarters were assigned to them for their daily exercise. The *topge-bashe*, or commander of the corps, was regularly paid, and received the honours

of the tail: a *naxir* (or intendant), and a *kiatib* (or commissary), were added to their establishment. New regiments were raised, with proper officers and fusileers; and the uniforms of the officers and men were furnished by Government, and were different from each other. A commandant, an assistant, eight cannoniers, and ten fusileers, belonged to each cannon. In firing, the captain of the gun stood with four *topges* on the right, the lieutenant with *four* on the left, and five fusileers were placed on either side of the cannon. Every day, excepting Tuesdays and Wednesdays, they were exercised by five regiments at a time; and the artillery was practised with shot in the Valley of Sweet Waters. The exercise with the unloaded cannon took place on each holiday in the barracks. Surgeons were added to the corps. The guns themselves, of every class, were improved and cast on a new model. They were allotted separately by distinguishing marks to their different regiments; and the whole service was so contrived, that three days were sufficient to prepare any portion of the artillery for immediate activity.

"The *arabdgey*, or troops of the waggon-train, were also reformed. The *bashe* was allowed a regular salary, and the same distinction as the commander of the *topges*; whilst new regiments of men and officers, paid and clothed by the Government, were enrolled in the former corps, and attached to the cannoniers, with whom they always exercised. To every gun-carriage were assigned one officer and five privates; and to every tumbril the same number. Barracks were built for them near those of the *topges*, with shops and stables, the repairs of which were superintended by the principal officers in quarters. They had a body of carpenters, smiths, saddlers, and farriers, besides a

mounted corps, with a commandant and subalterns, for dragging the cannons, which were under the same regulation as the *arabdges*, and were taught to act on foot with the cannoniers. The tumbril followed the gun, with five privates and an officer, who learned to halt at a word. On the march, provisions were regulated by a commissary.

"An important officer of state was named (not by rotation as before, but for a permanency) inspector of the powder-magazines. Formerly, not half of the three thousand quintals of powder, which should have been furnished by the three manufactories of Constantinople, Gallipoli, and Salonica, were supplied by those establishments; and the quality had been daily deteriorating in such a proportion, that it was unfit for any purpose but saluting; so that, although Turkey produces saltpetre in abundance, the powder used for service was purchased from the Franks at sixty and seventy piasters the quintal. The price of this article was therefore doubled, and expert artisans were hired for the construction of mills, as well as for the service of the manufactories. The magazines of Constantinople were repaired and augmented, and a large similar construction was built at Kutchuk-Chemedge, near the capital. The salaries of the workmen were tripled, and foreigners were paid from five hundred to a thousand piasters a month; and that the necessities of the state might not impoverish the subject, wood and all other articles were bought at the current price. Ten thousand quintals of powder, eight times stronger than that of the ancient manufacture, were soon furnished by the new mills; and if this quantity had not been sufficient, the supply might have been increased to thirty or forty thousand quintals.

"The bombadiers, anciently furnished from the

Ziamaths and Timars, or military fiefs, underwent a total change by the new regulations. They were all to have a fixed pay. A noble barrack, containing a refectory, a mathematical school, a foundery, workshops, magazines, and a mosck, was built for them at the lower end of the harbour below the arsenal. An inspector, taken from the great officers of state, and the *reis-effendi*, were charged with their superintendence; and they were under the orders of a commandant, an Intendant, and a commissary. Ten bombadiers, five cadets, and one lieutenant, were allotted to each mortar: five mortars made a company, and were under the command of a lieutenant-in-chief: fifteen mortars composed a brigade, and the brigades were known by separate marks. The lieutenants and cadets wore uniforms different from those of the men, and the whole corps was to be distinguished from the miners by a red riband in the turban. They were ordered to exercise every day during summer at the barracks, and to study at the mathematical school; and finally, the commissary of the body was obliged to read aloud all the regulations, both old and new, at the barracks every month.

"The miners, a corps much neglected, were increased, and attached by the new constitution to the bombadiers, in whose barracks they occupied two sets of quarters. They were divided into two classes; one of which studied the art of mining, whilst the others applied themselves to every branch of military architecture, and might more properly have been called engineers. They were governed by a *bashe* and an Intendant; and were instructed by the professors and assistants of the mathematical school, who were directed to write instructive treatises. The miners furnished by the old system, that is, those who were possessed of

military fiefs, and the cadets raised by the new constitution, employed themselves daily (excepting on Tuesdays and Fridays) in drawing plans and designing models in wood and plaster, the most ingenious and best constructed of which were presented to the Grand Vizir. In summer, they were exercised in exploding real mines, and in laying out entrenchments and camps. Once in every six weeks, they underwent a general examination, of which an exact report was presented to the Grand Vizir; and each month, the secretary recited the regulations in presence of the students, subjoining an exhortation to strict duty and good conduct.

"The marine was put under the superintendence of a ministry, formed on the plan of European admiralties; and the official details, which had been formerly entrusted to the capudan-pasha alone, were conducted by the *Tere-hane emini* and his assistant officers. The command of vessels had usually been set up to sale; but Hussein-Pasha undertook the examination of the candidates. Retaining such only as were fit for the service, he placed the unemployed on a list, to be elected in rotation to the vacant ships, and to attend in the mean time to the fleet in harbour. The pay of the captains was increased, and the invalids were allowed a permanent provision. None of them were either degraded or punished without being found guilty of a capital crime. The officers of each ship were ordered to be in active employ during summer and winter, and their pay to be according to their rank, their rank according to their merit. A captain of the port was chosen from the active commanders; and it was required of him that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the regulations of the admiralty, and know how to write and read. The same officer was,

together with the captain, furnished with an account of the ammunition, stores, and the whole outfit of each man-of-war. He was assisted by an intendant in victualling and refitting the fleet; and all embezzlement was punished with adequate severity. For the same end, the sails, cables, and every article of each vessel, were distinguished by a particular mark. The stores were no longer bought at a fixed low price, but according to their current value, by the intendant, whose purchases and accounts were inspected by the captain of the port and the commissioners of the admiralty. Five hundred carpenters, one hundred and fifty boors, and forty apprentices, retained at the former salary of twelve paras a day, and paid monthly, were raised and attached to the fleet; and a certain portion of them were distributed into the ships during the summer cruise, whilst the remainder were reviewed daily, and exercised at the arsenal. To these were added, two hundred Egyptian calkers, fed and clothed at the expense of the State, and lodged in barracks behind the admiralty. The ships were formed on a plan entirely new, and so strongly as to keep the sea four years without material repair: they were coppered; and the powder barrels were also changed for large copper canisters. Instead of the thirty or forty fires which were formerly seen in a ship of the line, one large furnace was provided for cooking the provisions of the crew, who were no longer served with six months' provisions individually, and allowed their Maltese slaves for attendants, but received a breakfast of olive salad, and a ration of *pilaf* on Fridays and Mondays, and of soups on other days, from the ship's store.

"Dry docks, calking basins, a harbour for fifty new gun-boats, and all the necessary appurtenances of

a great arsenal, were built at the edge of the water at Ters-Hane; and designs for similar contrivances were to be applied to the other principal harbours of the empire. A line-of-battle ship of three decks, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig, all copper-bottomed, were launched in one day during the year 1797, from the docks of Ters-Hane. It was provided, that two ships should perform their manœuvres once a year, in front of Beshik-Tash, or Ain-Alay-Kavak, in presence of the Sultan, who was to distribute rewards to the most expert of the officers and the crew; and it was also enjoined that the grandees of the court engaged in commerce, should purchase foreign-built merchantmen capable of standing the sea at all seasons of the year, and accordingly of instructing the Turkish sailors in the more difficult branches of practical navigation. An academy was built at the arsenal for the education of cadets, who were furnished with competent professors, and were divided into two classes, the one being instructed in naval architecture, and the other in navigation. This, and every other department of the marine, were confided to the superintendence of Messrs. Rhodes and Benoit.

"In addition to these institutions for the formation of the new troops and their attached corps, and the improvement of the Ottoman navies, a general regulation provided, that the Janissaries, amounting, it was supposed, to 400,000 men, should be exercised in the use of the musket, with their *sekas* and other assistants, by four regiments at a time, twice in every week, from the 4th of May to the 6th of November, and as often in winter as the weather would permit. Once a year, they were to march either to the downs of Daout-Pasha, three miles from the capital, or to the Valley of Sweet Waters, to be reviewed by the Sultan

in person. The *geleges*, a sort of veteran battalion for the guard of the dépôts, being more in number than sufficient for that purpose, were to be exercised and reviewed with the Janissaries. Lastly, for victualling the armies, magazines were constructed on the Danube, and at other points near the seat of war; and a sum of 12,500,000 piasters was appropriated for purchasing grain at the current price, and not at that fixed by the laws of the Miri, or Imperial Treasury, for the supply of the capital. The office of this department was built of stone in the first court of the Seraglio, and the management of it was assigned to a minister adequately remunerated and supplied with assistants.

"In order to provide for the increased disbursements of the public exchequer, it was found expedient to create a new revenue, as well as to appropriate a portion of the former income of the State exclusively to the purposes of the recent institution. To this end a treasury was formed, under the control of a great state-officer, chosen from amongst the chief men of the empire, with the title of Treasurer of the New Bank (*Iradi Djedid Tefterdary*), and Inspector of the New Troops (*Ta-alimdi Asker Nazirj*). To increase his emoluments, the office of Second Minister of the Finances, which had always been held by a person of importance, and conferred the honours of a seat in the divan next to the Chief Treasurer, of a scarlet pelisse, and of a led horse, was incorporated with the new place in the person of this minister, to whom a sufficient number of secretaries and other official assistants, all of them enjoying honourable appointments, were assigned.

"The revenues of the new treasury arose from a sale by auction of the tenths belonging to the *Mafi-*

Hass (or fiefs held possessively), under the annual value of fifteen thousand piasters, upon the death of the respective proprietors by whom they were farmed, and by an absolute appropriation of the tenths above that value, to be managed according to circumstances, for the benefit of the new bank. The duties on the merchandise of Constantinople, and on the tobaccos throughout the empire, instead of being let out as formerly, flowed immediately into the treasury, and caused at once a considerable augmentation of revenue. The military fiefs (*timaeths* and *timars*) in the hands of unserviceable owners, were confiscated, an estimation being made according to the census of these proprietaries collected in 1790; and a rule was established for filling up all future vacancies with cadets capable of actual service in the cavalry of the Ottoman armies. The fiefs originally granted for the equipment of the ancient marine, were applied to the benefit of the new bank. The new taxes were, a duty of two paras an oke on wine, and four on spirits for sale, levied on all Christian subjects, and of one para a head on sheep and goats. The tax on cotton, which was formerly an asper on every oke, and was farmed, was raised to one para for the raw material, and two paras for the thread, and was paid into the treasury. Gall-nuts were also taxed at one para, and currants at two paras an oke; and the revenues of the new bank amounted, in the year 1798, to 32,250,000 piasters.

"Such is the general outline of the *Nizam-Djedid*. It would require a whole volume, says Mahmoud Rayf, to enter into the detail of all the statutes which have been enacted relative to the different branches of the public revenue; but, although a few only have been cited, this sample will make known the wisdom of the august sovereign to whom we are indebted for

their institution; just as a single drop of water is sufficient to indicate the existence of the river from which it flows."

The grand object, the raising and disciplining of the Bostandje fusileers, proceeded with rapidity, although the number enrolled did not amount to more than 12,000 men, and was not sufficient to occupy one-fourth of the barracks designed for their reception. The *topjis* evinced by their speedy improvement, the efficacy of their recent instruction. The introduction of printing had always been violently opposed by the *ulema* and the copiers of manuscripts. Ahmet III. had attempted the establishment of a printing-press near the kiosk of Kiat Hane; but his Armenian printers were obliged to desist, and the buildings appropriated to the establishment were converted to other purposes. Selim erected a large edifice at Scutari, well adapted for the purpose, but containing only one press; and competent persons were appointed to superintend the establishment and to execute the mechanical labour. Only forty different works, however, were produced in twelve years at the imperial press. Amongst these was the account of the *Nizam Djedid*, drawn up by Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, in French.* But there were six other presses at the school of design at Tera-Hane, from which were issued various publications: the most important were, a Greek grammar and a dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages.

* The following is the full title of the treatise: "*Tableau des nouveaux Réglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, ci-devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale, près de la Cour d'Angleterre. Imprimé dans la nouvelle Imprimerie de Celle-ci sous la Direction d'Abderrhamin Effendi, Professeur de Géométrie et d'Algèbre, à Constantinople, 1798.*"

These enlightened innovations were viewed by the bulk of the community with little satisfaction; and the discontented artfully availed themselves of the Sultan's predilection for the arts and sciences of the Franks, his employment of the infidels, and above all, the marked kindness and confidence with which General Sebastiani was at all times received, to represent the whole series of his measures as a systematic attack upon the religion and fundamental laws of the empire. In the formation of the new troops and all the regulations of the *Nizam Djedid*, the Janizaries foresaw the extinction of their influence; and having determined upon revolt, they waited only for an occasion and a leader. The latter they found in the person of Mousa Pasha, the Caimacam. This man, by habitual dissimulation, had hitherto concealed his turbulent and ferocious character. Retaining his outward obedience and devotion to the Sultan, he privately fomented the discontents of the Janizaries, employing the apprehensions of the one and the menaces of the other, to destroy such of his fellow-ministers as had long been the objects of his vindictive spleen and hate.

The first symptom of the general disaffection was displayed among the garrisons in the castles and forts of the Bosphorus, which had been strengthened by new defences on each side of the canal. These garrisons had always been composed of *Sarandjes*, who resented, as an intolerable slavery and violation of their ancient privileges, the trifling addition to their military duties required by the new discipline. It was at length found more feasible to form a new body of men altogether upon the new system, than to engraft a part of the recent regulations upon any corps belonging to the ancient establishment. A

suspicion prevailed, that these *bostandjis* were to be united to the new troops; and it was confirmed by the order for clothing them in the uniform of the fusileers. On the 25th of May, 1807, the garrisons burst into open mutiny, and the virtuous Raşid Effendi was the first victim of their fury. On the morning of that day, he repaired to the castles, bearing the commands of the Sultan. Finding the troops indisposed to obey, he retreated hastily towards Buyuk-dere, but was pursued, overtaken by a boat of armed men in the bay, and immediately massacred. Halil-Aga, nair of Hyssar castle, on the Asiatic shore, was murdered on the same day. On the next morning, the insurgents, to the number of three thousand, having assembled in the meadows of Buyuk-dere, chose for their general Kutchuya Oglou, and marched directly to the capital. A message from the Seraglio, proposing a negotiation, was treated with as little attention as had been the previous orders of the Sultan. On the 27th, the Janizaries rose, and, as the signal of revolt, carried their kettles to the *Etmeidan*, or Place of Feasting; an open square, near the aqueduct of Valens, which is allotted to the distribution of provisions to the soldiery, and which has been, from time immemorial, the camp of the insurgents. While the melancholy clanking of their kettles still sounded in the streets of Constantinople as they passed to the place of rendezvous, the Mufti, in seeming concert with the Janizaries, issued an edict, entreating the inhabitants to take no part in the disturbance, to furnish the daily supply of provisions for the markets, and to consider the contest as one in which they had no concern. The Franks of Pera were also exhorted to remain tranquil, and to feel assured that their lives and properties would be secure under any event.

"The Sultan," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "was now awakened to a sense of his danger: he assembled his ministers at the Seraglio, and the 28th of the month was passed in negotiation with the insurgents in the *Etmeidan*. During that day, the fate of Selim was on the balance: he transmitted to the *Etmeidan* an offer to abolish the new institutions; to which the Janissaries returned no other answer than a demand for the immediate execution of all the ministers who had advised and presided over the *Nizam-Djedid*. Then it was that the Caimacam insidiously assured him, that the sacrifice was necessary, and would appease the rebels. All was not yet lost. If, at that moment, the gates of the Seraglio had been shut, a cannon had been fired, and the head of Mousa Pasha himself had been struck off and thrown over the walls, Selim would have triumphed, and retained the throne of his ancestors. But the instant peril and the presence of his enemies bewildered the faculties, and so absorbed the resolution of the Sultan, that he seems to have despaired of resistance, and to have placed all hopes of safety in submission alone. It was not suggested to his mind, that, with the new troops of Seutari and Tchiftlik, and other soldiers in the vicinity of the capital, he might speedily assemble thirty thousand men, not less devoted to himself than inimical to the Janissaries, and that, until their arrival, he could maintain the Seraglio against the rebels, by arraying the forces of his numerous body-guard. Yet, the testimony of all the reports prevalent at this day in Constantinople, concurs in the persuasion that such an opposition, with the instant death of the Caimacam, would have dismayed the insurgents and crushed the rebellion. But the traitor prevailed, and with a cruel ingenuity contrived to include in the proscription the

names of two old and innocent men, the *Kehayah-Bey* and the *Reis-Effendi*, who were called to a conference with Mouna, and on leaving the room, unsuspicious of their danger, were carried away to the second gate, and strangled. The number of heads presented to the Janissaries early on the morning of the 29th, was seven; but the ruffians, rising in their insolence, were not satisfied with the bloody offering; and, on recognising the aged victims of the resentment of Mouna, declared that they had required another sacrifice. 'The heads were not those of the enemies whose punishment they had demanded.' The Sultan, hearing this last intelligence, sent for the Mufti; and on learning that he withheld his advice, found that he had ceased to reign.

"The Janissaries, headed by the traitor Mouna, had already found their way into the Seraglio, when the Sultan retired to the mosque of the palace, and wrapping himself in the robe of Mahomet, took his seat in the corner of the sanctuary. Here he was found by the Mufti, who intreated him to submit to the wishes of the people, and to resign his crown. Another report says, that, previously to this moment, he had told his attendants that he would reign no more, and ordered them to bring his successor before him. The circumstances of his actual deposition were not exactly known; but on the evening of the same day (the 29th), it was understood in all the quarters of the capital, that Selim, the most injured, if not the best of the Ottomans, had stepped from a throne to a prison, and that the reigning monarch was his cousin, Mustafa the Fourth, eldest son of Sultan Abdulhamid.

"This prince, when he was drawn from the hereditary obscurity of his harem to gird on the sword of Mahomet, was thirty years old; but, not being pos-

sessed of a capacity sufficient to supply the defects of his education, the maturity of his age did not qualify him for the throne which he had been compelled so unexpectedly to usurp. From his advancement to the empire, he appeared the servant, rather than the master of the armed multitude to whom he was indebted for his elevation; and the period of his short reign is not marked by any act of the sovereign, but only by the successes and defeats of the various individuals and parties of his subjects, in their continued struggle for predominance. The beginning and the close are the only transactions of his reign in which he himself may be said to have played any part. The Janissaries were in possession of the sceptre, and their enemies fell by the sword or the bow-string. The new institutions were abolished; and the new troops, after the execution of their principal officers, dispersed. Their triumph was but of short duration; and the lawless exercise of their usurped authority filled the capital with complaints, and spread from the centre to the furthest provinces of the empire. It was in vain to hope for a suppression of their insolence from the feeble and intimidated Sultan; but the ambition of a daring subject effected that which should have been accomplished by the virtue of the sovereign.

Mustafa, Pasha of Rudshuk, retained, in the surname of *Bairactar* (the ensign), a memorial of the humble rank which he had originally held in the Turkish armies, and carried about him, affixed, as it were, to his person, a visible instance of that exaltation of merit of which the Turkish history can furnish so many and such extraordinary examples. He was rude and illiterate, but of a vigorous genius, which supplied the expedients as well as the suggestions of ambition, and rising with every exigency, proved

equal to the accomplishment, not less than the creation of the most daring projects. His rise was as rapid as his endeavours were unremitting; and after repeatedly distinguishing himself in the armies of the empire, he attracted the notice of Selim, and was honoured with a pashalik. It was the boast of Bairactar, that he owed his advance to the personal regard of the Sultan, and his subsequent conduct evinced that he respected Selim as his patron and his friend; but he was averse to the innovations of his master, and, either from a suspected attachment to the Janissaries, or a confidence in his military prowess, was dismissed to the command of a body of forces on the frontier, and to the distant government of Rudshuk. From the moment he was informed of the deposition of Selim, it appears that he contemplated the bold design of seizing upon the government; and convinced of the pernicious measures of the Janissaries, or seeing no other way of raising himself than by depressing that lawless body, determined upon opposing the hardy troops of the provinces to the enervated militia of Constantinople *.

"So early as the October of the same year in which Selim had been dethroned, Bairactar despatched to the Sultan a formal notice, that he should advance to the capital to reform the abuses of the state, and to assist him in the administration of public affairs. Accordingly, he collected a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed chiefly of Albanians from the garrisons of

* This measure had frequently been attempted. Nassuf-Pasha, vizir to Ahmed I., employed the *spahis* and provincial troops for their subjection, but was finally sacrificed. Delavir-Pasha, vizir to Osman II., proposed, in 1620, to raise a new militia from among the Kourds. He was cut to pieces, and Osman himself lost his throne and his life.

Romelia; and marching to Constantinople about the end of the year, he encamped on the plains of *Daout-Pasha*, four miles from the walls of the city. His arrival was the signal of submission. He convoked the chief men of the empire, and depositing the banner of Mahomet, which he had unfurled to give a sanction and support to his enterprise, made them swear to the gradual abolition of the Janissaries, and a restoration of the good order and tranquillity of the state. The Sultan was an unnoticed spectator of the arrangement. Even the semblance of power was transferred from the Seraglio to the camp at Daout-Pasha; for the ministers of the Porte, and the missions of Pera, directed their visits of ceremony to the tent of the triumphant general, who, without any acknowledged title or specific office, was thus for several months in full possession of the Imperial power. But the Pasha, aware that the Mussulmans, accustomed to revere the representative of their prophet, might experience a renewal of favour for their degraded sovereign, resolved upon the elevation of a sultan who, in return for the crown, might render his authority legitimate, and give a sanction to his ambition.

"The 20th of July, of the year 1808, was fixed upon by Mustafa for a hunting expedition to the forests of Belgrade; and it was determined by Bairactar to enter the Seraglio on the same day, during the absence of the Grand Signior, and preventing his return to the palace, finally to exclude him from the throne. Selim was yet alive in those apartments of the Seraglio which the crimes and misfortunes of the Ottomans have set apart for the confinement of their dethroned princes; and it was the preservation of the Sultan whom he resolved to restore, that prompted

him to attempt by stratagem that which he might have accomplished by force. Unfortunately, the secret of his intention was not confined to his own breast, but was intrusted to several of the ministers of the divan; and the Grand Vizir, though a friend, was suspected to have betrayed him to the Sultan; for, on the appointed day, when Bairactar marched into the city, he found the gates of the Seraglio closed, the pages and body-guard under arms, and every preparation for a determined resistance.

"The victorious rebel, disappointed but not intimidated, gave orders for an immediate assault. The contest lasted only a short time, but the interval was fatal to Selim. On the sound of the first shot, the emissaries of the Sultan were despatched to his apartments, where they found, as is reported, the dethroned monarch at his devotions, and attempted to surprise him whilst in the attitude of prayer. He discerned their purpose, and before the bow-string could be fitted to his neck, wounded one of the mutes with his hangiar, but being thrown upon his back, was overpowered, and instantly strangled.

"From the murder of Selim, the executioners proceeded to the apartments of Mahmoud, the youngest son of Abdulhamid, and the only remaining prince of the blood royal. There was still some hope for the Sultan in the eventual death of his brother. Selim was no more; the rebels, the audacious Bairactar himself, would respect the last of the Ottoman race. The mutes rushed into the chamber of the confined prince; but Mahmoud was no where to be found: the fond fidelity of a slave had concealed him in the furnace of a bath. The feeble contest continued under the walls, and the assailants thundered at the gates, whilst the search for the prince was prosecuted with

redoubled eagerness and anxiety. The place of his concealment had alone escaped the scrutiny, and the fate of the monarchy depended upon whether or not the gates should be forced before the royal prisoner was discovered. What must have been the feelings of Mahmood, what the sensations of his faithful slave, when the shouts of the Albanians proclaimed that Bairactar had burst his way into the seraglio? The insurgents rushed to the interior of the palace, headed by their leader, and by the intrepid Seid Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. Advancing to the third gate, they called aloud for the instant appearance of Selim; and the eunuchs of Mustafa, casting the body of the murdered monarch before them, exclaimed, 'Behold the sultan whom ye seek!' Bairactar, overpowered at the sight, threw himself on the corpse of his murdered benefactor, and wept bitterly; but being roused by the exhortation of Seid Ali, who told him that this was not the time for grief, but for revenge, proceeded hastily to the presence-chamber. Mustafa never shewed himself worthy of his crown, until the moment when he was compelled to resign it. He did not despair of awing the rebels into submission by the Ottoman majesty; at least, he was determined to fall with dignity; and, on the entrance of Bairactar, was found seated upon his throne in his usual state, and surrounded by the officers of the imperial household. The indignant chief was not moved by the august spectacle, but, advancing towards the Sultan, drew him from his seat, saying to him in a bold and angry tone, 'What dost thou there? Yield that place to a worthier!'

"The account of the conduct of the Sultan is variously related in the different reports of this last transaction of his reign; but, whatever was the mea-

sure of his resistance, it proved ineffectual; for on the same night, the cannon of the Seraglio announced to the people the dethronement of Mustafa the Fourth, and the elevation of Mahmoud the Second.

"The first act of the new reign was the instalment of Baïractar in the post to which he had aspired, and which, at the hands of Mahmoud at least, he well deserved. No sooner was the seal of the empire committed to his charge, than the Vizier commenced his projected reform with the punishment of those who had been concerned in the first revolution and the deposition of Selim. The traitor Moussa Pasha lost his head. The officers of the castles on the Bosphorus, who had led the insurgents at Buyuk-dere, the most seditious of the Janissaries, and all those of the household who had opposed the deposition of Mustafa, were arrested and strangled. The last Vizier Azem was dismissed to the government of Ismael, to which place many others of the ministers, suspected rather than guilty of disinclination to the late transaction, were also banished. The savage order which destroyed the females of the harem near the shores of Prince's Islands, was then issued and executed; and other acts of a complexion less inhuman, but equally decisive, convinced the inhabitants of the capital, that the new minister was not to be deterred from the adoption of such measures as appeared to him calculated to restore the ancient vigour of the Turkish power.

"The Vizier openly avowed his resolution of abolishing the Janissaries, or at least of reforming their system, and retrenching upon their privileges. He refused the disbursement of pay to any of the corps, except such as were in service and performing either the duty of the internal police, or of an actual campaign against the enemy. The disorder and pro-

sumption which had so frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the capital were entirely suppressed. Constantinople and its suburbs were protected by the presence of the provincial troops; and the peace and good order preserved by the Albanians of Bairactar are still remembered with admiration and regret by the citizens of every denomination. Mahmoud was unable to oppose, and it may be thought that he approved the measures of his minister. It was natural that the Janissaries should be the objects of his terror and his hate, and that he should be no unwilling instrument in the hands of the Vizier, in promulgating the repeated acts by which their character was degraded and their influence undermined.

"To restore the new troops of Sultan Selim was thought too hardy and perilous an adventure; and by one of those errors which generally attend every temporising and middle system, it was judged more expedient to revive the military body of the Seimens, who might supply the place, and be regulated according to the discipline of the former fusileers. The name, however, of the re-established corps was more odious to the Janissaries, than even that of Selim's soldiery, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own; and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. Their actual subjection, and their fear of the provincial forces, not less than the complete dissimulation which it is a part of Turkish capacity at any time to command, contributed to favour their projects of revenge, and to deceive the confident Bairactar, who fell into the usual error of prosperity, and began to despise the enemy whom he had irreconcileably injured. He even seems to have felt some compunction for the depression and disgrace of the ancient soldiery

of the empire, to whom it owed all its former glory, and amongst whom he himself had commenced his military career.

"Being persuaded that they had submitted and were reconciled to his administration, he relaxed the severity of his proceedings against them; and between the hope of making use of them as friends, and the contempt of their resistance as enemies, came at last to the fatal resolution of breaking up the camp at Daout-Pasha, and dismissing the greater part of the provincial forces.

"The number of soldiers attached to the Vizier, who still remained in the capital, amounted only to 4000; but Cadi Pasha, the friend and associate of Bairactar, with 8000 Asiatics, was encamped on the heights and in the barracks of Scutari. On the 14th of November, after the *pasevend* had commenced their nightly rounds, a large body of the Janissaries issued from their quarters, and surrounding the palace of the Porte, at that time the habitation of the Vizier and the ministers, immediately set fire to the building. Bairactar and his friends, on the discovery of the assault, contrived to escape and shelter themselves in Barut-Hane, a small powder-magazine of stone; but those who were unable to flee, were either destroyed by the assailants, or consumed in the conflagration. The Janissaries rushed to the other dwellings in which their enemies were lodged, and laid the vicinity of the Porte in ashes. Barut-Hane they attacked in vain; but in the middle of the night, a tremendous explosion shook all the quarters of the capital, and it was found that the magazine, with the Grand Vizier and his companions, had been blown into the air. Whether this event occurred by accident or by design, is at this day unknown, but it decided the issue, although it

was far from proving the conclusion of the contest. The Selmens, the armed populace, and the Albanians, who would have rallied under Bairactar, and perhaps have overpowered their antagonists, were dispirited by the fatal event; but seeing that they were destined for slaughter, prepared for a determined resistance. The streets of the city during the whole of the 15th, were the scene of a continued action, in which the Janissaries were worsted; but the Selmens suffered severely in the loss of the nephew of their late master, a youth of distinguished bravery, whom they had placed at their head. The Janissar-Aga on the same day imprudently made his appearance in the *Etmeidan*, in the turban of the new regulation, and was massacred by his own soldiers, who chose for their general the next in command. The *Gefiendges* of the arsenal, although Seid Ali, the Capudan Pasha, had declared against the Janissaries, and the *Topges*, remained under arms, but took no part in the struggle.

"On the 16th, Cadi-Pasha passed over from Scutari at the head of his 8000 troops, and marching through the court of St. Sophia, proceeded to the barracks of the *Cefeges*, in the vicinity of the mosck, where 500 of the Janissaries had taken their stand. Cadi, surrounding the square, did not attempt to force an entrance, but setting fire to the building, retained his regiments at their stations until the quarters were consumed, and the whole of the 500 were burnt alive. The Asiatics, leaving the ruins in flames, made no efforts to extinguish the spreading conflagration, but departed in search of their enemies, and filled the streets with carnage. The town was in a blaze from the walls of the Seraglio to the aqueduct of Valens; and a man-of-war, by the order of Seid Ali, continued at the same time to play upon the

Janissaries' barracks. The event was doubtful on the night of the 16th, during which the shrieks of the women, the shouts of the soldiers, and the repeated discharges of fire-arms, declared to the terrified inhabitants of Pera that the sanguinary struggle had not ceased in any quarter of the city. The fire had raged for four-and-twenty hours, and the artillery of the ship was still beating upon the barracks of the *Etmeidan*, when, on the ensuing morning, the forces of the arsenal and of Tophana announced that they had united themselves to the Janissaries, and thus gave the victory to the least deserving of the antagonists.

"Until that moment, Sultan Mahmoud, having closed the palace gates, awaited within the walls of the Seraglio the event of the contest; but the decision of the seamen and the cannoniers rendered it necessary for him to consult his own safety by an exertion of the imperial authority in behalf of the triumphant party. His counsellors, for it is not known that Mahmoud gave the order, thought fit to secure him from the victors by the death of the imprisoned Mustafa, who was strangled, and that so secretly, that the circumstances of his execution have never transpired. Having therefore nothing to dread from the former partiality of the Janissaries for his immediate predecessor, and seeing that their cause had been espoused by the most powerful and entire of the remaining military bodies, he despatched his mandate to the ship to cease the cannonade, and transmitted at the same time to the Janissaries an assurance that the cause of their complaints did no longer exist—*the Seimens were abolished for ever.* No sooner was the resolve of the Sultan made known, than the firing ceased in every part of the city, except where the successful soldiery still vented their rage upon the unre-

sisting populace. Seid Ali and Cadi Pasha, on seeing their adherents disperse, left the Seraglio Point in two wherries, and rowing hastily up the Bosphorus, fled with such speed, that, although a corvette weighed anchor and proceeded in pursuit of them in less than three hours after their departure, they effected their escape. The head of Cadi was subsequently sent to the Seraglio.

"The Janissaries were not suddenly appeased by the conciliation of the Sultan, and the submission of their opponents: they employed the 18th of the month in destroying every vestige of the invidious institution. A large body passed over to Scutari, and burnt the magnificent barracks of Sultan Selim on the heights above that suburb; whilst another division marched to Levend Tchiftlik, and commenced an attack on 500 Seimens, who with equal valour and success maintained themselves against a multitude of assailants, until their quarters were fired, and they perished in the flames. This was their last great massacre, and from this period, although some individual victims were afterwards sacrificed to their resentment, their fury appears to have been gradually allayed.

"On the 19th, Mahmoud having issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to keep the Bairam, which commenced on that day, in peace, they attended tranquilly and in good order the funeral of Mustafa, who was conveyed with much pomp from the Seraglio to the tomb of the Sultan Abdulhamid, his father. The same day, the streets were cleansed and cleared of the dead, 3000 of whom were either buried or thrown into the sea. After a long search, the body of their great enemy, of the Vizier himself, was found under the ruins of Barut-Hane.

"In an open space near one end of the hippodrome,

there are two trees standing by themselves, and at a little distance apart. Between these, by the feet, and with the head downwards, they suspended the disfigured corpse of Baïractar.

"Such was the close of the most sanguinary of those revolutions which occurred within the short period of eighteen months, and which, after dethroning two monarchs, and spilling the best blood of the empire, terminated in so entire a re-establishment of every former prejudice, that, for the Turks, the last twenty years have passed in vain. Of the late military institutions, not a vestige remains; for, although the *topjees* retain a portion of that discipline which they learned from De Tott, they have dropped the new regulations; and their services in the last revolution having produced the union of the two corps, every jealousy has been mutually laid aside. The schools of the arsenal and the barracks of the bombardiers are not less deserted than the exercise-grounds of Scutari and Levend Tchiftlik; nor can the pious alarms of the *Ulema* be now raised by the unhallowed encouragement of Christian refinements. The presses of Ters-Hane are without employ; the French language has ceased to be taught in the Seraglio; and the palace of Beshik-Tash is no longer enlivened by the ballets and operas which amused the leisure of the unfortunate Selim."

The work from which we have drawn the above narrative, was published in 1813, since which period the Janizaries appear to have remained virtually the sovereigns of the capital. In 1822, however, the frequent murders and frightful disorders of which they were guilty, instigated by fanaticism and revenge, together with the discovery of a plot on the 11th of June, for a general massacre of the Christians, led to

the issuing of a *hatti-sherief* against the Janizaries, in which the Sultan threatened, unless an immediate stop was put to such atrocious proceedings, to abandon the capital, taking with him his two sons, and to leave Constantinople to be ruled by ruffians whose enormities made it a disgrace to continue on the throne. By this energetic proclamation, the city was restored from a state of anarchy to its usual lethargic repose, and Franks, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, as well as Moslems, resumed their occupations.*

The present year (1826) has witnessed the commencement of another conflict between the Sultan and this ungovernable class of his subjects, who have so long defied the efforts of successive monarchs to restrain their audacity, and to subordinate them to the throne. While the issue yet remains in uncertainty, it would be premature to give any account of the late transactions, by which the power of the Janizaries seems to be extinguished in the capital. The preceding sketch will sufficiently explain the origin and nature of the contest, and will shew that the extermination of the order afforded the only chance of preserving the shrunk and faded remains of the once powerful Ottoman monarchy.

As long ago as the reign of Soliman, it was predicted by Nicolas Dauphinois, who accompanied the French embassy, that the Janizaries would one day become formidable to their masters, and act the same part at Constantinople that the Prætorian bands did at Rome.† It is true, that the two military bodies were instituted for very different objects, and that they differed not less in the nature of their services. The

* Waddington's Greece, p. 21.

† Robertson's Charles V., note 43.

government of the Roman empire was constitutionally elective, and the power of the monarch was founded only on force. The Prætorian bands were permanently established for the purpose of protecting the person of the emperor, and of overawing the senate and the people. The prerogative of the Sultans is founded on the Mussulman religion; it is tied up to a legitimate succession; and it is interwoven with the very existence of the Ottoman community. The order of Janizaries was instituted, not for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the sovereign over his natural subjects, but of extending his dominion over foreign nations; and in point of fact, as Thornton remarks, whenever the authority of the Sultan has been in jeopardy, recourse has been had to a declaration of war against some foreign power, in order to have a pretence for removing the armed force from the seat of government, and for restoring the authority of the laws. The Janizaries have never been able, like the Prætorian guards, to trample with impunity upon the constitution, to usurp its sovereign prerogatives, and to put the empire up to sale. In the midst of their excesses, they have evinced a regard for the frame-work of the constitution, and an anxiety to preserve from extinction the sacred dynasty of Othman;* and their revolts have been in resistance to innovations and infringements upon their supposed rights, not for the purposes of revolutionary enterprise. Still, though

* "A weak or a vicious sultan may be deposed or strangled: but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty visir in the palace, or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation."—Gibbon.

their order cannot be regarded as a necessary part of the system of Ottoman despotism, but has rather been a check upon the imperial prerogative, it has frequently proved, in its consequences to the individual sovereign, not less fatal than that of the Prætorian guard.*

On a review of this brief sketch of the Ottoman history, it will be seen, that the Turkish monarchy was indebted for its rise and its greatness to three leading causes; the debased and fallen state of the Eastern empire, the mutual animosities of the Greeks and Latins, and the decided superiority of the conquerors over the degenerate nations of Christendom.† The chief engine of their success was their military system, which, in point both of discipline and skill, was decidedly in advance of the tactics of Christian

* Thornton remarks, that the Janissaries might be compared with greater propriety to the legions of Rome, except that the latter were encamped on the frontiers of the empire. The power and functions of the Prætorian prefect are very correctly compared by Montesquieu to those of the Grand Visir, not of the Janissaragas; and the governors of the Roman provinces were the pashas of the republic.

† The state of Christendom in the fifteenth century, is thus strikingly described by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. "It is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who could undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their strange and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Aragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion."—Gibbon, c. 65.

Europe. "At an earlier period," remarks Mr. Thornton, "the military science of the Greeks, and the numerous armies of Persia, had been forced to yield to the compact pressure of the Macedonian phalanx; and the phalanx, in its turn, was vanquished by the legion, the last and chief improvement of the ancient warfare." On the abolition of the legion, a barbarous system succeeded, of heroic but desultory warfare, to which the Turks opposed a standing force in regular pay and training, animated with a spirit of enthusiasm, wielded by the vigorous arm of a military despotism. To the close array of these hardy and well-disciplined bands, the Byzantine emperors opposed foreign mercenaries or disaffected subjects; "strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline."* The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms would have been, as Gibbon remarks, some powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should have given them a decided superiority over their Turkish foes. The invention of gunpowder would have presented such a weapon, had it been found possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; but "it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates, and the selfish policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands, that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople."†

The very extraordinary succession of able rulers

* Gibbon.

† Dr. C. G. The siege of Constantinople was distinguished by a union of the ancient and modern artillery. The historian states

must also be taken into account as a main cause of the establishment of the Ottoman empire. "Except in a single instance," remarks Gibbon, "a period of nine reigns and two hundred and sixty-five years is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror." Nor can we refuse to admit that, at that dark period, the Mohammedan sultans were not the least enlightened, the least accomplished, or the least tolerant of European sovereigns. Such was the disordered state of Europe, the oppression under which the people were held, and the calamities to which they were exposed from intestine wars and ecclesiastical tyranny, that the dominions of the Sultan formed, perhaps, at one period, those in which the greatest portion of civil liberty and personal security could be enjoyed, and through which social happiness was most widely diffused. The early sultans were distinguished by their erudition and their love of learning. A college and a library were considered as indispensable appendages to a mosque of the first order; and the philosophy of Aristotle and the works of Plato were translated into Turkish.* In comparison with the Goths, the Turks do not deserve to be called illiterate; nor were they in this respect inferior to the Crusaders. At the period of the conquest of Constantinople, elementary knowledge had not revived in Western Europe; and as to the Greeks of the lower

(c. 60), that "a founder of canons, a Turk or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was literally entertained by the Turkish sultan."

* It is a saying attributed to Mohammed, "that the ink of the learned and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in heaven." "Be the support of the faith and protector of the sciences," were among the last words of Osman to his son Orkhan.

empire, it may be questioned whether their conquerors did not adopt all that they were able to teach them. In navigation, agriculture, and the mechanical arts, the Ottomans became the ready pupils of the Christian nations, and their proficiency up to a certain point, was strikingly rapid. The maritime superiority which they so speedily attained, and which enabled them to threaten at one time the capital of Christendom, is a highly remarkable circumstance, not to be overlooked in the enumeration of the causes of the Ottoman greatness.

The decline of that greatness may be attributed, in a word, to the arrest laid upon the intellectual advancement of the Turkish nation, by its religion and institutions, while, in every other state of Europe, the march of knowledge has been more or less progressive. It is not in the nature of things, that either the mind of man or the state of a community should be stationary: when it ceases to advance, it must retrograde. But various circumstances have contributed to throw the Turks far behind the other nations of Europe, so that even the barbarous Muscovite has got the start of the polished Ottoman. The revival of letters, the invention of printing, the subversion of feudalism, the new direction and impulse given to commerce, the advancement of science and the arts, the improvements more especially in ship-building and nautical science, and above all, the extension of civil and religious liberty, have changed the whole face of Europe, leaving the Ottoman empire like a crumbling relic of barbarous architecture in the midst of the stately edifices of modern art.

Among the causes which have produced the decline of the Turkish monarchy, the discovery of the navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, has not been one of the least influential. Previously to that

discovery, the Venetians had formed establishments in the ports of Syria and Egypt, and had obtained the grant of various commercial privileges from the Mamlouks, which were confirmed by Selim I. To these ports the valuable commodities of China and India would have continued to be brought, or would have found their way overland to those of the Black Sea, and thence by a short navigation to Constantinople, had not a new channel been opened for that commerce which in every age has been the richest source of mercantile wealth and greatness. About the year 1620, the voyages to the East Indies by the new route, are stated to have lowered so considerably the prices of Indian merchandise, that, the trade between India and Turkey by the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea having much decayed, the Grand Signior's customs were greatly lessened.* On ceasing to be mistress of the commerce of that age, the national strength of Turkey began to be impaired, and her importance in the political system of Europe was greatly diminished.

The decrease of internal commerce, arising from the insecurity of the roads, the slow transportation of goods, and intestine commotions, must also be regarded as a main cause of the decline of the empire. Every article of export has fallen off, and agriculture, manufacturing industry, and population have undergone a frightful diminution. The extent to which the public revenue must have suffered in consequence, is incalculable; and the poverty of the Porte, which has crippled its military force, must assuredly be ranked among the causes of its declining power.

"Five hundred villages," Mr. Walpole says, "are not now found in the district of Mardin (in Mesopo-

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, xi. 2.

tamia), which once possessed sixteen hundred. Cyprus, before the Turkish conquest, contained 14,000 villages. In two insurrections, great numbers of the inhabitants were slain; a dreadful mortality was occasioned by the plague in 1624; and in less than fifty years from that time, seven hundred villages only could be found. Three hundred were once comprehended in a part of the pashalik of Aleppo, now containing less than one third of the number. Many towns are mentioned in the history of the khalifs, which no longer exist: the site of others may be traced on the route from Bagdad to Mosul..... The reservoirs and canals by which the fertility of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Babylonia, under the Saracens and Mamlouks, was augmented and improved, have been neglected..... A melancholy illustration of the depopulated state of large tracts of country, is afforded by the view of those extensive cemeteries so frequently passed by the traveller in his route. Scarcely any vestiges of the villages which once flourished near them are now seen. The incursions of robbers, the calamities of war and pestilence, have compelled the inhabitants to remove to other districts. The countries between the Tigris and the Euphrates, once distinguished for their populousness, are consigned to ruin and neglect; and the inhabitants retire to villages on the banks of rivers, where they are less harassed by the predatory attacks of the Arabs."* Between Angora and Constantinople, there is a constant communication by caravans; and Eton affirms, that there were old people living in his time, who could remember between forty and fifty villages in the road, of which no vestiges now remain. The whole coast of Syria, which, a few years before, was

* Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey, p. 5. See also Eton's Survey, p. 276.

tolerably populous, had been reduced to almost a desert. Aleppo, Tripoli, Latikia, Mosul, Diarbekir, Merdin, Bagdadt, and Bassora, have all fallen off, some of them to an incredible degree.* The Syrian coast has indeed been desolated chiefly by earthquakes. The inhabitants of Tripoli and Akka are subject to disorders arising from mephitic exhalations. In some parts of Greece, the rivers, obstructed in their channels, have spread into morasses. "In the memory of the inhabitants of the present day," we are told, "new marshes have been observed in the valleys of Arcadia."† Leprous affections are also becoming more frequent. "It is a consequence of the depopulated and neglected state of Greece, Asia, and Syria," remarks Mr. Hawkins, "that there is no considerable district which is not exposed in some degree to the effects of a corrupted atmosphere..... The spots in Greece where the malaria is most noxious, are salt-works and rice-grounds; and we meet with a striking example of the former at Milo, where, since the beginning of the last century, when the island was visited by Tournefort, four-fifths of the population have been lost in consequence of the establishment of a small salt-work. Patras, a place celebrated in the time of Cicero for the salubrity of the air, has become unhealthy, because the plain around it is subject to irrigation. In Attica, a country once distinguished

* Eton's statements are always suspicious, from his tendency to exaggerate, and his silence as to his authorities. He affirms, that the population of Aleppo had sunk, since 1770, from 250,000 to 40 or 50,000; but Seetzen estimated it at 150,000, which is still a great reduction. Diarbekir, Eton says, contained, in 1758, 40,000 inhabitants, of whom three-fourths were carried off by an epidemic in 1777. The plague of 1773 is said to have swept away two-thirds of the population of Bagdadt.

† Walpole, p. 13.

for the purity of its air and climate, the effects of the disorder are felt at Marathon; and the streams of the Cephissus, which are wholly consumed in irrigation, diffuse it through the plain of Athens."*

The general improvement of the empire has been unquestionably retarded by the barbarous policy of confining within the walls of the Seraglio the hereditary princes of the Ottoman blood, and thus depriving them of all means of acquiring that general and practical knowledge which should qualify them to fill the throne. The Grand Vizir Kioprili Mustafa Pasha is reported to have said, that all the sultans after Soliman had been either tyrants or fools. How should it have been otherwise, condemned as they are from their birth to a monastic seclusion, the bow-string continually suspended over their necks, eunuchs their tutors, and slaves their companions, without incentives to exertion, and excluded from every sphere of social virtue or honourable ambition? † A Turkish sultan

* Walpole, p. 13.

† "The presumptive heirs to the empire live in honourable confinement in the palace called *Eski Serai*, and are placed by the law under the more especial protection of the Jandar-oga, whose duty it is to guard them from the cruelty or jealousy of the Sultan: hence he is honoured by them with the name of *bein*, tutor or foster-father. The custom of imprisoning the minor princes, is repugnant to the spirit of Mussulman legislation, and is a law of the Seraglio, dictated by fear and cruelty, the ruling passions of an effeminate tyrant. These victims of corrupt political institution are sequestered from general society, except when they momentarily quit their prison during the festival of the *bairam* in order to present their homage to the Sultan. Sensual gratifications constitute their only enjoyments; and even these are embittered by the reflection, (if men so educated are capable of reflection,) that the offspring of their luxury is condemned to be torn from the first embraces of its parents by the hands of the assassin. '*La sage-femme qui le reçoit, est tenue, au risque de sa vie, de ne pas le laisser vivre.*'"—THORNTON, vol. i. p. 119.

at the head of his troops, was the object of a loyal enthusiasm, which rendered him absolute, not merely by the terror of his power, but by the force of opinion; and the most distant provinces were kept in awe by means of the promptness and decision which pervaded the whole administration, when the monarch was the centre and heart of the system. But the sultan in the seraglio, trembling at the power of his own Janizaries, unable to execute even the reforms he is anxious to introduce into any branch of administration, is not only himself reduced to a mere pageant, but, by his own weakness, paralyses every part of the political system.

The deterioration of discipline and order in the Janizaries themselves, which is said to have been connived at by Mahoumed IV., from a mistaken policy,* may be dated from the reign of Murad III., who permitted them to enrol their children in their order, and thus gave them an individual interest as citizens, as well as an independence of their sovereign, totally foreign to the nature and design of their original institution.† When, instead of being "*children of the tribute*" and of the sultan, they acknowledged another father than their emperor, they began to be equally dangerous to the government and to the enemies of the Porte. "Those of the present day," says Mr. Hobhouse, "are most of them artisans who have been enrolled either as children of these soldiers by their fathers, or have entered into the corps for protection and an increase of individual importance. The number of those who receive their pay (amounting to about 3*d.* daily for

* To this cause, and to their having quitted the laborious exercise of arms to follow mechanical or other lucrative occupations, Count Marsigli ascribes the discredit into which they had in his time already fallen. See Thornton, vol. i. p. 346.

† See an account of their original discipline and character in Gibbon, c. 65.

each man*) at the Seraglio, is, according to Thornton, 40,000; but in the year 1798, all the Janizaries enrolled in the capital and the provinces amounted to more than 400,000.† Their prowess in battle is now comparatively despised even by the Turks themselves, and has been proved by recent events to be inferior to that of the provincial soldiery. The vast dominion still possessed by the Ottoman sultans is upheld by neither the real nor the reputed vigour of the Janizaries, which is felt most, and may be almost said to be formidable only at Constantinople."

Finally, the constitution of the empire, which adapted it to become great by conquest, has been the true cause that, so soon as the impulse of military ardour ceased to operate, the whole fabric relapsed into feebleness and disorder. "One of the evils," remarks their Apologist, "and by no means the least of those necessarily accompanying despotism, is, that it represses the spring of improvement which there is in society. Whatever talents may have been called forth during the struggle which despotism was making to establish its dominion, become stationary at best, or more probably retrograde, when once it has perfected its plan, and stretched itself out to repose on the summit of its

* The allowance was equal, at the institution of the corps, to about a shilling sterling per day, but is now reduced, by the debasement of the coin, to about a fourth of its original value.—Thornton, vol. i. p. 232.

† These Janizaries who do not join their standard, are called *gemaks*, and receive no pay. "Though enrolled, they are not embodied into odas (companies), but are dispersed throughout the empire, living as burghers, mixed with the people, and following different trades and professions, or idle vagabonds, or at best but labouring peasants."—Thornton, i. 231. Baron De Toll estimates them at 400,000; Eton at 113,400; but the latter does not include the *gemaks*. Mr. Hobhouse's statement is taken from the work of Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi.

power. We behold with wonder, in the history of the world, the empire of China, which has been arrested many centuries ago in its career of improvement, still resting upon its plan of imagined perfection, occupied only in supporting the sameness of its existence, and surveying with indifference the superior elevation of foreign knowledge. In every country where despotism is established, every art and every useful institution date from a period antecedent to its introduction. To the inherent quality of despotism itself, and not to any natural incapacity, we are to attribute all that is incoherent and grotesque in Turkish knowledge. The Roman empire groaned under the same evils, and sank to the same debility. Enlightened and virtuous despotism may procure a transient felicity: but, at the same time that the Roman historians were celebrating the blessings of Trajan's government, 'the splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden,'—the latent cause of decay and corruption, the uniform government of the Romans, was gradually reducing the minds of men to the same level, extinguishing the fire of genius, and causing even the military spirit to evaporate. In Turkey, even the most worthy members of society perform their duty coldly and officially. All tremble at the public censure, and dare not aspire to innovation or reform, lest they should expose themselves to the shafts of envy and calumny. Under despotism, talents must remain insulated: the very nature of the government militates against the idea of an aggregation of knowledge, or a national fund of acquirements." *

This is not all. A despotism is more noxious in

* Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. pp. 19—21.

its decrepitude, than when invested with the vigour and terrors of youth; for the vice of avarice then takes the place of the lust of power, and a system of venality and corruption, more debasing to the morals, and ultimately more ruinous to the community, than the most absolute favouritism and arbitrary power, is substituted for the simplicity of despotism. The Turkish pasha, like the Roman proconsul, is obliged to satisfy the rapacity of the officers in the capital; and he can maintain his station, and provide against the contingencies of removal and disgrace, only by plundering his district. In Turkey, the greatest of crimes in a subject is wealth: in a pasha or governor, the only inexpiable offence is that of not testifying his loyalty to his sovereign, and his devotion to the divan, by payments sufficiently large and *douceurs* equally liberal. Thus, to rob those below him, that he may bribe those above him, is the constant aim and sole object of each petty tyrant through all the gradations of this baleful despotism."

Such is the history of the power, and such the

* The causes to which the feebleness and decline of this once mighty empire are attributable, are thus correctly summed up by Mr. Walpole, in a preliminary discourse prefixed to his "Memoirs relating to Turkey":—"The existence of a military government in the capital; the want of salutary regulations in the administration of its revenues; the interruption of the peaceful habits of industry by the numerous tribes and hordes of robbers; the difficulty of attending to all parts of this overgrown monarchy; the national and religious prejudices which continue to operate on the great body of the people; the weakness displayed by the Porte towards the different pashas who defy its power; the indolence, ease, and effeminacy which, according to the Turks themselves, have been exchanged by their countrymen for the hardier and more manly qualities of their ancestors; and lastly, the indifference to science and art, and the little intercourse maintained by them with the civilised states of Europe."

nature of the political system, founded on the ruins of the Roman empire, which have converted the finest and most favoured countries in the world into savage wastes and uninhabitable deserts,—which have inflicted depopulation and sterility on lands once smiling with plenty and industry, and beneath which the last remains of the Greek people are struggling for existence in the sight of Christian Europe. But the crisis of its own fate cannot be much longer delayed; and Constantinople is probably destined, at no very distant period, to be the grave of a second empire, in which the ashes of the last Othman shall mingle with those of the last Constantine.

Without further introduction, we shall commence our topographical account of the country, by a description of its picturesque and singularly situated metropolis.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Almost every modern traveller who has visited Constantinople begins by referring to the more copious descriptions given of the city by his predecessors.*

* "Without speaking of Bellonius, Gyllius, Petro Della-valle, Mons. Tavernier," says Wheler, "we have enough of our own countrymen, whose pains to this place and the whole Turkish empire, merit thanks of all impartial and ingenious men; as Mr. Sandys, many years since, Mr. Rycaut, and lately, Mr. Smith, B.D. and Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, whom, especially as to the topographical account of this city, I look upon to be the most exact of any." "A comparison of Kauffer's map with Bandiri's chart of Constantinople divided into regions, as it existed at the time of the Greek emperors, with every remarkable object distinctly noticed, renders it," says Mr. Hobhouse, "superfluous for any traveller at this day to dwell upon the comparative topography of the ancient and modern city. By far the greater part of the antiquities which were seen by Gyllius, have disappeared; but the

No foreigner is now allowed to reside in the city itself, not even the minister of a friendly nation; and the "water of the Golden Horn," which flows between the city and the suburbs, is a line of separation seldom transgressed by the Frank residents. The following is Sir George Wheler's description of its situation and appearance, who visited Turkey in 1675:

"Constantinople (now vulgarly called Stamboul by the Turks, but by the Greeks more often Istampoli *) is situate on a Chersonesus which hath the Propontis south, the Bosphorus east, the harbour called by Strabo Κέρας Βοσπορικὸν (now Perami) north, and is joined to the continent of Thrace westwards. It is distant from the Asian shore about a league over the Bosphorus, and from Galata on the northern side of the harbour, about a mile. It is of a triangular figure, two of whose sides (to wit, towards the Bosphorus and the harbour) are as two segments of a circle, bending much inwards to each other. The first, beginning from the promontory now called San

regular division of the ground-plan of the city enables us to discover their respective sites;-and it is most probable that an attentive scrutiny would discover many ancient monuments enclosed within the palaces and gardens of the incurious Turks. The mechanical labours of the engineer above-mentioned deserve a better and more copious illustration than the work of M. Le Chevalier, which, though incomparably the best on the subject, might easily be surpassed by any person able to consult the requisite authorities on the spot; an advantage possessed by no passing traveller."—*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 94.

* Stamboul is supposed to be corrupted, either from the proper name of the city, shortened into Stampoli, or from the words εἰς τὴν πόλιν (to the city), pronounced Stinpoli. "I think theirs a groundless fancy," says Wheler, "who fetch it from the Turkish word *Istamboul*, which signifies a city full of, or abounding in the true faith."

PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Demetrio, wherein Byzantium was anciently built, but now the Grand Signior's seraglio, and running thence south-eastwards to the Seven Towers, is counted about five or six miles. That towards the harbour is about three miles, and the other, joining to the continent, about four miles. So that it is about thirteen miles in circumference, although they commonly count it fifteen.* The walls on the two sides towards the Bosphorus and the harbour, are built so small a distance from the water that, in many places, there is not room to pass between the square towers that jet out of it at equal distances and the sea. They are high, but look very ruinous, and in all likelihood have been very little if at all repaired since the time of the Greek emperors; of whom we found several inscriptions set on high on the towers and many places in the walls. They are built of rough stone, and here and there patched up with brick, being single towards the sea, but some part towards the land, double. There are about five-and-twenty gates; seven

* "M. Thevenot," says Tournefort, "will have Constantinople to be not so big as Paris, and but ten or twelve miles about; M. Spon allows it fifteen. For my part, I believe its compass to be twenty-three miles: to which if you add twelve for the suburbs of Galata, Cassim pasha, Pera, Tophana, Fondukli, the circumference of this vast city will be thirty-four or thirty-five miles. I cannot hold with them who reckon Scutari among the suburbs of Constantinople, because it is parted only by the breadth of the canal; neither, on the other hand, can I come into their sentiment who cut off from Constantinople all the suburbs beyond the port, since even under the first Christian emperors, Galata was the thirteenth region of the city. The fig-tree quarter, which is the same as Galata, makes part of the city according to the Emperor Anastasius; and Justinian placed it in the new circumference. By little and little, they have joined to Galata the neighbouring towns, as, at Paris, the Fauxbourg St. Germain, the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and others."

towards the Propontis, seven towards the land, and eleven towards the haven.

"Every way towards the sea side, the land riseth higher, until it is swelled into an indifferent high hill, which runneth in a ridge westwards, and hath seven points higher and more perspicuous than the rest crowned with very high and beautiful mosques, which give a most delightful prospect to the beholders at a distance; so that strangers are commonly swelled with extraordinary high conceits of it. But, perhaps, no place in the world deceives their expectation more than this; for the streets are narrow, dark, and steep, composed of small, low, and ill-built houses, consisting of wood, earth, or, at the best, but rough or unhewn stone. The private houses are but mean and beggarly; it is only the Grand Signior's palace, the mosques, bagnios, bazars, and khans, that make so splendid a show at a distance."

It is not difficult, Pococke says, to discern the seven hills on which the city is built. "The first takes up the whole breadth of the promontory on which the Grand Signior's seraglio is built. Five more are over the port, divided by valleys that descend from the height, which joins some of the hills, and goes nearly the whole length of the city, the Adrianople street running all along on the top of it. On the second hill is the Burnt Pillar; on the third hill is the magnificent mosque Sélimanee. The valley between this and the fourth hill is broad: the aqueduct of Valentinian crowned it, of which there remain about forty arches. The east end of it is destroyed, and the water is now conveyed by channels on the ground. The mosque of Sultan Mahomet is on the fourth hill, and that of Sultan Selim on the fifth, the western walls of the

city running along the top of the sixth hill. These hills rise so one above another from the port, that they all appear from the mouth of the harbour; and most of the houses having a court or garden, in which they plant trees for the shade and the refreshing verdure, great beauty is added to the prospect. The seventh hill is divided by a vale from the height that joins the last three hills, which are to the north of it. This hill alone is computed to be a third part of the city, and is to the south of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hills; the others having the bay to the south of them; and this bay has to the south of it, the north-east point of the seventh hill, and the other three hills to the north. The pillar of Arcadius was on the seventh hill."*

A very full and lively description of the city is furnished by M. Tournefort, who travelled in the years 1700-2, by order of the King of France, and who has been pronounced by a competent critic† to be "the most useful, the most amusing, and the most accurate traveller" that ever visited the Levant.

"Constantinople, with its suburbs, is, beyond dispute, the largest city of Europe. Its situation, by

* "For my own part," says Mr. Hobhouse, "I could not, upon repeated trials, distinguish the seven eminences, although assisted by a plan which divided the town into seven quarters, with a reference to the same number of hills. Gyllius, however, in his topographical description, not only distinguished the seven hills, but averred that six of them were discernible to those sailing through the port, rising, like brothers and in regular succession, from the back of the same promontory." Yet, Gillon pronounces Pococke's plan of the seven hills clear and accurate, and unusually satisfactory. Mr. Hobhouse took his survey of the city from the summit of the tower of Galata; but he ought at least to have discerned the hills from the harbour.

† The Hon. F. S. N. Douglas.

consent of all travellers, and even the ancient historians, is the most agreeable and the most advantageous of the whole universe. It seems as if the Canal of the Dardanelles, and that of the Black Sea, were made on purpose to bring it the riches of the four quarters of the world: those of the Mogul, the Indies, the remotest North, China, and Japan, come by the way of the Black Sea; and by the Canal of the White Sea come the merchandises of Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, the coast of Africa, the West Indies, and whatever Europe produces. These two canals are as the doors of Constantinople; the North and South, which are the ordinary winds there, are, as it were, the two leaves of the door: when the north wind blows, the south door is shut, that is, nothing can come in from the southern coast; this door opens when the south wind reigns. If you will not allow these winds to be called the doors of Constantinople, you must agree them to be its keys at least.

"The walls of Constantinople are very good: those of the land side have a double range twenty feet from each other, and defended by a flat-bottomed ditch some twenty-five feet broad. The outer wall, which is about two toises high, is defended by 250 low towers: the inner wall is above twenty feet high, and its towers, which answer to those of the outer, are well-proportioned. The battlements, the courtines, the port-holes are well contrived, but we saw no artillery: freestone is what it mostly consists of. I think we counted five gates on this side. It might be easily fortified, for the situation is naturally sloping, very far from commanding the city."

"There are seven gates from the Point of the Seraglio to the seven towers; five land-ward, and eleven on the port: but whichever gate you go in at,

you mount an ascent. Constantine, who designed to make Constantinople like Rome, could not have found a better spot for eminences. It is a very tiresome city for foot-travellers: persons of note go on horseback. Before we enter the town, we must once more admire the outside. Nothing upon earth can be more delightful, than with one glance of the eye to discover all the houses of the biggest city in Europe, whose roofings, terraces, balconies, and gardens form a variety of amphitheatres, set off with *bezestins* (places like our changes, for selling wares), *caravanserais* (house of hospitality), seraglios, and especially mosques or churches, which far outshow ours in France. These mosques, though hideous for their bulk, yet in appearance have nothing about them but what is beautiful, the defects and oddness of the Turkish architecture not being discernible so far off. On the contrary, their principal domes, accompanied with other little domes, both covered with lead or gilding; their steeples, if I may use that word for towers very slender and extremely high, with the crescent at top; altogether yield a charming spectacle to one that stands at the entrance of the canal of the Black Sea. Nay, this canal itself strikes you with admiration; for Fanari-kiosk, Chalcedon, Scutari, and the adjoining country, have an agreeable effect upon the eye, when, no longer able to bear the lustre of Constantinople, you turn your face to the right.

"I must however confess, that the objects we had seen from our ship, appeared quite different, on comparing them with those which presented themselves to us when we went ashore. I know not whether it was the onions they sell at the corner of every street, that awakened in us the idea of those famous temples in Egypt, whose outside dazzled the beholder's eye; but

I could not help comparing Constantinople with those stately edifices, wherein were nothing but crocodiles, rats, leeks, onions, which those idolaters regarded as so many deities. The houses of Galata, where we landed, are low, built mostly of wood and mud, so that a fire consumes thousands of them in a day; a disaster which frequently befals them, either from the Turks smoking in bed, or else done on purpose by the soldiers for the sake of pilfering. It would be no great damage if nothing but the house was destroyed, for they cost but a trifle to build again, and there is wood enough on the coasts of the Black Sea, to rebuild Constantinople once a year, if occasion were; but a world of families are utterly undone by the burning of their merchandises. It is a small matter when they speak but of 2000 or 3000 houses burnt. A man has often the mortification to see his house pulled down and pillaged, though the fire be 200 paces off. Especially when the north-east, which the Turks call the black wind, is in its fury, they have found no other remedy to prevent the whole town from being devoured, but only to blow up a great many houses, otherwise the conflagration would become general. The foreign merchants have of late years wisely bethought themselves to build at Galata very substantial warehouses of freestone, standing single, and having no more windows than are barely necessary; the shutters whereof, as well as the doors, are covered with iron plates.

"The streets of Constantinople are very ill paved, some not at all: the only street that is practicable, is that which goes from the Seraglio to the gate of Adrianople; the rest are close, dark, deep, and look like so many cut-throat lanes. And yet, you frequently meet with good buildings, bagnios, bazars, and some houses of great men, built with lime and sand, and angled

with freestone, the apartments running very cleverly into one another.

"The first walk a stranger usually takes in Constantinople is to the royal mosques, of which there are seven so called. These edifices, which are very handsome in their kind, are completely finished, and kept in perfect good condition; whereas in France, we have scarcely such a thing as a finished church: if the nave is admired for its largeness and the beauty of its arch-work, the choir is imperfect; if these two parts are complete, the frontispiece is not begun. Most of our churches, especially in Paris, are hedged in with profane buildings and tradesmen's shops; to make advantage of every the least spot of ground, the church is often so choked up with houses, there is no avenue, no vacancy left; whereas the mosques of Constantinople stand single, within a spacious inclosure, planted with fine trees, adorned with delicate fountains. They suffer not a dog to enter; no one presumes to hold discourse there, or do the least irreverent action: they are well endowed, and far exceed ours in riches. Though their architecture is inferior to ours, yet they fail not to make an impression on the beholder by their largeness and solidity. In all parts of the Levant, the domes are well executed: those of the mosques are of an exact proportion, and accompanied with other smaller domes, which make them appear full and comely to the eye. It is not so with their minarets, which are spires as high as any of our belfries, and as small about as a nine-pin, in a manner. These minarets are a great ornament to the mosques, and to the whole town: however, though we have no work of that boldness among us, our eyes are formed to our belfries, and our ears to the sound of our bells, which are more harmonious than the singings of the Muezins;

so they term those who call the people to prayers, in a singing tone, from the top of the minarets.

"St. Sophia is the most perfect of all these mosques. Its situation is advantageous, for it stands in one of the best and finest parts of Constantinople, at the top of the ancient Byzantium, and of an eminence that descends gradually down to the sea by the Point of the Seraglio. This church, which is certainly the finest structure in the world next to St. Peter's at Rome, looks to be very unwieldy without. The plan is almost square, and the dome, which is the only thing worth remarking, rests outwardly on four prodigious large towers, which have been added of late years to support this vast building, and make it immoveable, in a country where whole cities are often overthrown by earthquakes.

"The frontispiece has nothing grand, nor answerable to the idea men have of St. Sophia. You first enter in at a portico about six toises (fathom) broad, which in the time of the Greek emperors served for a vestibulum. This portico communicates with the church by nine marble folding-doors, the leaves whereof, which are brass adorned with basso-relievos, are extremely magnificent: on the middlemost of them you see some figures of mosaic work, nay, some paintings too. The vestibulum is joined to another, which is parallel to it, but has no more than five brazen doors without bas-reliefs; the leaves were charged with crosses, but the Turks have only left the upright post of these crosses, and have taken away the cross-beam of them. You do not enter front-wise into these two vestibulums, but only at doors opened on the sides; and according to the rules of the Greek church, these vestibulums were necessary for the placing of those that were distinguished either for

being about to receive the sacraments, or undergo public penance. Parallel to these vestibulums, the Turks have built a great cloister, for lodging the officers of the mosque.

"A dome of an admirable structure holds the place of a nave: at the foot of this dome runs a colonnade, which bears a gallery five toises broad, the arch-work whereof is exquisite. In the interspaces of the columns, the parapet is adorned with crosses in bas-relief: these the Turks have used very ill. By some it is called Constantine's gallery; it was formerly set apart for the women. At the roof, and on the cornice of the dome, runs a small gallery, or rather a balustrade, no broader than just for one person to pass at a time; and above this there is also another. These balustrades make a marvellous figure in time of their ramezan, when they are all adorned with lamps. The columns of this dome have scarcely any swelling, and their chapiters looked to be of a singular order. The dome is eighteen toises from wall to wall, and rests upon four huge pillars, about eight toises thick: the arch seems a perfect demi-sphere, illuminated with twenty-four windows, disposed in a circumference.

"From the east part of this dome, you pass straight on to the demi-dome, which terminates the edifice. This dome, or shell, was the sanctuary of the Christians, and the great altar was placed there. Mahomet II., having conquered this city, went and sat here with his legs crossed under him after the manner of the Turks: after saying his prayers, he caused himself to be shaved, and then fastened to one of the pillars, where was the patriarch's throne, a fine piece of embroidered stuff, with Arabic characters on it, which had served as a screen in the mosque of Mecca. Such

was the consecration of St. Sophia! There is at present in this sanctuary, nothing but the niche where they keep the Alcoran: it looks towards Mecca, and the mussulmans always turn that way when they say their prayers. The mufti's chair is hard by: it is raised on several steps, and on the side of it is a kind of pulpit, for the officers to repeat certain prayers.

"This mosque, built like a Greek cross, is in the clear 42 toises long, 38 broad; the dome takes up almost all this square. They assured me, there were no fewer than 107 columns of different marble, of porphyry, or Egyptian granite; we had not time to count them ourselves. The whole dome is lined or paved with varieties of marble: the incrustations of the gallery are mosaic, mostly done with cubes or dice of glass, which are loosened every day from their cement, but their colour is unalterable. These glass dice are real doublets, for the variegated leaf is covered with a piece of glass very thin, and glued on, so that nothing but hot boiling water can make it scale off. If ever mosaics should come again in fashion among us, we could easily do the like. Though the application of these two pieces of glass, containing the coloured plate, be trifling, yet it proves the invention of doublets not to be new. The Turks have destroyed the nose and eyes of some figures, as well as the faces of four cherubims placed in the angles of the dome."*

* "There are in it," says Pococke, in his clumsy style, "eight porphyry pillars, and as many of red-antique, which, I believe, for their size, are not to be exceeded in the world. The dome being supported by four large piers, between them are four red-antique pillars on each side; and a semidircle being formed as at each corner by these and four more piers, there are two porphyry pillars in each of them; and it appears plainly that there was a third; for there is an arch standing next to each pier, which was doubtless done in order to strengthen those piers, the building having visibly

"This church is not the first that in Constantinople bore the name of St. Sophia. Constantine the Great was the first that consecrated a chapel there to the Wisdom of the Uncreated Word; but whether that

given way at the south-west corner, where the pillars of the gallery hang over very much. Two of the porphyry pillars in the portico of Solimanes might be taken from this mosque: and probably the other two might be found, if all the mosques and the seraglio were examined. These pillars are about two feet and a half in diameter, and of a proportionable height: there are pillars of verd-antique in the galleries over these. Eight large porphyry pillars in St. Sophia are mentioned as taken out of a temple of the Sun built by Valerian, and sent by Marcia, a Roman widow, to the Emperor Justinian; so that if the others were of porphyry, they must have been taken from some other place. There are two portieos to the church: the inner one is lined with fine marbles. The mosque strikes the eye at the first entrance, the dome being very large; but a great beauty is lost, as the mosaic is all destroyed, excepting a very little at the east end; so that all the top is whited over: but the sides are wainscoted with porphyry, verd-antique, and other rare oriental marbles. It is hung with a great number of glass lamps, and the pavement is spread with the richest carpets, where the sophis are always studying and repeating the Koran: and the doctors are preaching and explaining it, in particular parts of the mosque, to their separate auditories. The top is covered with lead, and there is a gallery round on the outside of the cupola. This mosque makes a much meaner and heavier appearance on the outside, than the mosques that are built in imitation of it. On the south side of it, the Grand Signior has erected a very small but neat library, which seemed to be about twenty feet wide and thirty long; there are presses round it, and two in the middle for the manuscripts. The windows open to a court, round which the mausoleums of three sultans are finely built of marble; and in one of the windows of the library, there is a sofa for the Grand Signior, when he is pleased to come and hear the law read in this place."

Mr. Hobhouse thus speaks of this far-famed edifice:—"I know of no monument of antiquity which has excited so much curiosity, both amongst the learned and the unlearned, as St. Sophia. For its dimensions and integrity, it may be thought incomparably more curious than any other relic of former ages: but, in every other respect, it must disappoint any sanguine expectation. Its external appearance is that of a vast building, whose ill-assorted dimensions impress a

building was too small, or whether it was some time after destroyed by an earthquake, Constantius his son caused a larger church to be built instead of the former. The sanctuary and the greatest part of this

proportionate heaviness of mass to preserve it standing and entire. The weighty buttresses, and the attached compartments of the temple, falling in a succession of post-houses, from the spring of the arch to within a few feet of the ground, nearly round, and totally ruin any effect which might otherwise be produced by the height and expanse of its far-famed dome. The interior, to which you descend by five steps, seems at first sight magnificently spacious, and not broken with the aisles and choirs, nor darkened by the railings and tombs of modern churches; but your admiration diminishes as you proceed with your inspection. The beauty of the variegated marble floor is concealed by a covering of mats; and the dome, as well as the body of the building, is spotted by a thousand little cords depending from the summit within four feet of the pavement, and having at the end of them lamps of coloured glass, large ostrich-eggs, artificial horse-tails, vases and globes of crystal, and other mean ornaments. The columns appear too large for the arches which they support, and the carving of their capitals can scarcely be more painful to the eyes of an architect, than to those of a common observer. Greeks know not to what order they belonged, or by what name to describe their style, unless he called it a sort of Gothicized Greek. From a change in the arrangement of the sanctuary, the line of the nave does not seem at right angles with the large circular rooms, called in former times Cellæ, in which the Christian altar was placed; for the marble pulpit of the Imaum, with its attached flight of steps, projects from the left side of it, and the mats, together with a descent of two steps, being so arranged as to give another direction to the east of the nave, the whole of one wing, and the grand diameter of the base, have an appearance of distortion. The alteration has been caused by the desire of the Mahometans to point the centre of the sanctuary directly towards Mecca, which being formerly due east, is, by the above contrivance, drawn a little to the southward of that quarter. At this new centre is a niche, with a large chandelier on each side, called the Mirale or Maharabe, which is the repository of the Koran. The upper part of the walls is defaced by miserable little squares of red, white, and blue paint. The great eight-winged seraphims are facing fast away. The translated mosaic with which the concave above the windows and the dome are encrusted, and specimens of which hang from the ceiling of an adjoining gallery

church were ruined in the reign of Arcadius, when a tumult was stirred up against St. John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople; nay, his party is said to have set it on fire. It was again burnt under Honorius, and re-established by young Theodosius; but in the fifth year of Justinian, St. Sophia escaped not the general burning, in that insurrection wherein Hypatius was made emperor in his own despite. Justinian, having quelled the sedition, and punished those that raised it, caused the same year to be built the stately edifice still existing. M. du Cange proves, that it was finished in five years, and not in seventeen, as some

are sold to strangers, is not visible to those standing in the body of the mosck. It is composed of very minute squares, formed of some vitreous substance gilded and tinged with paint. The upper part of the walls is heavy and dark, and the *heaven-suspended* vault scarcely rises into an arch, but shews, indeed, an inward depression from the summit towards the centre of the cupola. With a diameter of one hundred and fifteen feet, (fifteen feet more than that of St. Paul's church,) it is only eighteen in depth, and not more than one hundred and eighty from the pavement. The closing of the arcades of the upper Gynaikonition, or female gallery, where there is now only a railed lodge large enough to enable the servants of the mosck to walk round and light the lamps, has contributed to the heavy darkness of the dome. My general impression was, that the skill of the one hundred architects, and the labour of the ten thousand workmen, the wealth of an empire, and the ingenuity of presiding angels, had raised a stupendous monument of the heavy mediocrity which distinguished the productions of the sixth century from the perfect specimens of a happier age. The general style of its ornaments shewed that it was calculated for nocturnal illuminations. All was gilt and gaudy colouring; and the Emperor would have inlaid the pavement with solid gold, if his astrologers had not warned him that the building would be dilapidated by his needy successors. It must indeed have a brilliant appearance, when lighted by its myriads of lamps, and its vaults may *glitter like the firmament*; but this is the excellence of a theatre, rather than of a temple, and may be found where the skill of the architect and sculptor is required in vain."

Greek authors have written. The Emperor was so highly pleased, he burst into an exclamation, 'I have outdone thee, O Solomon!' But in the 32nd year of Justinian, an earthquake threw down the demi-dome, and the altar was crushed in its fall: it was re-edified, and the church consecrated a-new. Zonaras observes, that Justinian did great injury to polite literature, in applying to this building the stipends that were usually given the professors in every town all over the empire. Rather than not gratify his itch for building, he melted down the silver statue of Theodosius, which Arcadius had erected, and which weighed 7400 pounds. To cover the dome of St. Sophia, Justinian employed the leaden pipes, which served to carry most of the water for the use of the city. The chief architects that were concerned in this famous church, were Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidorus of Miletus. The first was esteemed the greatest mechanist of his time: he was, some think, no stranger to the art of making gunpowder; for Agathias avers, that he would exactly mimic thunder, lightning, and earthquakes. The Emperor Basil the Macedonian caused the western demi-dome to be strengthened. Lastly, this church was so damaged by another earthquake under the empress Anne and John Paleologus her son, that it required much expense of time and true taste to repair; for which reason, the marriage of the Emperor with Helen, daughter of Cantacuzenus, was solemnized in the church of Blaquernes, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Mahomet II. was so pleased with St. Sophia, that he caused it to be repaired, and the Turks have ever since kept it with the utmost care.

"After visiting St. Sophia, we were carried thirty or forty paces off, to be shewn the mausoleums of

certain Ottoman princes: they are four small low buildings, with domes covered over with lead, supported by columns hexagonally placed. The balustrades are of wood, and the coffins are covered with plain cloth. The emperors are distinguished from their wives only by their turbant, which is on a pillar at the head of the coffin, and this coffin is somewhat bigger, as well as the torches that burn at each end. There is no torch to that of Sultan Mourat's brother, though there are to every one of the Grand Signior's wives. They pointed us to some handkerchiefs like cravats round the necks of certain figures," in number 120, being representations of that Emperor's children, which were all strangled in a day by his successor's order. They have not been sparing of marble in these mausoleums, which are constantly illuminated night and day, not only with the torches about the coffins, but many others: they have also chained thereto several copies of the alcoran, to be perused by such as resort thither to pray. Besides those who come out of devotion, there are here, as also in the other mausoleums, a company of poor alms-people, who have a foundation hard by: these wear woolen chaplets, the beads whereof are about the size of a musket-ball. I have forgotten the names of the other Sultans who are in these mausoleums: I think they mentioned to us Sultan Selim and Sultan Mustafa.

"Hard by is seen an old tower, said to have served as a church to the Christians; they keep in it several wild beasts; such as lions, leopards, tigers, lynxes, jackals: these last are between a fox and a wolf, and in the night make a crying like children.

"The other Royal Mosques of Constantinople may be reckoned so many copies of St. Sophia, more or less

resembling this original. They are domes of a goodly appearance, accompanied with many other smaller domes. The building always stands by itself in an inclosure planted with trees, adorned with fountains, oratories to pray in, and all other conveniences necessary to the exercise of the Mahometan religion. As for the minarets, that is, those slender spires before-mentioned, there is no royal mosque without two at least some have four, nay, six of them.

"At the ancient Hippodrome, (or running-place for horses,) now called Atmeidan, is a mosque, each minaret of which has three stone galleries. Before you enter this mosque, you go through a peristyle, which is a sort of cloister arched over, and covered with little domes, and supported by columns. The pavement is of a very beautiful marble, as also an hexagonal fountain which is in the middle, covered likewise with a dome formed by grates of gilded iron. This mosque, and the other royal mausoleums which the Musselmen have built, are lighted with a great many more lamps than St. Sophia; and among the lamps of the new mosque are placed crystal balls, feathered candlesticks, ostrich eggs, and such like pieces, to please the eye. They shewed us a globe of glass, wherein was represented in bas-relief, with wonderful patience, the plan of the mosque. The turbè, or mausoleum of Sultan Achmet, is behind this mosque, northward.

"Of all the mosques in Constantinople, there is none comes near to St. Sophia in the beauty of its dome, but the Solymania, founded by Solyman II. the most magnificent of all the Sultans. Nay, its outside outdoes St. Sophia: its windows are larger and better disposed, its galleries more regular and stately. The whole is built of the finest stones that could be

found among the ruins of Chalcedon.* The indispensable necessity the Muslimes are under of making their ablutions, obliges them to build large cloisters near the royal mosques; the fountain is always placed in the middle, and the washing-places round about.

"The mausoleum of its founder, and that of the Sultana his wife, are behind the mosque under very rich domes. Solyman's coffin is covered with a fine piece of embroidery, representing the town of Mecca, from whence it was brought. At the head of that Prince's coffin are two heron's feathers beset with precious stones. Here are constantly burning seven huge tapers, and a great many lamps; copies of the Alcoran are chained up and down in divers places, and persons are in pay to read them. The Turks think the dead are relieved by prayers.

"The Validen, so called from Valide its foundress, wife of Ibrahim, and mother of Mahomet IV., is another fine edifice placed on the port near the Seraglio. The inside is lined with fine Dutch ware, but its columnade is of marble, with chapiters after the Turkish way: most of the columns were fetched from the ruins

* "That of Sultan Solyman is an exact square, with four fair towers in the angles; in the midst is a noble cupola, supported with beautiful marble pillars, and two lesser at the ends, supported in the same manner: the pavement and gallery round the mosque, of marble. Under the great cupola is a fountain, adorned with such fine coloured pillars, that I can hardly think them natural marble. On one side is the pulpit, of white marble, and on the other, the little gallery for the Grand Signior: a fine staircase leads to it, and it is built up with gilded lattices. The pavement is spread with fine carpets, and the mosque is illuminated with a vast number of lamps. The court leading to it is very spacious, with galleries of marble of green columns, covered with twenty-eight leaded cupolas, on two sides, and a fine fountain in the midst."—Lady M. W. Montagu's *Letters*.

of Troy. Its lamps, branched candlesticks, ivory balls, crystal globes are very ornamental. The whole work seems to be more delicate than the other mosques, and has nothing Gothic, though much in the Turkish taste. The arches over the doors and windows are well designed; its two minarets have each three handsome galleries. It is surprising that the Turks, who do not often raise such fabrics, should find architects skilful enough to build them.

"The situation of this mosque, which is full in sight of the Seraglio, and in the most frequented part of the town, makes it to be preferred before all others on public rejoicing-days. They do not content themselves with crowding with lamps the galleries of its minarets, but throw several cords at different heights between one spire and another: these cords not only support the name and cipher of the Grand Signior, represented by small burning lamps, but likewise the representation of towns, and the principal victories that give occasion to the festival.

"In these illuminations everything glitters; the very crescents are in a blaze. Were the ancient Byzantines to return to life, they would doubtless be astonished at the prodigious dimensions of their city, which at this day extends to the furthermost part of the haven, whereas in their time it took up only the southern entrance; but they would not be surprised to see the crescent, it being the symbol of Byzantium. We are told the reason of it by Stephens the Geographer, a native of this city. Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, meeting with mighty difficulties in carrying on the siege of Byzantium, took the opportunity of a very dark night to set workmen to undermine the walls, so as to make a breach for his troops to enter the place, without being

perceived by the enemy; but, luckily for the besieged, the moon appearing, gave them light into the design, and made it miscarry. The inhabitants in acknowledgement, erected a statue to Hecate on the port; and this place, which before was called Bosphorus, on account of an ox's swimming it over to Asia in a certain time, went afterwards by the name of Phosphorus, on occasion of Diana *the light-bringer*. It is likely, that the church of St. Photina of Topana was built upon the foundation of some temple of the same Diana. Tristanus has published the type of a beautiful medal of Trajan, on the reverse whereof is a crescent surmounted by a star; and in the legend it is notified, that the town was saved by favour of that crescent, or by the help of Diana, whose symbol it was. There are several medals of the same type in the King's Cabinet, in the name of the Byzantines, with the heads of Diana, Trajan, Julia Donna, wife of Severus. The Turks have only adopted the crescent, which they met with up and down among the ancient buildings of the city.

"The other royal mosques are not so considerable as those already mentioned; they are called by their founders' names, Sultan Bajazet, Sultan Selim, Sultan Mahomet. The mosque of Ejoup is not counted a royal building, though built by Mahomet II., who caused the whole city to be repaired, and founded many colleges. This mosque consists of but one dome, famous for nothing but the ceremony of crowning the new Sultan. The ceremony is not long: they have nothing to do with crowns or other royal ornaments. The Emperor ascends a kind of rostrum of marble, and the mufti girds a sabre to his side, as an emblem of his being Lord of the whole Earth; for, at this court, all the other kings are called Sultanos,

except the King of France, to whom they give the name of Padishah, that is, Emperor. The mosque of Ejoup is at the efflux of the fresh waters: this same Ejoup is esteemed by the Turks as a great prophet, as well as captain. They do not, however, deny that he was worsted before Constantinople, and that he was killed there at the head of an army of Saracens, whom he commanded. His sepulchre is not less resorted to than those of the Sultans; there is a continual praying at it, which sort of praying is what a great many people in Turkey get a handsome livelihood by.

"From Ejoup's mosque, we went to see an old ruined edifice, called the palace of Constantine; but it has nothing considerable: it is a ruinous decayed thing, about 400 paces from the walls of the city. There are left two columns, that bore up a balcony over the gate; the whole looks like some gallery, to which they ascended by a marble staircase, some of the steps yet remaining. It is perhaps the residue of some house built by Constantine Porphyrogenetus,* for the palace of Constantine the Great was in the first region of the town, where now the Seraglio stands. Zosimus assures us, that there was no finer in all Rome; Codinus calls it the palace of the Hippodrome.

"We afterwards crossed the quarter of Balat, to go down to the port, which is one of the wonders of the city. The Greek Emperors used heretofore to take the diversion of hunting at Balat, which is therefore called in vulgar Greek, the Park or the Hunter. Here is nothing but the patriarchal church,

* "What they call the Palace of Constantine, close to which the walls are built on the sixth hill, seems to have been only one room, with the roof supported by pillars; though now it is divided, and made into stables; it does not seem to be of great antiquity, and is probably a Genoese building, as there are coats of arms over the windows."—PococKE.

that can engage a stranger's attention, and that more for its name than beauty; it is about 200 paces from the port. The Greeks must not dare to bestow any cost on this church, even though they were ever so rich; for the Turks would not fail to lay hands on whatever money should be offered to be applied that way.

"The port of Constantinople can never be too much admired. We went round it in a boat, in very serene weather. These boats are small gondolas, exceedingly light, and marvellously neat and pretty; they are in such numbers, they cover the whole haven, especially the passage to Galata. The ancients never put a better thing into the oracle's mouth, than when they made him give this answer to some who consulted him about building a town hereabouts: '*Let it be*,' said the oracle, '*over against the country of blind men.*' For the port of Chalcedon, which is on the opposite shore, is so odd a place, that they may well be called blind, that first pitched on it. The haven of Constantinople is a basin seven or eight miles in circuit towards the city, and as much on the suburb side: its entrance, about 600 paces broad, begins at the point of the Seraglio, or the cape of St. Demetrius, situated in the south: it is the Cape of Bosphorus, where stood the ancient town of Byzantium. Thence to the west, the port extends like a crooked horn, which may more justly be compared to that of an ox than a stag, as Strabo has it, for the coast has no in and out turnings like divisions: it is true, M. Gilles observes, there have been many alterations that have destroyed its ancient form. This port opens to the east, and faces Scutari; Galata and Cassun-pasha are to the north; lastly, it terminates to the N.N.W., where the river Lycus empties itself. This river is

made up of two streams: the biggest, on which is the paper-mill, comes from Belgrade; the other flows from the N.W. The Lycus is not everywhere navigable, and therefore there are stakes to point out the surest places. The stream that comes from the N.W., is not practicable for boats further than the village of Hali-bey-cui. The other is deep enough for about four miles. To go from Pera to Adrianople, you cross these two streams over bridges. Apollonius Thyaneus performed a world of magic ceremonies on these waters. They are of wondrous use to cleanse the haven; for, descending from the N.W., they wash the coast of Caseum-pasha and Galata, while part of the waters of the Canal of the Black Sea, which descend from the N. like a torrent, as Pon Casalis observes, dash violently against the cape of the Bosphorus, and recoil to the right towards the west: by this motion they sweep away the mud that might gather about Constantinople, and by piece of natural mechanism shove it on by degrees as far as the fresh waters. These fresh waters help to preserve the shipping; for experience shews, that they are less subject to be worm-eaten in such ports where there is fresh water, than where there is salt; the fish too take greater delight in such waters, and are better tasted. The port of Constantinople abounds with tunny-fish, called Pelamides by the ancients: we see them frequently represented on the medals of Byzantium, with the heads of the Emperors Caligula, Claudius, Caracalla, Geta, Gordianus, Pius, Gallienus, and the Empresses Salvina, Lucilla, Crispina, Julia Mæsa, and Julia Mamœa. Pliny says, that under the water towards Chalcedon, there were white rocks that scared the tunnies, and forced them into the port of Byzantium. Dolphins too sometimes appear

there in such numbers, the port swarms with them: they are often fished for; their teeth are like a saw. But Pliny was mistaken in the story of the white rock above-mentioned, for the tunny-fish go as far as Chalcedon, where there are caught great numbers of them.

"The Seraglio, (the workmanship of Mahomet II.) is nearly three miles about: it is a kind of triangle, whose side next the city is the biggest; that next the Bosphorus is at the east; and the other, that forms the entrance of the port, is in the north. The apartments are on the top of the hill, and the gardens below, stretching to the sea. The walls of the city, flanked with their towers, joining themselves to the Point of St. Demetrius, make the circumference of this palace towards the sea. As great as the compass of it is, the outside of the palace has nothing curious to boast of; and if one may judge of the beauty of its gardens by the cypress-trees which are discernible in them, they do not much exceed those of private men. That the inhabitants of Galata and other places in that neighbourhood, may not see the Sultanas walking in these gardens, they are planted with trees that are always green.

"Though I saw only the outside of the Seraglio,* I am persuaded that its inside can show nothing of what we call stately and noble; because the Turks have hardly any notion of magnificence, and follow no one rule of good architecture. If they have made fine mosques, it is because they had a fine model before their eyes,

* The most minute description of the Seraglio is given by Tavernier. See "A New Relation of the Inner Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio, containing several remarkable Particulars never before exposed to View. By J. B. Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne." Folio. London, 1677. The relation occupies above ninety folio pages, and is tediously diffuse, and not unexceptionable in point of delicacy.

the church of St. Sophia; a model which indeed is not to be followed in the erection of palaces. By the Turkish pavilions (a larger sort of building) a man may easily perceive he is moving from Italy, and approaching towards Persia, nay China itself.

"The apartments of the Seraglio have been made at different times, and according to the capriciousness of the Princes and Sultanas; thus is this famed palace a heap of houses clustering together without any manner of order. No doubt they are spacious, commodious, richly furnished. Their best ornaments are not pictures, nor statues, but paintings after the Turkish manner, inlaid with gold and azure, diversified with flowers, landscapes, tail-pieces (such as the printers adorn the end of a book or chapter with,) and compartments like labels, containing Arabic sentences, the same as in the private houses of Constantinople. Marble basins, bagnios, spouting fountains, are the delight of the orientals, who place them over the first floor, without fear of over-pressing the ceiling. This too was the taste of the Saracens and Moors, as appears by their ancient palaces, especially that of Alhambra, at Granada in Spain, where they still shew, as a prodigy of architecture, the pavement of the lions' quarter, made of blocks of marble bigger than the tombstones in our churches.

"If there is any thing curious in the Seraglio, it is what the ambassadors of foreign princes have brought thither; such as French and Venice glass, Persian carpets, oriental vases. It is said, most of the pavilions are supported by arches, under which are lodged the officers that serve the Sultanas. These ladies dwell over-head, in apartments commonly terminated by a dome covered with lead, or by spires with gilded crescents: the balconies, the galleries, the cabinets, the belvederes, are the most agreeable places

of these apartments. In short, notwithstanding what has been said, take it altogether, it is unworthy to the greatness of its master; but, to make a fine edifice of it, it must be pulled down, and the materials employed to build another on a new model.

"The principal entrance of the Seraglio is a huge pavilion, with eight openings over the gate, or porte. This Porte, from which the Ottoman empire took its name, is very high, simple, semicircular in its arch, with an Arabic inscription beneath the head of the arch, and two niches, one on each side, in the wall. It looks rather like a guard-house than the entrance to a palace of one of the greatest princes of the world; and yet it was Mahomet II. built it. Fifty *capigis*, or porters, keep this gate; but they have generally no weapon but a wand or white rod. At first you enter into a large court-yard, not near so broad as long; on the right are infirmaries for the sick, on the left, lodges for the *aranciogians*, that is, persons employed in the most sordid offices of the Seraglio: here the wood is kept that serves for fuel to the palace. There is every year consumed 40,000 cart-loads, each load as much as two buffaloes can well draw.

"Anybody may enter the first court of the Seraglio. Here the domestics and slaves of the bashaws and agas wait for their masters' returning, and look after their horses; but every thing is so still, the motion of a fly might be heard in a manner; and if any one should presume to raise his voice ever so little, or shew the least want of respect to the mansion-place of their Emperor, he would instantly have the bastinado by the officers that go the rounds: nay, the very horses seem to know where they are, and no doubt they are taught to tread softer here than in the streets.

"The infirmaries are for the sick that belong to the house; they are carried thither in little close carts drawn by two men. When the court is at Constantinople, the chief physician and surgeon visit this place every day, and it is asserted they take great care of the sick. It is even said, that many who are in this place are well enough, only they get hither to refresh themselves, and drink their skin-full of wine. The use of this liquor, though severely forbidden elsewhere, is tolerated in the infirmaries, provided the eunuch at the door does not catch those that bring it, in which case the wine is spilt on the ground, and the bearers are sentenced to receive 2 or 300 bastinadoes.

"From the first court you go on to the second, the entrance whereof is also kept by fifty *capigis*. This court is square, about 300 paces in diameter, but much handsomer than the first; the pathways are paved, and the alleys well kept; the rest consists of very pretty turf, whose verdure is only interrupted by fountains, which help to preserve its freshness. The Grand Signior's treasury and the little stable are on the left: here they shew a fountain, where formerly they used to cut off the heads of bashaws condemned to die. The offices and kitchens are on the right, embellished with domes, but without chimneys: they kindle a fire in the middle, and the smoke goes out through the holes made in the domes. The first of these kitchens is for the Grand Signior, the second for the chief sultanas, the third for the other sultanas, the fourth for the *capi-aga*, or commandant of the gates; in the fifth, they dress the meat for the ministers of the divan; the sixth belongs to the Grand Signior's pages, called the *ichoglans*; the seventh to the officers of the Seraglio; the eighth is for the women and maid-servants; the ninth for all such as are obliged

to attend the court of the divan on days of session. They do not provide much wild-fowl, but, besides 40,000 beeves spent yearly there, the purveyors are to furnish daily 200 sheep, 100 lambs or goats, according to the season, 10 calves, 200 hens, 200 pair of pullets, 100 pair of pigeons, and 50 green geese.

"All round the court runs a low gallery covered with lead, and supported by columns of marble. No one but the Grand Signior himself enters this court on horseback, and therefore the little stable is in this place, but there is not room for above thirty horses: over-head they keep the harness, than which nothing can be richer in jewels and embroidery. The great stable, wherein there are about a thousand horses for the officers of the Grand Signior, is towards the sea, upon the Bosphorus. Such days as the foreign ambassadors are admitted to audience, the Janizaries in very handsome apparel range themselves on the right beneath the gallery. The hall where the divan is held, that is the justice-hall, is on the left, at the further end of this court: on the right is a door, which lets into the inside of the Seraglio: none pass through but such as are sent for. The hall of the divan is large, but low, covered with lead, wainscotted and gilt after the Moorish manner, plain enough. On the *estrade* is spread but one carpet for the officers to sit on. Here the Grand Vizier, assisted by his counsellors, determines all causes, civil and criminal, without appeal; the *caimacan* officiates for him in his absence; and the ambassadors are here entertained the day of their audience. Thus far may strangers go in the Seraglio; a man's curiosity might cost him dear, should he proceed further.

"The outside of this palace towards the port has nothing worth notice, but the kiosk or pavilion right

against Galata, which is supported by a dozen pillars of marble; it is wainscotted, richly furnished, and painted after the Persian manner. The Grand Signior comes thither sometimes to divert himself with viewing what passes in the port, or to take the pleasure of the water when he has a mind to it. The pavilion which is toward the Bosphorus is higher than that of the port, and is built on arches, which support three saloons terminated by gilded domes. The Prince comes thither to sport with his women and mutes. All these quays are covered with artillery without carriages; most of the cannon are planted level with the water: the largest piece is that which, they say, forced Babylon to surrender to Sultan Mourat, and by way of distinction it has an apartment to itself. This artillery is what the Mahometans rejoice to hear, for, when they are fired, it is to notify that Lent (*Ramazan* or *Ramazon*) is at an end: they are likewise fired on public rejoicing days.

"When the Grand Signior is at Constantinople, he sometimes amuses himself with observing from this kiosk, the ridiculous ceremonies of the Greeks on the Transfiguration-day, at a fountain hard by.* They not only fancy this water will cure a fever, but all other distempers present and to come. And therefore they do not content themselves with carrying thither their sick to drink of the water, but they bury them in the sand up to the chin, and then take them out again the moment after: such as are well, wash in it, and drink of it till it comes out as clear as it went in. All Greece is full of such fountains, but they are not mineral; their whole reputation is owing to the people's credulity. There is a large window near the

* Αγιασμα, the holy fountain.

stones, out of which are thrown in the night such as have been strangled in the Seraglio; and for every person so served, there is a cannon discharged. The Grand Signior's barge-houses are near these kiosks, and are under the care of the *bostangi-bashi*; these barges or galleys are made use of when the Grand Signior goes to the Seraglio from Scutari, and are steered by the *bostangi-bashi* when the Grand Signior is on board. They are very light and very neat: their oars are painted and gilded. *Fanari-hissé* is a pavilion that Solyman II. built at the foot of the light-house on the Cape of Chalcedon: it is said that this pavilion is exceeding fine, and that its gardens are better contrived than those of the Seraglio.

"After viewing the Greek's fountain, we entered the port, and made towards the Seraglio of Looking-glasses: it is of no large compass. Behind its walls is the place where the Turks exercise themselves in shooting with the bow. Near it is a kind of gallery, where the Turks go in procession to pray for good success in an approaching battle, and sometimes to deprecate the plague when it is very raging, that is, when it carries off 1000 or 1,200 in a day. While we were ranging about the port, we were shewn some stakes or posts standing in the water to notify how far the great ships might find anchorage. From hence we proceeded to the coast of *Cassem-pasha*, where is the arsenal called *Tersana*, from the Persian word *ters*, ships, and *hana*, a place to build in. Here are built the Grand Signior's ships.

"From the suburb called Cassan-Pasha, you cross some burying-places to go to Galata,* which is the hand-

* The name of this suburb, according to Thevet, is derived from the Galates or Gauls, who crossed the port about this place; according to Corsinus, from a Gaul who settled in this suburb. The

somest suburb of the whole city. It is built over against the Seraglio in the Fig-tree quarter, and is defended by pretty good walls, flanked with old towers; but these walls have been beaten down and built again at different times. Galata is divided into three quarters, from Cassun-pasha as far as to Topana: the walls and towers that separate these quarters are still in being. The quarter of Hasapcapi begins about Cassun-pasha, and ends at the mosque of the Arabs, where terminates the partition-wall that runs from the tower of Galata towards the south-west; thence as far as the custom-house is that quarter called Galata of the Customs, and the partition-wall reaches to the great tower of Galata. Cara-cui is the third quarter, and ends at Topana. The Mosque of the Arabs was a church of the Dominicans, as ancient as the time of St. Hyacinth, who procured it to be built, as likewise another church at Constantinople. The Mosque of the Arabs was taken from the Dominicans about a hundred years ago, as a forfeiture, and applied to the use of the Mahometan Granadins. There is no alteration made in it: the Gothic windows and inscriptions continue on the gates, and the belfry, which is a square tower, serves for a minaret. The Dominicans have also a church at Galata dedicated to St. Peter, of which they have been in possession for above 300 years. The French Capuchins have had there for above a hundred years, a church called St. George: it belongs to the Genoese. The Greeks have three churches in the quarter of Cara-cui, and the Armenians one by the name of St. Gregory. The Latins possess

Greek writers call it Galaton (Τὸν Γαλατὸν σαλιχνίον—ἡρωμὸν τοῦ Γαλατοῦ), and some suppose it to be derived from γάλα, milk, and to be so named because the milk-women lived there!

that of St. Benoliet, which, in the time of the Genoese, belonged to the Benedictines; but it was given to the Jesuits by the community of Pera.

"One tastes in Galata a snatch of liberty not to be found elsewhere throughout the Ottoman empire. Galata is, as it were, Christendom in Turkey: taverns are tolerated, and the Turks themselves refrain not from them, but freely resort thither to take a cheerful glass. The fish-market is worth seeing, and surpasses that on the other side the port going to St. Sophia: this of Galata is a long street, furnished on both sides with the finest fish in the world. You go up from Galata to Pera, which is, as it were, its suburb, and was formerly confounded under the same name. Pera is a Greek word, signifying beyond; and the Greeks of Constantinople, when they are minded to go beyond the port, still use this word, which has been taken by strangers for the whole quarter. This quarter, including Galata and Pera, is called Perea by Nicetas, by Gregoras, and by Pachymerus, and plain Pera by other authors; but at present, Pera is distinguished from Galata, and is precisely nothing but the suburb situated beyond the gate of that town. The Greeks in like manner call passage-boats *peramidia*, and the Franks, by corruption, *perotes*. The situation of Pera is perfectly charming: from it you have a view of the whole coast of Asia, and of the Grand Signior's Seraglio. The ambassadors of France, England, Venice, and Holland have their palaces in Pera; the ambassador of the King of Hungary (for under that title, and no other, the Emperor sends him), those of Poland and of Ragusa, are lodged in Constantinople. Attached to the palace of France, is a chapel served by Capuchin friars, who are likewise the teachers of certain young lads the

King sends thither to learn the Turkish, Arabian, and Greek languages, that they may afterwards serve for interpreters to the French consuls in the ports of the Levant. The foreign merchants have their houses and warehouses in Pera, as well as in Galata, promiscuously with the Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. There is a seraglio in Pera, where are brought up the children of the tribute, *i. e.* such as have been chosen out by the Grand Signior's officers from among the Greeks in Europe, to serve about the person of his Highness after they are made Musulmen, and are instructed in the necessary exercises. This custom being discontinued, the seraglio runs to decay.

"From Pera, you go down to Topana, another suburb, just as you enter the canal of the Black Sea: here, such as have a mind to divert themselves on the water usually take boat. Nothing is so agreeable as the amphitheatre formed by the houses of Galata, Pera, and Topana, running from the tops of hills as far as the sea. Topana is somewhat less than either of the others. Mezomorto, who was captain-bashaw in 1701, built a handsome seraglio here. A hundred paces from the sea stands the arsenal or foundery for cannon, called *topana* in Turkish: it is a house covered with low domes, and has given its name to the whole quarter.

"There are but two obelisks and some few columns at Constantinople, besides some bas-reliefs at the Seven Towers. The obelisks are in a place called Atmeidan, mentioned before to have been the ancient Hippodrome, or running-place for horses: the Turks have done little more than translate the name of it, for *At* in Turkish signifies a horse, and *Meidan*, a place. It is about 400 paces long, and 100 wide. Every Friday, for the most part, when service is over

at the mosques, the young Turks that pretend to fruit of activity, get together at this place, well dressed and handsomely mounted, where they divide themselves into two companies, at each end one. On giving a signal, a horseman starts from each side, and runs full speed with a long kind of dart in his hand; the excellency of their performance consists in throwing this dart and hitting their adversary, or in avoiding the blow. Their motion is inconceivably swift, and their dexterity and address on horseback miraculous.

"The obelisk of granite or Theban stone, is still in the *Atmeidan*: it is a four-cornered pyramid, of one single piece, about fifty feet high, terminating in a point, charged with hieroglyphics, now unintelligible; a proof, however, of its being very ancient, and wrought in Egypt. By the Greek and Latin inscriptions at the base, we learn that the Emperor Theodosius caused it to be set up again, after it had lain on the ground a considerable time. The machines which were made use of in rearing it, are represented in bas-relief. Nicetas, in the Life of St. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, observes, that this obelisk had at its top a brazen pine-apple, which was thrown down by an earthquake.

"Hard by are seen the remains of another obelisk with four faces, built with different pieces of marble; the tip of it is fallen, and the rest cannot long continue. This obelisk was covered over with brazen plates, as is apparent from the holes made to receive the pegs that fastened them to the marble. These plates were certainly set off with bas-reliefs and other ornaments, for the inscription at the bottom speaks of it as a work altogether marvellous. Bondelmont, in his description of Constantinople, makes the other obelisk to be 24 cubits high, and this 58: perhaps it

supported the brazen column of the three serpents. This column is about fifteen feet high, formed by three serpents, turned spirally like a roll of tobacco: their contours diminish insensibly from the base as far as the necks of the serpents, and their heads spreading on the sides like a tripod, compose a kind of chapiter. Sultan Mourat is said to have broken away the head of one of them; the pillar was thrown down, and both the other heads taken away in 1700, after the peace of Carlowitz. What is become of them, nobody can tell: but the rest has been set up again, and is among the obelisks, at like distance from each other. This column of brass is of the very earliest, supposing it brought from Delphi, where it served to bear up that famous golden tripod which the Greeks, after the battle of Platea, found in the camp of Mardonius.

"In the street called Adrianople, they shewed us the Burnt Column; and well may it be called so, for it is so black and smoke-dried by the frequent fires that have happened to the houses thereabouts, it is no easy matter to find out what it is made of. But, upon a narrow inspection, it appeared to be porphyry stone, the junctures hid with copper rings. It is thought Constantine's figure stood on it. By the inscription we learned, 'that that admirable piece of workmanship was restored by the most pious Emperor Manuel Comnenus.' Glycas reports, that, towards the close of the reign of Nicephorus Botoniates, who was shaven and put into a cloister, Constantine's column was struck with thunder, and that this column supported the figure of Apollo, then called by that emperor's name. The column called Historical,* is not of so

* Lady M. W. Montagu, speaking of this column, writes—"The historical pillar is no more: it dropped down about two years before I came to this part of the world." On which Dr. Dal-

valuable stuff, it being only plain marble; but it is remarkable for its height, which is 147 feet, and for its bas-reliefs, which are well designed for those times: it is pity the fire has so disfigured them. They represent the victories of the Emperor Arcadius. The conquered towns appear under the shape of women, whose heads are crowned with towers: the horses are finely done; but the emperor is sitting in a kind of elbow-chair, in a fur-gown, not unlike a judge. The *labarum*, or imperial standard, is over his head, held by two angels, with the device of the Christian emperors, 'Jesus Christ is conqueror.' As for Marcian's column, though it be of granite, it is not much inquired after; it does more honour to Messieurs Spon and Wheler, who first discovered it, than to Tatianus, who erected it: it may have been the urn wherein that emperor's (Marcianus) heart was put. It is somewhat strange that his column escaped the curiosity of M. Gilles, in his exact description of Constantinople: it stands in a private court-yard, close by the street called Adrianople, near the baths of Ibrahim Bashaw.

"After well observing this street, the longest and broadest of any in the city, the next walk usually is to the bazars or berestains, places like our changes for selling fine wares of all sorts. The old and new bazar stand pretty near each other; they are large square buildings, covered with domes, supported by arches and pilasters. In the old one, there is but little fine

lowy, the Editor of her Letters, has the following note:—"The 'Arcadian column, built in 402, after the model of those of Trajan and Antonine, at Rome. The shaft of it was entirely taken down in 1699, having become ruinous by earthquakes and fire." Mr. Hobhouse says:—"Aurat Bazar being burned down in the last rebellion, we had not a view of the base of the Arcadian column, which was about fourteen feet high, when seen by Dr. Dallaway, but mutilated and entirely defaced."

merchandise; it was built in 1461. Here they sell all sorts of weapons, especially sabres; and likewise horse-harness, some of which are enriched with gold, silver, and precious stones. The new bazar is replenished with all manner of merchandise; and though there are none but goldsmith's shops, yet, they sell furs, coats, carpets, stuffs of gold and silver, silk, goats'-hair; nor is it without jewels and china-ware. They are now repairing it; it will be much more lightsome than before; there will be apartments for officers that have the guard of it, and go their rounds day and night. The goods are well secured in these places, the gates being shut betimes. The Turks retire to their own homes in the city, but the Christian and Jewish merchants cross the water, and return the next morning.

"The market for slaves of both sexes is not far off. Here the poor wretches sit in a melancholy posture. Before they chapen them, they turn them about from this side to that, survey them from top to bottom, put them to exercise whatever they have learned, and this several times a day, without ever coming to any agreement. Such of them, both men and women, to whom Dame Nature has been niggardly of her charms, are set apart for the vilest services; but such girls as have youth and beauty, pass their time well enough; only they often force them to turn Mahometans. The retailers of this human waste are the Jews, who take good care of their slaves' education, that they may sell the better: their choicest they keep at home, and there you must go, if you would have better than ordinary; for it is here, as it is in markets for horses, the handsomest do not always appear, but are kept within doors. These Jews teach their beautiful female slaves to dance, sing, play on instruments, and every-

thing else that may inspire love. Sometimes they marry very advantageously, and feel nothing of slavery; they have the same liberty in their houses as the Turkish women themselves.

"The great square near the mosque of Sultan Bajazet, is the place where the mountebanks and jugglers, with their cups and balls, play their tricks. We had not time to see them, nor a thousand other things besides. We endeavoured, but to no purpose, to see the castle of the Seven Towers, situated at the further end of the town, towards the main land and the Sea of Marmora. Every body knows, this castle took its name from those same towers covered with lead. It is a kind of bastile or prison for persons of distinction; but it is asserted, they admit no strangers to see it, since the Chevalier de Beaujeu, who was there confined, found means to escape. He had made such considerable captures on the Turks, that the Grand Signior revenged himself on the governor, by causing his head to be struck off. The gilded gate, which was the most considerable of Constantinople under the Greek emperors, is within this prison-wall. In the time of the Greek emperors, there was at this gate, a kind of castle called the Round Castle."

Wheler, who was permitted to go round it, observed nothing but "an ancient gate, looking towards the Propontis, adorned with basso-relievos on oblong tables of white marble. On one is the fall of Phaëton; on another, Hercules fighting with a bull; on another, Hercules in combat with Cerberus; and on another, Venus coming to visit Adonis sleeping; with some others which," he adds, "we knew not what they signified. This gate is now quite stopped up.

The place looks not strong enough for a castle, but is sufficiently so for a prison." * Only four of the seven towers have remained entire (for the fifth is rent in half) since the earthquake of 1768; but the fortress still retains the names of *Efta Koulades* in the Greek, and *Yedi Kouleler* in the Turkish, both of them signifying the former number of its conspicuous bulwarks.†

Among those who have recently visited Constantinople, the traveller who has furnished the best account of the capital is Mr. Hobhouse; and his interesting interesting sketch will supply some further particulars with regard to the appearance of the city, a century after it was visited by Tournefort.

"We had not been many days at Pera, before we crossed the water to visit the capital. A party of us went in a boat from the Salsette, and in one of the *peramidias*, or small wherries which ply upon the canal.‡ The resemblance of the *kirlangishes* or swallows, as they are called, to the shape of the ancient boats, has been often observed, and is so exact, that

* Tournefort's Voyage in the Levant (translated by Ozell). London, 1741, vol. ii. pp. 131—206. Our readers will not be displeased at the quaint and racy phraseology, which we have not ventured to modernize.

† "The defences of this imperial castle do not entitle it to any respect as a fortress; and if the Ottoman armies lost, as it is said, 12,000 men in forcing this portion of the Byzantine 'ramparts, (the ancient Cyclobion,) they must have met with a much more serious resistance than the Aga Abdulhamid and his garrison of sixty-five men prepared against the crews of two Lazic vessels, who stormed the place in 1768, and carried off a captive fellow-countryman."—HOBHOUSE, Letter xlviii.

‡ The number of fishing-boats at the time of the Latin invasion, was 1,000. In 1777, including the private pleasure-boats, they amounted to 5,700.

they might be thought the originals of those which are often seen on the Etruscan vases, conveying the shades of the departed across the Styx. We landed, after rowing up the harbour, near the spot where the walls begin to cross the peninsula at *Askame Iskelessi*, close to the gate of St. Demetrius. We walked through Ballat, the quarter of the Jews, which seems to have derived its name from Palation, as a large building known to the Turks by the name of *Tekkuri Serai* is recognised for the Hebdomon, a palace of the Cæsars standing in this region of the metropolis. We then arrived at a range of sheds where there were many gilded *arabats* for hire, and some attached stables, from which we procured horses, and rode under the walls across the peninsula, as far as the Seven Towers. The appearance of these walls (the work of the second Theodosius) is more venerable than that of any other Byzantine antiquity: their triple ranges,* rising one above the other, in most places nearly entire, and still retaining their antient battlements and towers, are shaded with large trees, which spring from the fosse and through the rents of repeated earthquakes. The intervals between the triple walls, which are eighteen feet wide, are in many places choked up with earth and masses of the fallen ramparts; and the fosse, of twenty-five feet in breadth, is cultivated and converted into herb-gardens and cherry-orchards, with here and there a solitary cottage. Such is the height of the walls, that, to those following the road under them on the outside, none of the mosks or other buildings of the capital, except the towers of Tekkuri-Serai, are visible; and as there are no suburbs, this line of majestic ramparts, defenceless and trembling

* Every recent author, except Dr. Dallaway, appears to have overlooked the third range.

with age, might impress upon the mind the notion, that the Ottomans had not deigned to inhabit the conquered city, but, carrying away its people into distant captivity, had left it an unresisting prey to the desolations of time.

"In crossing the five highways which issue from their respective gates, we met hardly a single passenger; and even two or three little huts, where a glass of water, pipes, and cherries, might be procured, seemed less frequented than the coffee-houses on the roads of Asia Minor. We passed first by *Egri-Kapoussi* (the oblique gate), where the triple wall commences, and next by *Edrene-Kapoussi* (the gate of Adrianople), *Top-Kapoussi* (the Cannon-gate, where the victorious Mahomet made his public entry into Constantinople), and afterwards by *Mevlané Yeni-Kapoussi*. We then crossed over the road leading from *Selivri-Kapoussi* (the gate of Selivria), and riding through a large Armenian burying-ground, arrived at *Balouch*, which is the site of the church of the Virgin, built by Justinian.

"Not finding our boats, as we expected, at the water's edge, we rode onwards for some way near the walls, and through several narrow, mean streets, in which there were but few people stirring, until we came to a large manufactory of printed cottons. This we visited, and saw that the whole labour is performed by the hand. On our route, we passed *Imrhor Djiamissi*, a mosck,* once the church of St. John Studius,†

* This is Mr. Hobhouse's orthography: Gibbon writes it mosch; and the word appears in all sorts of shapes in the works of foreign travellers. We have usually adhered to the French orthography, mosque, not as the most correct, but as established by usage.

† "The finest mosque next after St. Sophia which has been a church," says Pococke, "is on the seventh hill, and near the Seven Towers. It is called by the Greeks Constantine's Church, but is

where there are still some pictures preserved; and skirting the outlet of the gate *Psamatia*, near which are two decent Greek churches, and of *Vlanga Burton* (the gate of Theodosius), come to *Yeni Kapussi* (the new gate), near the new quarter of the Armenians, who have a handsome church, built in the reign of the last Selim..... Passing through this gate, we came to a long range of coffee-houses by the sea-side. These were of the better sort, open on one quarter, with a fountain playing in the middle of a range of marble seats, and recesses furnished with pillows, stuffed carpets, and mats; which, in some of them, were spread also upon marble slabs on the outside of the houses. In one, several well-dressed Turks were sitting with their pipes, listening to the pretty airs of a guitar and violin, while the recesses were occupied by others asleep. Some of these, with their turbans off, and their heads wrapped in a sash, were rolled in the carpets, and sunk on the cushions, in the apparatus and oblivion of a night slumber; and neither these, nor such as were stretched upon the slabs on the outside, who would have had a thousand practical waggeries played off upon them in any other city, were disturbed or even noticed by the company. None of the guests, indeed, seemed entirely awake, but, inhaling the odours of their perfumed herbs, silent, sedate, and lost in the delicious bliss of total inactivity and listlessness, were

the church of a monastery called Studios, from a citizen of Constantinople of that name, who built it. There is a very handsome portico to it, with four pillars of white marble, which support a very rich entablature, there being another of the same kind within. The nave is divided from the aisle by seven red-antique pillars, of the composite order, six feet two inches in circumference. Over these, there are as many more pillars of the Ionic order, probably of the same materials, but, according to the Turkish taste, whited over. There is a cistern under a court to the south, in which are four rows of Corinthian pillars."

lulled into the soft approaches of repose by the tinkling music, the unceasing fall of the fountain, and the regular ripplings of the water on the sandy shore. The *meddahs*, or reciters of stories, who frequent these coffee-houses, as well as some others near Tekkuri-Serai, can scarcely extort from their indolent audience the labour of a smile, and, by fixing the attention upon one monotonous narration, rather augment than interrupt the universal torpor."

"Among the frequenters of these coffee-houses may be seen some of those *teriakis*, or opium-eaters, who are always noticed among the curiosities of the Turkish capital. Pale, emaciated, and ricketty, sunk into a profound stupor, or agitated by the grimaces of delirium, their persons are, after the first view, easily to be recognised, and make, indeed, an impression too deep to be erased. Their chief resort is a row of coffee-houses in a shady court, near the mosck of Sultan Solyman. The increasing attachment to wine has diminished the consumption of opium; but there are still to be found *teriakis*, who will swallow in a glass of water three or four lozenges, amounting to 100 grains. They are mixed with spices, and stamped with the words *Mash Allah* (the work of God.)*

"From the coffee-houses, we walked on to a *tabagie* near *Koum-Kapoussi*, the next gate, where we dined upon *kebab*. This dish, which any palate would reckon a delicacy, consists of mutton chopped in small bits, either with or without herbs, larded with milk and

* Mustafa Shainor, the Smyrna opium-eater, was in the practice of swallowing three drams daily. The "English Opium-eater" confesses to 8000 drops (210½ grains) as his utmost excess. Garcias, in his History of Drugs and Spices, speaks of a person who took ten drams every day; and Zoviani mentions another individual, who ate half a pound daily with equal impunity.

butter, and fried upon a wooden skewer over a small brazier. The room is fitted up with small boxes, in our own fashion; and there is generally one chamber to which a small party may retire. The *kebabjees* (cooks), who are in the highest repute, live near *Eski Serai*; and as all of them are Turks, only sherbets are served up with their meats; but, in our tavern, there was no want of wine. At a table near us, covered with a dessert of fruit and cakes, sat a knot of young Turks, the bucks of the quarter, pushing about the bottle with a noisy emulation which did not confine itself to their own party, but brought them staggering to our side of the room, with tumblers of wine, pledging repeatedly our healths, and looking at us for our approbation, as acknowledged masters of the art. Their debauch ended in loud fits of screaming and shouting, and other resemblances of the senseless merriment of an English hunting-club.

"We found our boat near *Kouru-Kapoussi*, and embarking, rowed under the walls. We passed *Ahour-Kapoussi*, the gate near the Grand Signior's stables, where the walls of the Seraglio commence, and *Balik-Hane* (the fisher's house), a small green kiosk projecting from the walls of the Seraglio, to which it has been usual to send the deposed viziers through a garden gate close behind, to await their sentence. The execution is performed in a little chamber running out by itself, and forming, as it were, an upper wing of the kiosk. A removal to *Balik-Hane* has generally been the forerunner of death; but a more fortunate minister has sometimes been led, not to the fatal chamber, but down to the shore, where a boat has been waiting to convey him to the place of banishment. *Balik-Hane* is not the only spot chosen for the punishment of the Sultan's enemies. A dark

chamber at the gate of the second court of the Seraglio, called *Mabein*, where the vizier's heads are always exposed, is allotted to the same purpose, and is the permanent station of the royal executioners.*

"After *Balik-Hane*, we passed by *Indogouli Kiosch* (the pearl pavilion), *Mermer Kiosch* (the marble pavilion), and *Yali Kiosch* (the kiosch of the landing-place). From near the second, there is a view of the summit of the Corinthian pillar of white marble, fifty feet high, in the gardens of the Seraglio, with the inscription: FORTUNÆ REDUCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS. It is surmounted by a handsome capital of *verd-antique*. This has been erroneously supposed to be the column of Theodora. The *Yali Kiosch* is covered on the outside with a screen of green canvas or cloth, and contains a long chair or sofa of silver, on which the Grand Signior seats himself to take public leave of the Vizier Azem, or the Capudan Pasha, previously to any warlike expedition, and also on certain occasions of rejoicing, when tents are pitched for the grandees of his court, and for the foreign minis-

* "Reckoning on an average deduced from 115 grand-viziers, who successively governed the Ottoman empire to the time of the siege of Vienna, the place of the prime-minister of the Porte may be esteemed worth *three years and a half purchase*. The instability of every powerful individual in Turkey, may be judged of by the events of fifteen months from the year 1622, during which time there were three emperors, seven grand-viziers, two capudan-pashas, five Janizar-agas, three tefterdars (high treasurers), and six pashas of Cairo. The power of the vizier-azem continued unrivalled till the reign of Mahommed V., when it was decreased by the influence of the kislar-aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, and has since that period been occasionally shared with the Janizar-aga, the capudan-pasha, and other great officers of state. Vizier is Dooli a Turkish word signifying a porter; as *bailo*, the title of a Venetian ambassador, and *bailiff*, a municipal officer, are derived from *bajaires*."

ters, and games and fireworks are exhibited in the open space between the pavilion and the sea. Between the kiosks we landed, and walking along the shore, passed a range of monstrous cannon, laid up under a line of sheds. Over the gate of the Seraglio, near this spot, are some large fish-bones suspended by chains, which, the Turks say, are those of a giant. Close to *Fidi Kiosk*, we saw the boat-houses containing the barges of the Seraglio and that of the Grand Signior, burnished in every part with gold, and provided with a covered recess of lattice-work at the stern, for the retirement of the Emperor. The barge is rowed with six-and-twenty oars, and the helm is held by the *kaztanje-bashe*. From this place, we passed over to Tophana, having, in boats, on horseback, and by walking, made the circuit of Constantinople; an expedition which, including stoppages, employed us from nine in the morning to half after four in the afternoon."

In subsequent walks to Constantinople, Mr. Hobhouse visited the antiquities of the *Atmeidan*, the cisterns, and the aqueducts. It would be very difficult, he says, to recognise in the present *Atmeidan*, the ancient Hippodrome. "It is no longer a circus, but an oblong, open space, 250 paces long and 130 wide,* flanked on one side by the magnificent mosck of Sultan Achmet, and, on the other, by the dead wall of a hospital, under which there is a line of low buildings and sheds, or stands for arabats. The granite obelisk of Theodosius, the broken pyramid of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, stripped of its bronze

* Whisler makes it 350 paces by 100. He writes it *Achmet-dan*. Lady M. W. Montagu calls the place *At-terdan*, or place of horses, "*at* signifying a horse in Turkish."

plates,* and the base of the Delphic pillar, were all that remained, even in the time of Sandys,† of the many noble monuments with which this spot was formerly adorned; and were it not for these antiquities, which are yet to be seen, it is probable that the site of the Hippodrome would be covered with houses, and become in a short time the subject of controversy. The *djereed*-playing is less frequent there now than formerly. The surface of the ground is uneven, and of a hard gravelly soil."

By far the most interesting relic of antiquity is the serpentine column which once supported the golden tripod in the temple of Delphi. With regard to its identity, there seems no reason to entertain a suspicion;‡ but there is a singular discrepancy in the accounts respecting its subsequent history. We have cited, in the historical sketch, the statement of Gibbon, (on the authority of Thevenot,) that the under-jaw of one of the serpent's heads was struck off by Mahommed II. with a stroke of his battle-axe. "That

* Called by the old topographers Colossus Strucilla. According to Dr. Dallaway, it is 94 feet high.

† "In this place there standeth a stately hieroglyphical obelisk of Theban marble. A little removed, there standeth a column of wreathed brass, with three infolded serpents at the top, extended in a triangle, looking several ways. And beyond both these, another high obelisk, termed by some a colossus, built of sundry stones, now greatly ruined, covered heretofore with plates of gilded brass. And in *Auratic ur* (that is, the market of women), there is an historical column, to be ascended within, far surpassing both Trajan's and that of Antonine, the workman having so proportioned the figures, that the highest and lowest appear of one bigness."—SANDYS, p. 27.

‡ "Gyllius," says Mr. Hobhouse, "has established beyond all doubt its identity with the column supporting the Plateaus tripod at Delphi. See also authorities in Gibbon, c. xvii. Pococke says: "At the Grand Signior's seraglio of Sandalsat, there is one made in imitation of it, but not so large."

such a story should ever have prevailed," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "is extraordinary, since every traveller, from Gyllius to Wheler, who has given a picture of it, describes the column as entire. Tournefort, we have seen, represents it as mutilated." Yet, Lady M. W. Montagu speaks of the three serpents as having "their mouths gaping." Pococke again says: "Part of the serpentine pillar is broken off;" and Chishull avers, that the serpents' heads "which *lately* terminated the pillar," were taken off privately by the servants of the late Polish ambassador.* "It is now generally believed," adds Mr. Hobhouse, "that it has been removed, as Tournefort relates, from its former site; and it is not agreed whether the bottom or the top of the pillar is now inserted in the ground. The upper part does not diminish so much as, from the representation of its ancient shape, it might be supposed to do near the summit, where the serpents' heads began to branch off. The column, as much of it as is seen above ground, is now about seven feet in height and of a proportionate thickness. It is hollow, and the cavity has been filled up with stones by the Turks. The brazen column at St. Ambrogio, which is believed to be the serpent of Moses, was brought, if we may credit the Milanese historians, from Constantinople, and may have been confounded with the serpentine pillar."

Mr. Hobhouse entered a house to see the base of the "Beirut Column," which is near the Atmeidan; but found that the Turks have built a stone facing round the bottom of the monument, since the fire of 1779. The shaft is black from repeated conflagrations; and "this circumstance, together with the iron hoops" (Wheler says, hoops of brass) "encircling the pillar,

* Tournefort evidently refers to the same report. See p. 138.

conceals the joints of the blocks,* and gives the column the appearance of a single mass. It is now an unsightly structure, 90 feet high and 33 in circumference." When entire, this must have been one of the noblest columns in the world. On its summit, above 120 feet from the ground, stood the colossal statue of Apollo. "It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town in Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the Emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head."†

Near the bath of Ibrahim Pasha, about mid-way between the Hippodrome and the Adrianople Gate, there is still standing in the court of a private house,

* See p. 130. "It is called the Burnt Pillar, because the pedestal and pillar have been much damaged by fire. It is erected on a marble pedestal 30 feet high, which is much ruined; and probably there were steps round it. The shaft seems to have consisted of ten pieces of porphyry, 39 French feet in circumference, each stone being 8 feet 4 inches long, excepting a wreath of laurel half a foot deep at the top of every one, which had the effect to conceal the joining of the stones. Seven of these stones now remain, though an exact describer of Constantinople says there were eight. Three of the stones, together with the statue, were thrown down by lightning, in the time of Alexius Comnenus. It was said to have been of the Doric order. There are now twelve tiers of stone above the seven of porphyry: eleven of them seem to be about a foot deep, and the uppermost, which is something like a Tuscan capital, is about two feet deep. There is a Greek inscription on the fourth tier, which I had not the opportunity of copying: but it is said to import, that the Emperor Manuel Comnenus repaired it. Arius is said to have died near this pillar."—Pococke. The inscription is given by Whiter.

† Gibbon. Pococke, without naming his authority, represents the pillar itself as having been brought from Rome by Constantine the Great, who "placed on it that exquisite bronze statue of Trojan Apollo, which was a representation of himself."

another ancient monument, now called *Kistech*. An inscription on the base, given by Wheler, states it to have been erected by Tatianus to the Emperor Marcian.* Both the pillar and the pedestal are of granite, but the Corinthian capital is of white marble. It is surmounted with an urn of the same material, "carved at the corners with eagles," which, Wheler supposes, may have contained the emperor's heart. The inscription intimates, that the statue of Marcian was placed on this monument; probably on the urn. This column, that near *Yeni-Kapousi*, the one in the Seraglio gardens, and the Historical Column, are the only ancient monuments of this description now remaining in Constantinople.

At a little distance from the Burnt Column, in a quarter of the town anciently called *Leucas*, is the Imperial Cistern of Constantine, now called *Binderik*, or the Thousand and One Pillars, and *Yerebatan Serai*, the Subterranean Palace. It has now the appearance of a suite of gloomy dungeons, and was occupied, when Mr. Hobhouse visited it, by "a number of half-naked pallid wretches, employed in twisting silk through all the long corridors by the glare of torches. The roof of this reservoir, apparently that of Philoxenus, was supported by a double tier, consisting altogether of 424 pillars, of which only the upper half

* "This Tatianus," says Wheler, "was undoubtedly the same that assured him he should be emperor, when as yet he was but a private soldier: having with his brother Julio, seen an eagle sit over him, and shadowing him from the sun with his wings, when he was fallen asleep in the field, being wearied with hunting. For which, as soon as the event verified the good omen, he made Tatianus governor of the city, and Julio he made governor of Illyria."

are now cleared from the earth.* The cistern *Asparis*," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "constructed by Aspares and Ardaburius in the reign of Leo, who destroyed the founders of it in the reservoir itself, may be that of eighty columns near the mosck of Lalèli, on the third hill. *Tchoukour-Bostan*, now a herb-garden within a high-walled inclosure, between *Tekkuri-Serai* and *Ederne-Kapousi*, is supposed by Le Chevalier to be the cistern called from a neighbouring church *Mocius*; but it corresponds more precisely to that which was constructed by Bonus, a patrician, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius, at the back of the Hebdomon (*Tekkuri-Serai*), and which had lost its columns and chambers, and was a garden when seen by Gyllius. The same person mentions another cistern, containing cultivated ground, near the mosck of Sultan Selim, on the back of the fifth hill. A subterranean corridor of twenty-four columns near the Seven Towers, and some ancient remains between the public bath *Tchoukour-Hamam*, and the mosck called *Seirek-Dgiamissi*, belong also to three other cisterns.

"*Bendjekan-Kemeri*, the aqueduct of Valens before noticed, is in a thinly-inhabited part of the town, near *At-Bazar* (the horse-market), connecting what are called the third and fourth hills. The double row of forty Gothic arches seems to have been rebuilt by Solyman out of the old materials of intermixed stone and tile, and probably in the ancient form. Although still used to convey water, it is half in ruins, and has the decay without the grace of antiquity; but these *mighty arches*, these *aërial chambers*, the admiration

* Dr. Dallaway, not recognising the double set of columns, makes the number only 212.

of the Byzantines, have, as an architectural monument, nothing either grand or agreeable.

"The style of the numerous fountains at Constantinople is extravagant and fantastic; but the profusion of gilding, the variety of glaring colours, and even the taste of the whole structure, are consonant with the gay dresses of the people, and the gaudy air which spreads itself over every object of the Turkish capital. In the court of St. Sophia is a fountain erected by a Persian architect, after the fashion of his own country. The public baths, of which there are no fewer than 130 within the walls, do not add to the external beauty of the city. Their low, flat domes have a poor effect, but they are mostly built of marble, and the interior of them is handsome and spacious, and affords, in a degree superior to the baths of the provincial towns, every accommodation requisite for the perfect enjoyment of the first of oriental luxuries. The best in the city is near the church of the Armenian patriarch, and not far from the *Atmeidan*.

"The 160 *khans* of Constantinople are so many immense stone barracks or closed squares, which have, like the baths, every recommendation except architectural elegance. The court of *Valide-Han*, which we visited, and which is reckoned one of the best in Constantinople, is ornamented with a thin grove of trees, with two handsome fountains; and the building, besides warehouses and stables on the ground-floor, has three stories or galleries, one above the other, with ranges of small chambers, each of which is kept neat and clean by the servants of the *khan*, and fitted up for the time with the carpets and slender wardrobe of the several occupiers. The generality of the *khans* are for travelling merchants; but the chambers of the one we visited, were let out as counting-houses to

some natives whose dwellings were in Galata, Pera, or some distant quarter of the city. These useful edifices are the work of the Ottoman sultans, and of other munificent individuals; so that strangers, except a small present to the servant at departing is taken into account, are gratuitously lodged, and are, during their residence in the city, masters of their rooms, of which they keep the keys. They are for all men, of whatever quality, condition, country, or religion soever: and there the poorest have room to lodge in, and the richest have no more. The construction of them has contributed to attract the merchants and the merchandise of the furthest boundaries of Africa and Asia to the capital of Turkey.* During fifty or

* "The commercial intercourse of distant nations seems cogenial to the spirit of the Mahometan religion, and it has been promoted not only by the chief injunction of that system, the pilgrimage to Mecca, but by various other regulations of useful piety, which facilitate the progress and contribute to the comfort of travellers. Hospitality in the East is still a duty, and the Musselman esteems the construction of a fountain or a caravanserai in the wilderness, as an act of devotion not less sincere than serviceable. Thus also he cherishes the camel, not only as the favourite of his Prophet, but as the *ship of the desert*. The oriental travelling merchant, a character with which we become acquainted in the very outset of history (Genesis xxxvii. 25), is the favourite and the friend of Islamism. For the few days of the annual pilgrimage, the fair of Mecca, until the late disturbances of Arabia, was the greatest perhaps on the face of the earth. (Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning India, sect. iii. p. 103, edit. quart.) From that centre, a constant and abundant supply of the most useful and luxurious commodities diverged in a variety and abundance sufficient for the real or fancied wants of every region of the eastern hemisphere. The communication of the commodities of distant regions by land-carriage, has, notwithstanding the progress of navigation, increased, instead of diminished, in modern times; a curious fact, illustrated and explained by the eloquent and learned author to whom I have just referred. The same person will carry sulphur from Persia to China; from China to Greece, porcelain; from Greece to India, gold stuffs; from India to Aleppo, steel; from Aleppo to Venice,

insurrections, their iron gates are closed, and they afford complete security to the persons as well as the goods of the merchants.

"The covered Bazars of Constantinople have more the appearance of a row of booths in a fair, than a street of shops. Yet, the arrangement and exposure of their various and gaudy articles would astonish a person acquainted even with the splendour of London: one alley glitters on each side of you for a hundred yards with yellow morocco; you turn into another fringed with Indian shawls, or cast your eye down a long vista lined with muslin draperies or robes of ermines and fur. The crowd in the Bazars, consisting chiefly of ladies, renders it difficult to pass through them, especially as more ceremony is required than amongst the well-dressed mob of an opera-house; and such are the extent and intricacy of these covered ways, that it would be a tiresome task to roam through the half of them in one morning.

"Not only these Bazars, but those which more resemble open streets, are severally allotted to particular trades and merchandise, after the manner of Athens, of Rome, and of this city when under the dominion of the Greeks. The shops of jewellers and engravers of precious stones, occupy one quarter; those of the goldsmiths, another. The curriers and leather-workers, as well as horse-dealers, all live at At-Bazir. Misir-Tscharchi is a long line of drug-repositories. All the Mocha coffee is ground by hand in Tahmis-Bazar.

glass; and from Yemen to Persia, painted calicoes. It is by the aid of the caravan, that the shawls of Cashemire, the muslins of Bengal, and the diamonds of Golconda, as well as the gold and ivory of Southern Africa, are to be met with in the bazaars of Constantinople."

The ancient Charto-Pratia of the eastern capital may be recognised in Tusuk-Bazar, which is tenanted by the sellers of paper, and the copiers of manuscripts. The artists are all Turks; we saw them at their labours. Some were copying, others illuminating books; and many of them were employed in giving the gloss which is found on all their writing-paper, and which they effect by placing the sheets in box frames, and perseveringly rubbing the surface with a Chalcedonic amethyst, or piece of jasper, let into the end of a short stick;—a contrivance which is applied by our own artisans in polishing other substances. Those acquainted with oriental literature, would naturally resort to the shops of Tusuk-Bazar; and, as I understand, would meet with most of the books in any repute in the East."

The grand metropolitan mosque of St. Sophia has already been described. The royal mosques (*Djiamissi Selatyn*) are fourteen in number.* That of Sultan Ahmet has a magnificent exterior. "The court which ranges along one side of the Hippodrome, is shaded with trees, and provided with handsome fountains for the ablutions of the Mussulmans. The six minarets (a number with which no other mosck is furnished) are too tall for the building, but their distant appearance is imposing and agreeable. Ascending by a flight of thirteen marble steps into a fine vestibule or ambulatory, paved also with marble, and surrounded with an arched cloister of granite colonnades, you anticipate something more striking than

* According to Mr. Hobhouse. Pococke says, six only are royal mosques, viz. those of Sultans Achmed, Soliman, Mahommed, Selim, Bajazet, and the Validea. See p. 113. The total number of mosques in Constantinople, Mr. Hobhouse says, has not exceed 700, besides 300 mosqs or public chapels.

the interior of the building, where a dome much smaller than that of St. Sophia is supported by four gigantic ill-proportioned piers, spoiled also by tawdry fresco paintings, and by the cords of the lamps and consecrated vases. The windows of stained glass are a rich and suitable ornament to the building. In this mosck is the curtain or cloth door of the Kibleh (Kaaba*), which is renewed annually, the new one being sent with great poup from the Grand Signior, and the old one brought from Mecca, and suspended in the temple of Sultan Achmet for a year."†

Little St. Sophia, (*Kutchuk Agia Sophia*) is a small mosque, which deserves notice from its having been a Christian church dedicated to St. Bacchus and St. Sergius, and built in the reign of Justinian. It stands near *Thatlodi-Kapousi*, a gate on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, not far from the mosque of Sultan Achmet. "It is a small round temple, covered with a dome standing on eight pillars of a mean appearance, and, in the interior, is remarkable only for two rows of eighteen and sixteen Ionic columns, fourteen of which are of verd-antique, and twenty of white marble suffused with red spots. The capitals of the pillars are ornamented with vine-leaves; for the former of these illustrious saints has retained the attributes of his namesake in the heathen mythology. The same holy person seems also to have preserved his divinity, not only in Greece, but in Italy and Spain, where it is common at this day to swear by Bacchus. A Greek inscription, in letters a foot long, runs round the whole of the building. It con-

* See Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 310.

† In the court of this mosque, a number of cats are fed twice every week, according to the bequest of one of the Sultans. This animal was a favorite with Mohammed.

tains a mention of the Imperial founder. Procopius assures us, that the brilliancy of this temple exceeded the splendour of the sun, and that it was loaded with gold and ornaments. He launches out into other expressions of admiration, which confirm the opinion before expressed of the architectural beauties which were in most repute during the reign of Justinian.

"The *Osmanié*, called also *Nouri-Osmanié*, the light of the Ottomans, is well worthy of attention," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire. The plan of the *Osmanié*, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia.* A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. The whole pavement of the mosck is of white marble: the windows are of painted glass; and where there is any gilt or gaudy colouring, it is disposed with appropriate elegance and splendour. A range of columns of Thebaic granite, twenty-two feet in height, add to the ornament, while they contribute to the support of the edifice; and the general appearance of the *Osmanié* is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection."

To the north of the court surrounding this mosque, there is a sarcophagus of porphyry, nine feet in length,

* This plan is stated to have been allotted out of many others by Sultan Mahmood, the superintendence of the work being entrusted to Greek architects. That Sultan did not live to see it finished; it was completed in the reign of his brother and successor, Osman III, in the year 1756.

seven in width, and five in depth, which now serves as a cistern for rain-water. This is one of two sarcophagi which are shewn as the tomb of Constantine; but, as Mr. Hobhouse has proved, it has no pretensions to this distinction. That which the citizens of Constantinople, at least three centuries ago, regarded as the tomb of that Emperor, is close to the mosque of Seirek or *Khane Djiamissi* (the mosque of the churches); and is ten feet long, six feet wide, and eight in depth. According to Gyllius, the site of the church of the Apostles, in which the Emperor's remains were deposited, was at or near the *At-bazar*; and in his time, the mass of hollow porphyry without a lid, the supposed tomb, was near the same spot, "close to the highway leading from St. Sophia to the Adrianople gate." Gyllius was sceptical with regard to the identity of this monument, but the story prevailed at the taking of the city; at which time the *operculum* of the sarcophagus seems to have been entire, and to have contained a mysterious inscription, interpreted by the Patriarch Gennadius into a prophecy relative to the eventual downfal of the Ottoman empire.*

"The most magnificent of all the Imperial mosques," Mr. Hobhouse says, "is the *Suleymanié*, built out of the ruins of the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon in 1550. It is not so large as St. Sophia, but much lighter and better coloured. The dome is less elliptical than that of the other mosck, and the four columns of Theban granite, sixty feet high, and each of a single stone, which contribute to its support,

* See Hobhouse, p. 876. "On the faith of this inscription," says this Traveller, "not only the Greeks have persuaded themselves of the approaching downfal of the Ottoman empire, but the Turks themselves have looked towards that fatal event."

are preferable to the ill-assorted masses collected by the architects of Justinian. The four piers on which the dome is raised, are indeed of an enormous bulk, but they are all of the same size, and correspond to the scale of the same structure. It is nearly a square, the length being two hundred and sixteen, and the breadth two hundred and ten feet. The pavement is of white marble, and on one of the sides of the mosck, is a range of latticed bronzed doors or casements, inclosing a collection of books attached to the college of the *Soleymanid*. The ambulatory, or court of approach, which is paved with marble, is inclosed by a grand cloister of twenty-four columns, each cut from a single mass. The gate of entrance is in a singular taste, of fret-work, like the top of an episcopal cathedral chair. The ascent to it is by a flight of at least twenty marble steps. At the back of the mosck is an inclosed court, shaded with trees, which contains the mausoleum of Solyman. This was the most regular and best made of the sepulchral monuments seen by Gerlot at Constantinople, and has not been surpassed or equalled by any subsequent structure of the same kind. It is an octagon, surrounded without by a gallery, the pent of which is supported by fifteen small columns of marble: within, it has a little octangular corridor, each of whose corners contains a serpentine column with the base and capital of white marble; so that in the interior of this sepulchre there are eight arcades, for the support of the dome. In the middle of the mausoleum is the tomb of the Sultan; also that of his son, at the foot of which is a large wax candle, and several wooden reading-desks, where the books are placed when the sofias put up their prayers for the deceased.' Beyond the mausoleum of Solyman is that of Roxalana his wife. A sum is set apart to

maintain a certain number of readers, who, at stated times, pray for the soul of the Sultan; and this, as well as the other royal *Turbes*, is visited occasionally by the Grand Signior, who offers up his addresses at the foot of the tomb. The mausoleums are built open at the top, that the rain may fall upon the flowers and herbs which are planted round the grave; but they are guarded from the birds by a net of brass or gilded wire. In some instances, the bier is above ground, and the sepulchre is inclosed only by an iron railing; such is the *Turbe* of Sultans Mustapha and Selim. A large coloured turban, covered with ornaments, is fixed at the head of each bier. The *Suleymanie* is placed in a spacious rectangular court, inclosed by low walls, pierced with a row of open casements, which are latticed with iron-work."

The foundation of a royal mosque comprises also that of a college, a hospital, and an alms-house; and of the thirteen public libraries, nine or ten are attached to the *Djiamissi Selatyn*. Tournefort states, that these noble establishments consume a third of the land revenue.* The number of students in the *medresses* or colleges, has been declining, but still amounts, according to Mr. Hobhouse, to between four and five hundred in each. Besides these *medresses*, there are *meklebs* or free-schools for the poor of the quarter, the expence of whose education, as well as the board and lodging of some of them, is defrayed out of the revenues of the mosque. In 1782, there were more

* "It is affirmed," he says, "that the revenue of St. Sophia is [illegible]. The villages whose revenues belong to the royal mosques, have large privileges; their inhabitants are exempt from quartering soldiers, and from being oppressed by the bashaws, who, when they travel this way, turn aside."

than 500 schools registered in the books of the Stamboul-Effendi, or Mayor. "When it is recollected," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "that each of the edifices here noticed is adorned with, and chiefly composed of rich marbles, and that the domes are covered with lead; and when it is also considered, that there are more than two hundred similar structures, built with materials more or less rich, and all protected by the same costly covering, the Turks will not be accused of neglecting the splendour of their capital. Their admiration of the dome displays itself in all their edifices. Not only the mosques and the mesdjids or chapels, but the hans, the bezesteins, and the baths are crowned with cupolas; and as they are known by this distinction from the dwelling-houses, Constantinople appears to the distant spectator to contain as many public as private buildings. I consider the present city to be infinitely superior to the metropolis of the Greek empire in the reigns of the latter emperors. The streets are, it is true, narrow, and either ill-paved or not at all; but, except in Bailat, the Fanal, and the Armenian quarter, they are much cleaner than those of Pera, and, unless compared with the neatness and regularity of an English town, are far from deserving those epithets of disgust and contempt which are usually bestowed upon them by travellers. Constantinople, however, is distinguished from every other capital in Europe, by having no names to its streets, no lamps, and no post-office. Of the last two, the Turks do not feel any want: they are all within doors after sun-set; and their epistolary correspondence is not too frequent to be conveniently carried on by the assistance of travelling friends, or other casual conveyances."

POPULATION OF THE CITY.

The number of houses in Constantinople, Pera, and Galata, in 1796, was 88,185; according to which estimate, the population cannot be taken at less than half a million.* Of these, the Turks, or Osmanlees, and other Moslems, are supposed to constitute about three-fourths. Next to them, the Greeks have been supposed to be the most numerous; then, the Armenians; after whom come the Jews; and last of all, in point of numbers, the Franks.

"I live in a place," writes Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "that very well represents the Tower of Babel. In Pera, they speak Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Slavonian, Walachian, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian,

* "Among the calculations I collected during my residence," says Mr. Turner, "that which appeared to me most probable, gave a million of souls to the capital and to the villages on the Bosphorus up to the entrance of the Black Sea. Of these, between 6 and 700,000 inhabit the city, including its suburbs of Pera, Galata, and Scutari. It is from the desolation of the provinces, and the secure shelter from oppression enjoyed by a large community, that the cities of this declining empire are well peopled. When I passed Gallipoli on my way to Constantinople in 1812, that city contained 12,000 houses. When I again landed there in 1815, it consisted of 16,000, the additional 4000 houses being inhabited by the natives of the north of Greece, who, during that interval, had fled from their homes, to avoid the ravages of the robbers and the equally dreaded violence of the soldiery. An unthinking observer would form a high opinion of the prosperity of Turkey, from the rapidity with which the numbers who perished in the plague of 1812, were supplied at Constantinople and its neighbourhood; but the traveller would find villages and whole tracts of country emptied to furnish them. The capital is peopled at the expense of the cultivated country; and it is the same ruinous want of system in the government, which depopulates the provinces of the empire, and gathers multitudes on the banks of the Bosphorus."—Turner's Tour in the Levant, vol. i. p. 91.

Hungarian; and what is worse, there are ten of these languages spoken in my own family. My grooms are Arabs; my footmen, French, English, and Germans; my nurse, an Armenian; my housemaids, Russians; half a dozen other servants, Greeks; my steward, an Italian; my Janizaries, Turks: so that I live in the perpetual hearing of this medley of sounds, which produces a very extraordinary effect upon the people that are born here; for they learn all these languages at the same time, and without knowing any of them well enough to write or read in it. There are very few men, women, or even children here, that have not the same compass of words in five or six of them. I know myself several infants of three or four years old, that speak Italian, French, Greek, Turkish, and Russian; which last they learn of their nurses, who are generally of that country."

THE ARMENIANS.

"The Armenians," says Mr. Hobhouse, "are the most respectable of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant. The depopulation of a whole country has often been effected by those monsters to whom the Author of all events has, at different times, delivered the universe; but no great and violent work of tyranny was ever attended with less excess, or has produced more beneficial consequences, than the laying waste of Armenia by Shah-Abbas the Great, and the partial deportation of its inhabitants from the frontiers to the interior provinces of Persia. By this decisive measure, the monarch prevented the encampment of the Turkish armies on the borders of his dominions; and, by giving a new spirit and employment to the transplanted nation, increased the wealth of his empire, at the same

time that he bettered the condition, and added to the importance of a large portion of his subjects. The Armenians, who, from being the most warlike of the Asiatics, had, after their subjection by the Persians, become the patient cultivators of the soil, from the period of this forced emigration substituted commerce for agriculture, and gave a striking, and perhaps a salutary example, of the competence of a powerful individual to change the habits and character of a whole people. Some of this nation were to be found in Constantinople in the latter periods of the Greek empire; but the Armenian merchant, now so well known in every quarter of the globe, was created by that prince, when he established the great colony of Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan; and to the same act, the European world is indebted for an increased and perpetual supply of the most precious and costly of all oriental commodities. The growth of silk increased in every province of Persia; and the new settlers, applying the same prudence and industry to the concerns of commerce, as they had before employed upon the labours of agriculture, not only enriched themselves and added to the revenues of the state, but, by an intercourse with more civilised nations in their long and painful journeys, and an interchange of their merchandise for the manufactures of Europe, improved the taste, and much increased the comforts, of all their fellow-subjects.

"Of mild but persevering tempers, sober and patient in all their pursuits, honest although skilful in their dealings, accommodating in their habits and manners without losing their individual character, they did not fail to acquire a reputation in every country to which they were directed by the enterprise of traffic; and the preference shewn for those of their nation in all commercial transactions, soon

made them settlers in many of the flourishing cities of Asia and Europe. They had not to make any sacrifice of patriotic feelings, for they had no country; and they are now, not less than the Jews, a dispersed people, living in strange lands; and in Turkey, notwithstanding their numbers, they may be considered rather as a sect than a nation.

"The above eulogy of the Armenians must be confined to their mercantile character. Living under despotic masters, being of a more saturnine and phlegmatic disposition than the Greeks, and not having, like their fellow-subjects, any interest in the soil, or desire of emancipation, they have the temperament of contented slaves; and their minds display no other activity than what is sufficient to assist them in the pursuit of one only object—the attainment of wealth. Their boasted literal language, which is comparatively a late invention, although understood by only a few of their *Vertabiets*, or Doctors, has not contributed to the advancement of science or any branch of learning. Like the Greeks, they are debased by their subjection not only to the Turks, but to their priests, and by the tyranny of a mean and absurd superstition.

"Some of the customs of the Armenians are not less striking to a Frank stranger, than those of the Turks. Their women are equally enveloped when abroad, and are to be distinguished from the Mahomedan females only by the colour of the square capes of the *ferejis* which hang behind their backs. Their marriage ceremonies are as tedious and fantastical as those of any of the Orientals. These lasting alliances, which are settled between the parents during the infancy, and sometimes before the birth of the parties, are concluded and consummated before the bridegroom has a view of the face of his spouse; and the disguise is in

some instances continued after the marriage; but unless the longest visiters at Pera are much deceived, the extreme delicacy of the females is reserved only for their husbands. Their constant use of the bath, and other personal habits, together with the little peril of an amour with a Christian, compared with a Mahomedan intrigue, render them the unexpected and ready substitutes for the Turkish ladies, in the hands of a class of people which may always be met with in any large city."

The following account of an Armenian marriage is given by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, late chaplain to the British Embassy. "I was invited to the wedding of a young lady of one of the first Armenian families of Pera, whose match was made in this way, and who, I was assured, had never seen the man she was going to marry. We went about eight o'clock in the evening, and found the house lighted up and full of the lady's friends, among whom were the priest and his wife, very plain, simple-looking persons. We passed through several ante-rooms, in which were groupes of people, and were finally ushered into an inside chamber, round which was a divan, or long sofa, against the wall. On the divan were a number of Armenian ladies, sitting cross-legged, two or three deep and close together; and at the far corner, sat a still, motionless form, like a bust in a niche, covered over with a rich veil, glittering with gold, which hung down on all sides so as entirely to conceal the figure beneath it. This bust was the bride. Across the middle of the room was a line of men, standing two or three deep, gazing in silence on the bride. Out of complaisance to our Frank customs, chairs were brought for our accommodation, and placed inside the line of men: on these we now sat down, and continued

for a long time to gaze in silence also. The bride now, for the first time, permitted her veil to be raised, but it was immediately again let fall. The short glimpse, however, shewed us a slight figure and a pale face, with an expression exceedingly joyless and pensive. She formed a strong contrast to the ladies on the divan, who, though silent or speaking in whispers, were in high spirits. They were all distinguished by glittering coronets of gold and diamonds, placed on the crown of the head, whence their hair hung down in the most beautiful and extraordinary profusion, sweeping the divan on which they were sitting. Their faces in general were lovely, their manners very modest but very affable, and no one was veiled or reserved but the bride. Refreshments were handed to us by two of the young ladies, who stepped from the divan for that purpose. They consisted of little glasses of red rosoglio, followed by spoonfuls of a sweet, white, consistent syrup, like flour and honey, and washed down by goblets of water, not very clear. The refreshment was accompanied by music: a groupe of musicians sat in a corner of the room, and played and sang appropriate songs. An open space was now cleared opposite the bride, and two embroidered mats were laid on it. On these were placed two enormous silver candlesticks, containing wax tapers of a proportionate size, and between them, a third enormous candle, without a candlestick, and singularly decorated. It was bound on the top of a white pole, and ornamented with festoons of ribands and gold tinsel. As it could not stand by itself, it was bound to the back of a chair, and placed directly before the bride. This candle was called the 'nuptial taper:' it represented the maiden state of the girl, and was to burn till that state expired, and she became a wife; it is then ex-

tinguished and preserved in her family, while the snuff of the wick is taken by the priest, who affirms that it is endued with many virtues. I did not expect to see the torch of Hymen thus lighted at a Christian wedding.

"The priest was now called forward to perform another important ceremony. A low table was placed near the nuptial taper; this was covered with a white cloth, or napkin, and the priest sat down at one end, attended by another Armenian, who was not a priest, to say responses. He took out of his bosom a small crucifix, and waving it several times in the air over the table, he uttered a benediction: he then began a prayer, and concluded with a psalm, accompanied by his assistant, in a very dissonant and nasal tone. When the psalm was over, we were curious to see what was under the cloth. It was lifted slowly up, and a large rich shawl appeared on the table, which was immediately taken, and ceremoniously wrapped round the bride. This was considered as one of the most important parts of the ceremony, and is called, 'blessing the nuptial shawl.' We now took our leave, and were invited to come again on the morrow, when the bride was to be conveyed to the bridegroom, who was all this time at Galata, a distant part of the town, being never suffered to approach the house.

"The next day, about three o'clock, the lady was led down in the same dress she wore the day before, and in addition to her ample veil, the consecrated shawl was wrapped round her, in such a way as absolutely to envelop her. An *arraba*, or Turkish coach, drawn by buffaloes, was waiting at the door: this consisted of a long platform of boards laid upon four wheels, and surmounted with a gaudy canopy of wood, carved and gilded. Into this the bride was lifted, wrapped up like a child in swaddling clothes going to be

christened. Her female friends, including the priest's wife, to the number of ten or twelve, sat round her so as effectually to conceal her person. The nuptial candle was borne on the shoulder of a boy, who walked before; and in this way the procession slowly moved to Galata, to the house of her husband, when, for the first time, he was permitted to see her face. The final marriage-ceremony did not take place till three days after, at which no strangers were admitted. Notwithstanding their very unpromising mode of courtship, marriage is generally a happy, or, at least, a tranquil state among the Armenians, and instances of conjugal infidelity are utterly unknown. As a religious people, they consider it as a most solemn engagement; and the disposition of the females, as well from nature as education, is so gentle, docile, and domestic, that the inclinations of the wife never stray beyond her house, her husband, and her children."*

"The chief Armenians of Constantinople are, as well as the Jews, money-brokers (*sarraffs*), and they receive a small premium for examining the coin in the many bargains which go through their hands. They also buy the specie when cried down and at a low price, and re-issue it in the loans with which they accommodate the Turks, at the exorbitant interest of between twenty and thirty per cent. This is the chief source of their wealth. Many of their merchants are in good circumstances, and also their goldsmiths, as only a few of any other nation exercise that trade. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. The greater number of bakers are of their nation. They are the chief house-builders,

* "Account of the Armenian Christians of Constantinople, by the Rev. Robert Walsh, LL.D., late Chaplain to the British Embassy," in the *Amulet* for 1827.

masons, joiners, turners, braziers, and lock-smiths; and as porters, they shew themselves the most laborious, and perhaps, the strongest people in the world. Sixteen of them, eight before and eight behind, with their arms extended across on each other's shoulders, will carry a barrel of wine slung on four poles, throwing three hundred weight upon each man. They march in a quick lock-step, accompanying each pace with the groan of a parior, and apparently in the last agony of exertion. The Armenians are also water-carriers, sherbet-sellers, boatmen, fishermen, silk-twisters, ribbon-weavers, and tent-makers, and are accounted the best farriers and horse-breakers in the country. As chints-printers and muslin-painters, they surpass most European artists, but the blocks and patterns are French. Previously to figuring their linens or cottons, they polish them with a paste of fine flour, and, as has been noticed by a contemporary traveller, they wash their printed calicoes in sea-water, to cleanse them from the gum used in preparing the colours. On the whole, the Armenians are the most industrious and useful subjects in the Ottoman empire."

According to Dr. Walsh, there are computed to be at present, in Constantinople and the adjacent villages, 200,000 Armenian Christians, of whom about 4,000 acknowledge the supremacy of the Romish See:* the remainder are nominally subject to the patriarch of

* The total number of this once powerful nation is estimated by Dr. Walsh at only 1,301,000; viz. in Armenia, 1,000,000; in Constantinople and the vicinity, 200,000; in Persia, 100,000; in India, 40,000; in Hungary and other parts of Europe, 10,000; in Africa and America, 1,000. This estimate, however, is probably too low. In a recent report of the German Missionary Society, it is stated that, according to the latest and most exact returns, the Armenian Church numbers, in the Russian provinces, 42,000 individuals; in

Constantinople; but his jurisdiction, as well as that of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, is merely titular. The Armenian Church recognises the authority, in matters of doctrine and discipline, of only the four original patriarchs of Etchmeazin, Sis, Gantzahar, and Achtamar. The other two patriarchates originated in the policy of the Turks, who, availing themselves of the religious prejudices of the people they subdue, nominate to these offices creatures of their own choice. On every new appointment, the Porte receives a large fine; and the patriarch then becomes the responsible agent in enforcing the *firmans*, and in collecting the *haratch*, or capitation-tax. The poor patriarchs of Constantinople, therefore, whether Greek or Armenian, are not held in much respect by their people, as they are frequently removed for the sake of the money which every new appointment yields, and are known to be the mere tools of their Turkish masters.

The Armenians of Constantinople are distinguished by a patriarchal simplicity in their domestic manners; "nor does the attachment of families," says the Rev. Dr. Walsh, "cease with this life. Long after death, they endeavour to hold a visionary communication with their parents and children." The practice alluded to forms one of the most singular customs that prevail among this singular people. In the vicinity of Constantinople, each nation has its own cemetery. That of the Armenians occupies several hundred acres on a hill that overlooks the Bosphorus. The Turks,

Turkey, 1,500,000; in Persia, 70,000; thus comprehending a total of 1,617,000 souls. But to this estimate must be added those in India and other parts, amounting to 30,000, besides the Armenian Catholics, who are not very numerous. The total army therefore is set down at 1,700,000.

on the death of a friend, plant a young cypress over his grave; but, although they have adopted this custom from the Greeks, no *rayah* is allowed to plant this tree. The Armenians, therefore, generally plant on these occasions, a terebinth or turpentine-tree,* the resin of which yields a strong aromatic odour, which serves to correct or to conceal the exhalations from the graves. These trees grow to a large size, forming very picturesque objects in the landscape, so that the Armenian cemetery, which is thickly planted with them, has a beautiful appearance; and from its elevated situation, and the view it commands, it is altogether a most interesting spot. "Here," says Dr. Walsh, "whole Armenian families, of two or three generations together, are constantly seen sitting round the tombs, and holding visionary communications with their departed friends. According to their belief, the souls of the dead pass into a place called *Gayank*, which is not a purgatory, for they suffer neither pain nor pleasure, but retain a perfect consciousness of the past. From this state they may be delivered by the alms and prayers of the living, which the pious Armenians give liberally for their friends. Easter Monday is the great day on which they assemble for this purpose; but every Sunday, and frequently week days, are devoted to this object. The priest who accompanies them, first proceeds to the tombs, and reads the prayers for the dead, in which he is joined by the family. They then separate into groupes, or singly sitting down by favourite graves, call its inhabitants about them, and, by the help of a strong imagination, really seem to converse with them. This pious and pensive

* *Pistachia Terebinthus*, supposed to be the *oil* or *elm* of the Hebrews.—See Gen. xiii. 6; xviii. 1; xxxv. 4; where this tree is designated by the word improperly rendered plain.

duty being performed with their dead friends, they retire to some pleasant spot near the place, where provisions had been previously brought, and cheerfully enjoy the society of the living. These family visits to the mansions of the departed are a favourite enjoyment of this people. I have frequently joined their groupes without being considered as an intruder; and, I confess, I have always returned pleased, and even edified, by the pious though mistaken practice.

The island of Marmora lies almost within sight of this place, and abounds in marble; this stone is very cheap and abundant, and no other is used in erecting tombs. Some of these family mausolea are rich and well sculptured; others of them are very remarkably distinguished. The first thing that strikes a stranger, is a multitude of little cavities cut at the angles of the stone; these are monuments of Armenian charity. The trees abound with birds, who frequently perish for want of water in that hot and arid soil. These cups are intended to be so many reservoirs to retain water for their use, as they are filled by every shower of rain. The Armenians are fond of commemorating the profession of the dead; they therefore engrave on his tomb the implements of his trade, so that every one may know how he had gained his living. But the most extraordinary circumstance is, that they are also fond of displaying how he came by his death; you therefore see on their tombs the effigies of men, sometimes hanging, sometimes strangled, and sometimes beheaded, with their heads in their hands. To account for this extraordinary fondness for displaying the infamous death of their friends, they say that no Armenian is ever executed for a real crime; but when a man has acquired a sufficient fortune to become an object of cupidity to the Turks, he is then, on some

pretext, put to death, that his property may be confiscated; an executed man, therefore, implies only a man of wealth and consequence. This display is a bitter but just satire on Turkish justice, though the Turks are so stupid as not to comprehend it. I brought with me a worthy Armenian priest one day, who, with fear and trembling, translated for me the inscriptions on some of these tombs. I annex one as a sample:

You see my place of burial here in this verdant field.
I give my Goods to the Robbers.
My Soul to the Regions of Death.
The World I leave to Gold
And my Blood I shed in the Holy Spirit.
You who meet my tomb,
Say for me,
'Lord, I have sinned.'
1197.

Notwithstanding this treatment, the Armenians are in higher favour with the Turks, than any other tributary people. They designate the Greeks, whom they detest, *geaker*, or slaves, and consider them so; the Jews, *musaphir*, or strangers, because they came from Spain; but the Armenians, *rayas*, or subjects, because their country is now a province of Turkey, and they consider them as Asiatics, and a part of themselves. This favour is greatly enhanced by the wealth which the industry and enterprise of the Armenians bring to the impoverished and lazy Turks. They are, therefore, appointed to all those situations which the Turks themselves are incapable of filling. They are the masters of the mint, and conduct the whole process of coining money; they are the *sarafs*, or bankers, who supply Government and individuals with cash in all their embarrassments; they are the conductors of the very few manufactures which exist in the empire; and they are the merchants who carry on the whole in-

ternal trade of Asia. They enjoy, however, a precarious protection: the very favour they are shewn is a snare for their destruction; for every man that acquires wealth by its means, knows that he holds his life only as long as the circumstance is unknown.

"It is singular, that the Armenians have never shewn the slightest sympathy or common feeling with their Christian brethren the Greeks. No Armenian has ever yet been found to join their cause, or to assist it in any way, either by money or influence. Resembling Quakers, however, in many of their habits, they are, like them, a quiet, passive, sober people, and greatly averse to war. Besides this, there unfortunately exist some religious differences between them and the Greeks, which embitter their mutual feelings. The Greeks despise them for their timidity; and arrogating to themselves exclusively the name of 'Christians,' they seem to exclude the Armenians from the Christian community.

"The Armenians, though fond of religious books, have little taste for or acquaintance with general literature. They purchase with great avidity all the Bibles furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Their patriarch sanctioned and encouraged a new edition of the New Testament, which the Rev. Mr. Leeves, the agent of the Bible Society, has had printed at an Armenian press at Constantinople; and I was encouraged to have a translation made into their language, of some of the Homilies of our Church, on account of the Homily Society in London, which I left in progress. They had early a printing-office attached to the Patriarchate, and another more recently established by a private company at Kouru Chesme, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. They have also a third, which was set up at the convent of

St. Lazaro, in Venice, whence has issued a number of books in their language. Their publications are, however, almost exclusively confined to books on religious subjects.* I obtained a list of all the books printed at the patriarchal press, from the year 1697, the year of its establishment, to the end of the year 1823. It conveys a better idea of the literary taste and progress of the Armenians, than any other document could do. In a space of a hundred and twenty-five years, only fifty-two books were printed, but, of each of these, several editions. Forty-seven of them were commentaries on the Bible, sermons, books of prayer, lives of saints, hymns, and psalters, and a panegyric upon the angels. The five not on sacred subjects were, 'An Armenian Grammar,' a 'History of Etchmeazin,' a 'Treatise on Good Behaviour,' a 'Tract on Precious Stones,' and a 'Romance of the City of Brass.'"

The use of the Armenian language at the present day is very limited, being exclusively confined to the people themselves; so that all Armenians are compelled to learn Turkish and French, or Italian, as a medium of communication; and they often understand these languages better than their own. Many Armenians can read and write both Turkish and French, who are unable to translate their own books. The Armenian Almanack, which is published annually, is distinguished by several peculiarities; in particular by the accuracy with which it points out the temperature of the air at certain seasons. They call the 8th of February, *Gemrči evel behava*; i. e. the day on which the heat of the sun descends into the air; and the 25th

* Mouradjea D'Ohsson, the celebrated author of a French work on the Ottoman empire, was an Armenian by birth; he was drogueman to the Swedish mission.

of the same month, *Gemrîi solis filtoarab*, the day on which it descends into the earth. The interval between the 8th and the 17th of March, is styled *Berdenil adjus*, the cold of the old women; and Dr. Walsh states, that both before and after that period, the weather is usually very mild; but he remarked, every year during his residence at Constantinople, that at that precise period, a N. E. wind sets in from the Black Sea, generally attended by a drift of snow, and the thermometer sometimes falls to the freezing point.

THE FANARIOTES.

The Greek population of Constantinople amounted in 1818, according to a census taken by the clergy, to 4900 resident families, comprising 24,500 individuals, besides 2350 strangers: total 26,850.* The name of

* See Essay on the Fanariotes, by M. P. Zallony, late physician to the Grand Vizier, in Swan's "Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean," (8vo. 1820) vol. ii. According to this calculation, the Greeks are far less numerous than the Armenians. "Of all the people who inhabit Constantinople," it is remarked, "the Greeks are the most scattered; which proceeds from this, that almost all the quarters hereafter named, enclose orthodox churches built by the ancestors of the present Greeks; viz., the Petri-Capi, Fanar, Balata, Edirne, Capissi, Airy-Mermer, Psomathia, Wlanja, Yeni-Capi, Cuni-Capi, Princes' Island, Cadi-Kioy, Scutari, Cousounsuk, Yeni-Mahale, Bozyuk-bere, Tharapia, Yeni-Kioy, Balta-Liman, Yatari, Bubeki, Arnaout-Kioy, Cosuru-Chesme, Orta-Kioy, Bodiktashe, Galata, Pera, Tatarin, Has-Kioy, Avas-Kioy, and Agios Stephanos." In consequence of one of the demands included in the Russian ultimatum in 1821, much inquiry was made into the number and condition of the Greek churches in the capital and its vicinity. It then appeared, that, in the city itself, there are twenty-four Greek churches and chapels; in the environs, as far as Phanaraki on the one side, and Agios Stephanos on the other, about thirty-eight; in Princes' Island, eleven: total, seventy-three or seventy-four. Of these, about sixty remained uninjured by the popular tumults.—Warrington's Greece, p. 11.

Fanariotes has been given to the principal families, on account of their occupying the quarter called the Fanar,* situated on the sea-side fronting the arsenal, where the European ambassadors used to reside, before they were excluded from the city by the jealous policy of the court. This part of Constantinople was originally appropriated by the Ottoman conqueror, as a residence for some of the family of Constantine. Here is still the palace of the Greek patriarch; and among the Moldavian courtiers, a faint image may yet be seen of the magnificence of the Byzantine emperors.† "It is in the Fanar," says the Hon. Mr. Douglas, "that we discover the purest remains of the ancient literature; and the patronage of its inhabitants has

* More properly Phanar, (by the French and Italians written *Fanal* and *Fanale*,) from φανάρι, a light-house. The gate leading to this quarter, near the head of the port, is called *Fanar Capessi*, the light-house gate. The present light-house, however, is on the side of the Sea of Marmora, between the two quarters called *Thatkali* and *Ahsir Capessi*.

† "We were made to step ashore on a mean-looking quay, and to turn into a narrow dirty lane; and I attained the acme of my dismay, when, arrived opposite a house of a dark and dingy hue, apparently crumbling to pieces with age and neglect, I was told that there lived the Lord Mavroyani. . . . A new surprise awaited me within. That mean fir-wood case of such forbidding exterior, contained rooms furnished in all the splendour of eastern magnificence. Persian carpets covered the floors, Genoa velvets clothed the walls, and gilt trellis-work overcast the lofty ceilings. Clouds of rich perfumes rose on all sides from silver cerners; and soon I found that this dismal outside appearance was a homage paid by the cunning of the Greek gentry to the fanaticism of the Turkish mob, impatient of whatever may, in Christians, account of luxury and ostentation. The persons of the Fanariote grandees were of a piece with their habitations. Within doors, sinking under the weight of rich furs, costly shawls, jewels and trinkets, they went forth into the streets, wrapped in coarse, and dingy, and often thread-bare clothing."—AWASTASIUS, vol. i. p. 70.

supported the few men of genius who have of late appeared among the Greeks." Yet here, most travellers agree in stating, the Greek character exhibits the lowest degree of degeneracy; and the term Fanariote has been used as synonymous with sycophant and traitor. Their influence has been represented as fatal to the cause of the Greeks, although the aged patriarch was one of its first victims; and two of its most illustrious and disinterested champions, Demetrius Ipsilanti and Mavrocordato, are of Fanariote families. It is extremely difficult to obtain any thing approaching to an impartial account of the character of the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Among this class, (speaking from private information of the highest respectability,) may be found examples of every social virtue that can adorn human nature,—probity, hospitality, strict honour, purity of morals, and decidedly the most finished politeness and the highest tone of manners that are to be met with in any capital. Neither the Castilian nor the Parisian presents a finer specimen of the true gentleman, than the Constantinopolitan Greek. It is no wonder if with this should be mingled a love of pompous appellations and a scrupulous etiquette in distinguishing them, which are, in fact, very general throughout Greece. The title of *archon*, which is equivalent to noble, is universally applied to persons of family and distinction; * and the same kind of vanity has led to the substitution, among the Fanari-

* "Ἀνὴρ Βασιλικὸς (a princely man) is the polite phrase for a man of fashion. Each of the patriarchs is addressed by a peculiar epithet, while the absurd superlatives Εὐσεβέστατος, Θεοφιλέστατος, Παναγιότατος, (the most pious or most reverend, the most beloved by God, the most completely holy,) and many others, designate the various dignities of the Greek church."—DOUGLAS on *Modern Greeks*, p. 106.

ons, of high-sounding family names, to which, by descent, they have little pretension, for their original patronymic.* But this aristocratic vanity, how unpardonable soever in the eyes of the republican, can with no fairness or consistency be imputed to the Modern Greek as a ridiculous peculiarity and the sign of servility and baseness, when it is recollected, that precisely the same distinctions, the same fondness for hereditary names, and the same feelings, are fostered by the institutions and manners of Christian Europe. A brief account of the origin of their political importance will probably be acceptable to our readers. †

* May not the adoption of ancient titles and heraldic bearings by newly ennobled families and many persons of obscure origin, be fairly considered as a parallel case?

† For the materials of the following sketch, we are indebted chiefly to the Essay on the Fanariotes referred to in a preceding note. We have found it necessary, however, to receive the author's statements with great caution. Zallony was a native of Tino, and both as an Islander and a Roman Catholic, his prejudices against the Fanariotes would be scarcely less strong than those of an Ottomite. He writes, indeed, in some places, like an enlightened and liberal man; but his work is avowedly an attack upon the Fanariote party, and it betrays in many instances the strong political bias under which it was composed. It was written in French, and appeared at Marseilles in the spring of 1825; and, as the Author's object was to advocate the plan of an hereditary monarchy as the best form of government for Greece, its publication was, probably, not wholly unconnected with the intrigues of the French party. Indeed, in some places, there is reason to suspect that the hand of a French has been concerned in the authorship. The influence of the Fanariotes is ridiculously exaggerated. They are accused of having made intrigue the soul of the Ottoman government: as if, previously, there had been nothing venal or corrupt in its administration! In one place, the Writer says: "In developing those plots which have proved so fatal to the Greeks, I have desired but to expose the Turkish Government." Could a Greek have written this? Mr. Waddington, indeed, tells us, that "there are no bounds to the detestation in which a Catholic Greek holds an orthodox Greek; it is therefore that the former has taken to share in the

As the Turkish law prohibits every Mohammedan subject to learn any language in use among infidels, the Sublime Porte has always required an interpreter in carrying on its communications with the representatives of Christian potentates. At one period, Jews or renegades were employed as translators of the official papers presented to the Porte, in Greek or in Italian; but these were afterwards replaced by Fanariotes. The office of translator was not at first held in any high consideration. When a *grammaticos* or writer had finished reading to the minister the documents put into his hands, he retired, and remained in attendance among the inferior officers, until his presence was again required. It was in the reign of Mohammed IV., in the year 1669, that a *grammaticos* named Panayotaki, having ingratiated himself into the favour of the Grand Vizir Kioprili, by his services during the siege of Candia, was elevated to the new dignity of *Divan Terzimen*, or Drogueman to the Divan, and had assigned to him a lodging in the palace, with permission to let his beard grow.* His successors in office obtained an extension of these prerogatives. They were permitted to dress *à la longue*, in every respect like the Osmanlees, with the exception of the turban; instead

in correction, but have even deprecated its success." M. Zallony's apology for the Turks at the expense of the Fanariotes, looks too much like the same spirit.

* This extraordinary man, whose name is sometimes written Panagiotti, was born in the island of Scio. The Greeks have a proverb, that it is not more difficult to find a green horse than a wise man, in that island; and Panayotaki's abilities procured for him the appellation of the Green Horse. He is said to have been the author of a curious work in Romaic, printed in Holland, under the title of "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East." He was a zealous defender of the faith of the Greek church; yet had much credit with the Porte. He died in 1673.

of which, they assumed a bonnet furred with ermine, such as is worn by the dragomans of European ambassadors. They were also authorised to ride on horseback, and to be attended by four domestics wearing calpacs, or furred bonnets,—a privilege till then unheard of for a Greek. The honours and advantages attached to this office, soon excited the ambition of the Fanariotes. To qualify them for being called to the service of the state, the children of the richest families were now carefully instructed in the Turkish and Italian languages, and when, after the fall of Venice, the Italian ceased to be the chief medium of intercourse, in the French. Subsequently, the Divan thought proper to create, for the advantage of public business, the additional post of Dragoman of the Marine. The ascendancy which these offices conferred was most powerful: their fortunate possessors ruled the destinies of their countrymen, and dispensed the favours of the Porte. And this influence they preserved up to the era of the Revolution.*

Not satisfied with the moderate revenues arising from their places, the Fanariote dragomans soon turned their ambitious views to the sovereignty of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which had hitherto been governed, according to treaty, by native princes. The treason of the unfortunate Bessarabbe Brancovano in 1710, convinced the Porte, that the Wallachian boyars could no longer be trusted; and the only alternative seemed to be, either to convert the tributary principalities into pashaliks, or to confide them to the government of rayahs nominated by

* The important part which they performed in negotiations with foreign powers, was one main source of their influence. To his services in negotiating the peace of Carlowitz, Alexander Mavrocordato owed the elevation of his son to the dignity of voivode.

the Divan. In 1714, two days after Bessaraba's deposition, Stephen Cantacuzene, of Greek origin and calling himself a descendant of the Imperial family of that name, was, by the Sultan's order, elected to the voivodate. He remained in office only two years, and was the last Wallachian hospodar or voivode, whose nomination was attended by the formality of an election.* No prince of Wallachian or Moldavian birth or origin was ever afterwards appointed to the government of either province. To the representations and intrigues of the State Interpreter (Divan-dragoman), Alexander Mavrocordato, who was anxious to obtain one of the voivodates for his son, is ascribed the adoption of the policy which, instead of placing them under Turkish pashas, gave them Christian princes selected from the rayahs of the Fanar. It appears to have been thought, that the long established habit of obedience and servile degradation, would ensure their fidelity, and render them suitable tools for the new system. Being instructed to adhere to the plan of administration pursued by the native hospodars, they were suffered to hold a court, to confer dignities and titles of nobility, and to keep up a show of sovereign splendour; circumstances highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks.† They were strictly forbidden, however, to

* Wilkinson's Wallachia, p. 31. Zallony states, that Constantine Mavrocordato, who succeeded his father Nicholas in 1781, was the last hospodar of Wallachia elected by the boyars. Thornton, on the authority of Castorix, represents Cantacuzene as a person of obscure family, born in Wallachia, who assumed that illustrious name. A descendant of Bessaraba was still living a few years ago, and his possession of the landed property inherited from his ancestor, yielded upwards of 20,000 piasters annually. He was looked upon, Mr. Wilkinson says, as the first and richest boyar of Wallachia, and was acknowledged by the Court of Vienna as Prince of the Roman empire.

† The hospodar departed from Constantinople with all the

maintain or to collect troops upon any pretence whatsoever. Four places only were reserved for Mohammedans, viz. those of *divan-effendi*, or lord of the council in the hospodar's divan; *besheli-aga*, or high-sheriff in all affairs relating to Moslems; *mehter-bashe*, master of the music, in attendance on the person of the hospodar; and *bairactar*, or standard-bearer. The offices of grand treasurer or receiver-general, grand judge, and some others, were still left for the native boyars; but the greater part were given to the Fanariotes in the train of the hospodar, who, from the time of their nomination, took the rank and title of boyar. The same title is entailed by marriage with the daughter of a native boyar, upon the husband, together with all the privileges annexed to that rank.

Cantacuzene was recalled in 1716, to make room for Nicolas Mavrocordato, who was removed from the government of Moldavia to that of Wallachia.* This person was the son of the above-mentioned Alexander Mavrocordato, the successor of Panoyotaki in his office of State Interpreter.† On the death of Nicolas in September 1730, his son Constantine was

honours of a pasha, attended to the gates by a numerous suite of janissaries. His dress does not differ from that of the Grand Signior, except in the substitution of a bonnet of cylindrical shape, such as was worn by the khan of the Crimea, instead of the turban. It is of yellow cloth trimmed with sable.

* Nicolas Mavrocordato was named hospodar of Moldavia in 1709. He was recalled the following year, to make room for Demetrius Cantemir (or Kondemir), the historian of the Ottoman empire. On Cantemir's defection, he was re-appointed to the voivodate of that principality, from which he was removed to that of Wallachia.

† Alexander Mavrocordato is stated to have been the grandson of Scarlatos or Scarlati, who, in the reign of Murad IV., was purveyor of beef and mutton to the court. Mr. Wilkinson describes him as originally a petty merchant of Scio.

nominated to the principality, and he was the first Fanariote who set out from the shores of the Bosphorus, to take possession of the sovereignty of Wallachia. Scarcely was he installed, when he became involved in the consequences of the revolution which, in October of the same year, ended in the deposition of Ahmed III. He was arrested with his family, and his property was sequestered; but, in the following year, Sultan Mahmoud gave him his liberty, and reinvested him in his possessions and his principality. The character of this prince is very variously represented. "Some wise institutions," says Mr. Wilkinson, "attest the liberality of his views and a generosity of character not to be traced in any of his successors. But he was twice recalled, because he refused to comply with demands of the Ottoman Government, which appeared to him incompatible with the duties he owed to the Wallachians." M. Zallony, unwilling to allow any public virtue in a Fanariote, confirms this statement, at the same time that he disparages the merit of the prince. "The reign of Constantine Mavrocordato," he says, "has made an era in Wallachia, in consequence of the famous reform of 1730, to which they have affixed his name, and which perfected the misery and ruin of this province. He established new tribunals, replaced some of them by military judges, deprived the boyars of the guards with which they were wont to be attended, completed the suppression of the national militia, and reserved only a small number for the civil service and for posts. Equally a bad financier and an unskilful politician, in place of fixing the principal weight of taxes on the productions and consumption of the country, he augmented the capitation, and farmed all the other contributions. Although the changes effected by Con-

stantine had for their object purely to increase his revenues, his reform embraced all parts of the administration, civil and military: every thing was subjected to the fiscal system. At first, it appeared that this prince had laudable intentions. He made public some good regulations; he abrogated certain imposts, and diminished others; *he reduced and fixed the quota of labour which a vassal should render to his lord; he even abolished the slavery of the peasants.* And yet, their number, which he found to consist of 147,000 families in the first census which he directed, was only 70,000 in the second, in 1745. Towards the sequel, it was reduced to 35,000, whether from the emigration of malcontents, or that many families obtained by the aid of money, the non-inscription of their names on the civil register. But when Mavrocordato beheld himself at different times despoiled of his principality by the cabals of his rivals, he no longer discovered much delicacy as to the means of maintaining himself in it; and his greatest fault was, his having augmented the tribute which Wallachia paid to the Porte on the occasion of the new hospodar, to 1,500,000 francs. This measure not only raised the misfortunes of the country to their height, but it was also the source of disgrace to its author. The Turks, interested in obtaining this sum as often as possible, have continually changed the hospodars. The people have only been the more crushed with taxes; and the princes, disgraced, are nothing more than the farmers of the Porte, removeable at will. None of them have done more injury to Wallachia than Constantine Mavrocordato. Deposed in 1741, re-established in 1744, dispossessed anew in 1748, restored in 1756, recalled in 1759, and named for the last time hospodar in 1761,

he was finally disgraced in 1763, and died a few years afterwards at a very advanced age."*

The intervals in the administration of Constantine Mavrocordato were filled up by no fewer than seven different hospodars; three of the family of Racovitza, and four of that of Ghika. Speaking generally of Constantine's successors, Mr. Wilkinson says: "The other princes, less scrupulous and more careful of their own interests, marked their administration by the most violent acts of extortion and an invariable system of spoliation. Few of them died a natural death; and the Turkish scimitar was perhaps frequently employed with justice among them."† Intrigue and bribery, however, appear to have had more to do in effecting these changes, than any considerations relating to public justice; and to prevent this scandalous abuse, Russia stipulated in the treaty of 1792, that the hospodars should remain in office at least seven years. This agreement was formally recognised by the Ottoman plenipotentiaries at Yassy; but, not being observed by the Porte, the frequent infractions of it became the subject of continual remonstrance on

* Mr. Wilkinson states that, within the ninety years extending from the appointment of the first Greek hospodar in 1709 to the end of the century, Wallachia passed through the hands of forty different princes, independently of the intervals (from 1770 to 1774, and from 1788 to 1792) during which it was occupied by the Russians or Austrians. This appears, however, to be a mistake, arising from the successive re-appointments of the same individual. Nicolas Mavrocordato and Caimacam occupied the station for the first twenty years of that period. Constantine Mavrocordato and seven other princes fill up the next three-and-thirty (twenty of which are comprised in the successive reigns of the said prince). For seven years of the period, the country was in foreign occupation, which leaves only thirty years unaccounted for.

† Wilkinson's Wallachia, p. 46.

the part of the court of Russia. In 1802, Prince Ipsilanti was appointed to the government of Wallachia, and Prince Alexander Morousi to that of Moldavia, on the express condition, obtained by the Russian minister, that neither of them should be removed previously to the expiration of that term, unless chargeable with any crime that the Russian minister should allow to justify their deposition. In 1803, however, the intrigues of the French ambassador procured the sudden recall of both the hospodars, without the concurrence of Russia; Morousi being replaced by Charles Callimaki, and Ipsilanti by Alexander Sutzo, a man who had always been opposed to the Russian interests. From 1806 to 1812, the principalities were in the occupation of the Russian armies. The treaty of Bucharest, which was conducted on the part of the Porte chiefly by Demetrius Morousi as state-interpreter, restored them to Turkey, with the exception of the country between the Dneister and the Pruth;* when Callimaki was re-appointed hospodar of Moldavia, and Yanco Caradja, of Wallachia. The latter having, after a reign of six years, acquired immense wealth, became an object of suspicion to the Divan; and in October 1818, information brought by a messenger from Constantinople, induced him suddenly to leave Bucharest with all his family, for Kronstadt, in the Austrian dominions. After his departure, the boyars petitioned that no more Greek voivodes might be sent them, but that the administration might remain in the hands of the divan. The Porte did not, at that time, however, think proper to listen to

* For consenting to this cession of territory, Demetrius Morousi was represented as a traitor in the pay of the Russians by the French party; and his head, as well as that of his brother Panayotti, was exacted as the penalty of a disgraceful capitulation.

the proposal; and Alexander Suzzo was re-appointed to the government.

In the mean time, Greeks continued to flow into the principalities from all parts; and they are represented as having gradually engrossed almost all the posts and privileged stations, and made themselves masters of the resources of the country, when the ill-planned revolt of the Hetarists, in 1821, drew down upon its authors and the innocent inhabitants the vengeance of the Ottoman Government.* The fourth part of the inhabitants, including almost all the boyars, are stated to have emigrated into Transylvania, Bucherina, and Bessarabia. Order being at length restored, two deputations of native boyars from their respective provinces, waited upon the Divan, to petition, in conjunction with the emigrants and clergy, for the re-establishment of their ancient privileges and national government. The result had been pre-determined upon; and in pursuance of the new system adopted by the Porte, the boyar Jouan Sandoul Stourdza, descended from the most noble family in Moldavia, was invested with the government of that principality, while the boyar Ghika was appointed to that of Wallachia. This popular measure is stated to have been followed by a return of vast numbers of the refugees, and the provinces have been restored to perfect tranquillity, and to some degree of prosperity.†

* Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 125.

† A writer in a French journal gives the following account of the state of the provinces in 1823. "Although the nomination of these princes, their installation, the return of the French and Austrian consuls, and the declaration of the Congress of Verona, were certain marks of the restoration of order and the maintenance of peace, nevertheless, the enemies of the country continued to spread over these principalities absurd reports. Quitting Bucharest towards the end of February, I traversed Moldavia. The most perfect

The Fanariote system has thus been finally subverted, and the power of the Constantinopolitan Greeks is at an end.* In this, there is nothing to regret. But, in considering how far they are liable to the heavy charges of selfishness, treachery, and venality, which have been brought against them as a body, by Zallony and other partisans, it may be worth while to inquire, what portion of the community were implicated in the intrigues of the Fanar. The resident Greek population of Constantinople, we have seen, amounted, in 1818, to nearly 5070 families. Of these, a very few have attained to the envied distinction in question. "It is very true," says this writer, "that both the hospodariate and the dragomanate have been perpetuated in the families of Mavrocor-

tranquility reigned there. There were no other Turks there than those who compose the guard, and whom they hope soon to replace by a national militia. The prince Jean Sturdza enjoys the general affection and esteem. He is very popular. Without having solicited his dignity, he places his ambition in fulfilling the duties which it imposes. He knows the wounds and the necessities of his country; and he labours without intermission for the re-establishment of public prosperity, encouraging agriculture, economy, and commerce, which begin to resume their activity. Confidence in his acknowledged justice has led to the return of all the emigrants, even of the Greeks, who, having given security for their conduct, enjoy liberty and all civil advantages. It is false, that they have been imprisoned or delivered to the Turkish authorities. I myself witnessed the return of the Primate of Moldavia: he was received with all the honours and respect due to his character and virtues. The majority of the boyars have already returned; the remainder are also preparing to do so, to range round a national prince so long coveted."—*Journal des Debats*, May 5, 1835.

* Zallony represents the Fanariotes as having lost three-fourths of their influence since 1821, but predicts, that the party will regain its power, because it has "ties of relationship with the policy of certain European powers," and its mediation is indispensable, as long as European ambassadors must confer with the Vizier by any other mouth than their own.

dato; Macroyeni, who came originally from the island of Mycone; Ghika, of Albanian origin; Rucovitza and Voda, of Anatolia; Ipsilanti and Morousi, of Trebizond; Callimaki, a Moldavian; Sutzo, a Bulgarian; Caratza (or Carudja), a Ragusian; Cuzerli, of Constantinople, &c. It is on these families that the destiny of Greece has rested. In esteem with the Divan, they represented, in some measure, the whole nation. They might have drawn upon it the favour of the Sublime Porte, and have softened the weight of slavery. As soon as the Ottoman Government had weakened itself by admitting a *rayah* into its bosom, a new fate presented itself to the Greek nation. From that period, this unhappy people has failed to find, among the members of these families, a well-intentioned man of talent. The Fanariotes have seen all Greece within the compass of the Fanar: out of it, they have said, they had no country. If it had been otherwise, would not the majority of the Fanariote princes, who have been, in their quality of drogueman to the Divan, called to conferences which introduced peace, have obtained, by little and little, stipulations favourable to their fellow-citizens?.....The choice which the Sublime Porte made of a Greek prince to govern Moldavia and Wallachia, demonstrates that it is not so intolerant as we might imagine, and that it was possible to obtain concessions in favour of the *rayahs*, and to bring back that moderation which signalised the first years of Greek dependence. But the princes of the Fanar have preferred sacrificing to Plutus, rather than to Minerva; and while the major part of the Greek nation groaned under the contempt of the sultans, they swelled into sultans themselves."

In these remarks, our readers will have a key to the complaints and invectives incessantly cast upon

the Fanariotes by the Greek patriots, and echoed by some of their partisans in this country. Yet, it is not a little singular, that, of the eleven families above enumerated as having engrossed the whole patronage of the Fanar, four appear not to be of Greek origin;* while to some individuals of these very families, the cause of independence has been indebted for its earliest and most illustrious champions. At the head of these, we must place Alexander Mavrocordato, a brief account of whose character and origin we have reserved for this place.

This accomplished man is descended in a direct line from his illustrious namesake, who, in the conferences at Carlowitz, rendered such important services, by his diplomatic talents, to the Porte; and he is consequently a member of the family which so long reigned in Wallachia. He was latterly employed under Prince Caradja when hospodar of that principality, and is generally admitted to have given proof of considerable talent in the administration of affairs as *postelnico*, or secretary-of-state. When Caradja, to avoid disgrace and the bow-string, took refuge in Transylvania, Mavrocordato accompanied him to Kronstadt, and thence to Geneva and Pisa. His birth, education, and character would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of the struggle of his countrymen in the Morea. He arrived at Marseilles in June 1821, and, after making a short stay in that city, sailed for the Peninsula, conducting thither a number of Greeks who had come from Germany, together with a considerable quantity of ammunition and arms. "Since that period," says M. Zallony, "Mavrocordato has never ceased to give unmeasured proofs of devotion to

* This appears to be the case with the Albanian boyar Ghika; as well as the families of Suzo, Calfiaski, and Caradja.

the cause of independence. He has not belied in a single instance the opinion I had formed of him. When I saw him at Marseilles, I thought I discovered a happy union of enthusiasm and reflection, blended with the most perfect courage and coolness. He permitted no sentiment of personal ambition, and still less of pride, to escape him. Thus, I do not believe that he himself assumed the title of prince, which modern historians have given him.* He has not adopted it in any of his public acts. It is wrong, therefore, in his enemies, to exclaim against the name of prince, which, under existing circumstances, seems granted to him by the gratitude of his fellow-citizens."†

* If both confirmed this title, Mavrocordato's claim to it would seem to be as good as that of any of the Fanariote princes: but it is acquired only by having filled the high office of first dragoman, or that of vaivode. Mavrocordato appears never to have risen, under the Ottoman Government, to a higher station than that of *postelnic*, or secretary-of-state to a hospodar.

† For further details relating to the distinguished part taken by Mavrocordato in the Greek Revolution, see Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. I. pp. 149, *et passim*. His personal appearance is thus described by Count Pecchio. "His countenance appeared to me much handsomer and more animated than the picture of him in London. He dresses *à la Franque*. He speaks French with facility and elegance. His conversation is lively, agreeable, and full of wit, and he is very ready in his answers. He has all the talents requisite in a secretary of state, and understands and expedites business with readiness. His enemies, unable to deny his ability on this point, say that he handles the pen better than the sword." Mr. Emerson represents his appearance as any thing but dignified and prepossessing, his figure being small, and his manners, though easy, too polite; he even describes his countenance, so much of it as is visible through his bushy hair and eyebrows and curling moustachios, as having a childish expression: yet speaks of "the deep glance of his penetrating eye." Mr. Swan says: "His face is rather striking: he has a falling brow, cheeks full and ornamented with huge whiskers and moustachios of an intense black: his nose is large and rugged, and generally surmounted with spectacles: but his looks do not indicate much ability. His voice is harsh and squeak-

A second exception is made by this writer in favour of Alexander Ipsilanti, whose military exploits had already distinguished him in the armies of the Czar, when he engaged in the ill-concerted enterprise of the Hetarists. He had lost his right hand at the battle of Culm, but he was desirous of employing the single arm that remained to him, in the deliverance of his country. "Ipsilanti," says this writer, "descends from the princes of that name; but he has never figured among the boyars of Constantinople, nor been tainted with their vices. His ancestors have even merited, in the bosom of corruption, the titles of just and generous. Many monuments, erected both in Greece and in the provinces, attest the benefit of their administration, their taste for the fine arts and for useful institutions." The character of Demetrius Ipsilanti is universally admitted to be distinguished by probity, honour, and disinterestedness.* The unfortunate Constantine Morcusi, who fell a victim to the vengeance of the Porte in 1821, was a patron of learning, and a man of the most estimable and unblemished character.† In fact, the writer himself cautions his readers against drawing too gene-

ing." Col. Stanhope says: "I found him good-natured, clever, accommodating, and disposed to do good. He has an ingenious, rather than a profound mind. He seems at all times disposed to concede and to advance every good measure. . . . Count Capo d'Istria considers him as a man of great probity and honour; qualities rarely found together, but very essential in his situation." "Of the organization and consolidation of Greece," says Mr. Waddington, "it is, I fear, but too true, that our hopes mainly repose on him."—See *Picture of Greece*, vol. i. p. 138; vol. ii. p. 61. SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 29. STANHOPE'S *Letters*, pp. 13, 41. WADDINGTON'S *Greece*, p. 113; and BLAQUIERE'S *Second Narrative*, pp. 151, 6.

* See M. R. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 133, note.

† Ibid. p. 139, note.

ral inferences, admitting that some among the hospodars, who pursue the Fanariote policy, have not the less been men of merit at the bottom, and endowed with considerable knowledge. "The family of Mavrocordato," it is added, "has produced some virtuous princes, habituated to the management of affairs. The last of the Ipsilantis have been remarkable for their probity, information, and generosity. Mavroyeni was a person of much courage, and of a greatness of soul which almost approached to stoicism. The Morousis have been excellent diplomatists and skilful ministers. Doubtless it would have been more honourable for these men to renounce honours and riches, when they were to be acquired at the expense of justice and virtue. But sacrifices of this nature, when they could not affect the destiny of the people, would have no profitable result; and it was better for them that despotism should have been exercised by such moderate men, than by those who, for ever in extremes, are guided by no generous sentiment, and whom ignorance and cupidity invariably direct. They have at least discovered some liberality to their subjects; and their administration, more paternal and more enlightened, has spread over the provinces, benefits which they would never probably have obtained from those who might have reigned in their place."

This testimony to the merits of the most distinguished Fanariotes, will probably be thought to amount very nearly to a refutation of the charges previously brought against them. With regard to their administration as hospodars, it may be questioned whether the yoke of the native princes pressed less heavily upon the peasantry of those unfortunate provinces. At all events, the perpetual and arbitrary changes of the

governors by the Porte, must be regarded as the chief source of the calamities entailed upon the people. To the Greek princes, it is admitted that the Wallachians were indebted for some wise and equitable reforms in the administration; and the difficulties of their situation ought to be considered in appreciating their conduct and the character of their government.* As to their supposed want of patriotism, the charge of not

* How are absurdly described in the language which the Author of Anastasius puts into the mouth of Prince Mavrocyeni. "Now how am I to fortify my province against invasion without money? and without money, how am I to keep myself in my province? Without the sums necessary to raise soldiers and batteries, the Austrians march into Bucharest next month; and without the sums requisite to fee the Capitan-Pasha, the Vizier, and the Sultan, I am turned out of my principality next year. Let, then, my avarice light on the heads of my employers! With them, my generosity would be only my crime. Again;—as to cruelty; for what purpose, do you think, has the Porte made, in my favour, the hitherto unexampled exception to its rules, of joining the rank of a Turkish vizakir to the prerogatives of a Greek hospodar? For what purpose has the Porte allowed me to command in the field several thousands of Moslem soldiers, but for that of enabling me to avert the extraordinary perils that hang over this province, by extraordinary vigour? If I then find that, from all the various perplexities in my situation, as a native of the Isles, as a stranger to the leaders of the Fanar, and as the Christian subject of a Mohammedan master, I have every body against me, as well within the very heart of my principality as beyond its boundaries; if I see the Greek who hates me as an intruder, the Wallachian who prays for the success of the Austrians, and the Mussulman who looks down upon me as a poor and a rayah, all unite in wishing for my subversion; if I have to defend myself against the jealousy of the first, the treachery of the second, and the fanaticism of the last; if I know that the least levity, considered as a weakness, will only encourage the audacity of my enemies, and hasten my ruin; and if I also know that with me must perish my trust;—is it not my duty to my sovereign and my province, to steady, by an extraordinary pressure, the jarring elements ready to fall asunder? And must I not, neglecting the petty forms of the law to do the speedier justice, whenever I can, pinion the suspected, paralyse the traitor, and cut off the criminal."—Anastasius, vol. ii. p. 298.

having attempted to obtain any concessions in favour of their countrymen, can apply only to the individuals who successively filled the high office of dragoman-interpreter; and if it is evident that their power was as limited as their situation was precarious. Some of these are admitted to have been honourable and patriotic men. Upon what grounds, then, are the Fanariotes held up to suspicion and obloquy as unworthy of the name of Greeks? Chiefly, perhaps, because all classes of Greeks, in modern as in ancient times, suspect and depreciate each other. Thus, the Roumeliots despise the Moreotes, the Moreotes the Hydriotes, and all three detest the Fanariotes; just as the Spartan mountaineers despised the Athenian merchants and the islanders. All that is still respectable in the Greek character, however, must be sought for, if any where, among the polished and well-educated families of the Fanar. To fix and define the traits of national character is at all times difficult; but, perhaps, the Greek has seldom been more accurately and happily portrayed, than by the Author of Anastasius, in a speech which he puts into the mouth of Prince Mavrocordi.

"You mistake, Anastasius, in thinking the Greek of Constantinople different from the Greek of Chios.* Our nation is every where the same; the same at Petersburg as at Cairo; the same now, that it was twenty centuries ago.... The complexion of the modern Greek may receive a different cast from dif-

* Mr. Waddington thus describes the Greeks of Ipsara. "The Psariots are genuine Greeks, with no admixture of blood, Turkish or Albanian. They have nothing in appearance or character which is not truly national. Ingenious, loquacious, lively in gesture, active, enterprising, vapouring, and deportative, they form a most yellow contrast with the solemn Mussulman."—*Visit to Greece*, p. 31.

ferent surrounding objects: the core is still the same as in the days of Pericles. Credility, versatility, and thirst of distinctions, from the earliest periods formed, still form, and ever will form, the basis of the Greek character. And the dissimilarity in the external appearance of the nation arises, not from any radical change in its temper and disposition, but only from the incidental variation in the means through which the propensities are to be gratified. The ancient Greeks worshipped a hundred gods; the modern Greeks adore as many saints. The ancient Greeks believed in oracles and prodigies, incantations, and spells; the modern Greeks have faith in relics and miracles, in amulets and divinations. The ancient Greeks brought rich offerings and gifts to the shrines of their deities, for the purpose of obtaining success in war, and preeminence in peace: the modern Greeks hang up dirty rags round the sanctuaries of their saints, to shake off an ague, or to propitiate a mistress. The former were staunch patriots at home, and subtle courtiers in Persia: the latter defy the Turks in Maina, and fawn upon them in Fanar. Besides, was not every commonwealth of ancient Greece as much a prey to cabals and factions, as every community of modern Greece? Does not every modern Greek possess the same desire for supremacy, the same readiness to undermine by every means, fair or foul, his competitors, which was displayed by his ancestors? Do not the Turks of the present day resemble the Romans of past ages, in their respect for the ingenuity, and, at the same time, in their contempt for the character of their Greek subjects? And does the Greek of the Fanar shew the least inferiority to the Greek of the Pirœus, in quickness of perception, in fluency of tongue, and in fondness for quibbles, for disputation, and for sophistry? Believe

ns, the very difference between the Greeks of the past and of the present day, arises only from their thorough resemblance; from that equal pliability of temper and of faculties in both, which has ever made them receive, with equal readiness, the impression of every mould, and the impulse of every agent. When patriotism, public spirit, and pre-eminence in arts, science, literature, and warfare, were the road to distinction, the Greeks shone the first of patriots, of heroes, of painters, of poets, and of philosophers. Now that craft and subtlety, adulation and intrigue, are the only paths to greatness, these same Greeks are —what you see them!"*

"There is a national likeness observable," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "in all the Greeks, although, on the whole, the islanders are darker and of a stronger make than those on the main land. Their faces are just such as served for models to the ancient sculptors; and their young men, in particular, are of that perfect beauty which we should, perhaps, consider as too soft and effeminate in those of that age in our more northern climate. Their eyes are large and dark, from which circumstance, *Mavromati* (Black-eyes) is a very common surname; their eye-brows are arched; their complexions are rather brown, but quite clear; and their cheeks and lips are tinged with a bright vermilion. The oval of their faces is regular, and all their features are in perfect proportion, except that their ears are rather larger than ordinary. Their hair is dark and long, but sometimes quite bushy, and, as they shave off all the hair on the fore part of the crown and the side of the face, not at all becoming. Some of the better sort cut off all their hair, except a few locks twisted into a knot on the top of the head. On the upper lip, they

* Anastasius, vol. i. pp. 78—82.

wear a thin, long mustachio, which they are at some pains to keep black. Beards are worn only by the clergy, the archons, cadi-leskers, and other men of authority. Their necks are long, but broad and firmly set; their chests wide and expanded; their shoulders strong; but round the waist they are rather slender. Their legs are perhaps larger than those of people accustomed to tighter garments, but are strong and well made. Their stature is above the middle size, and their make muscular, but not brawny, round and well-filled out, but not inclined to corpulency.* Both the face and form of the women are very inferior to those of the men. Though they have the same kind of features, their eyes are too languid, and their complexions too pale; and even from the age of twelve, they have a flaccidity of person which is far from agreeable. They are generally below the height which we are accustomed to think becoming in a female, and when a little advanced in age, between twenty-five and thirty years, are commonly rather fat and unwieldy."

This Traveller goes so far as to assert, that he "did not see any very pretty Greek woman during his tour. .....If the present women, particularly of Athens," he adds, "are at all to be considered as the representatives of those of former times, their appearance will not make any one entertain an exalted notion of the beauty

* "The Romaikos and the Suliote," says Count Pecchio, "are the finest and most robust race of men I have hitherto beheld. Their skin, always exposed to the sun, is literally the colour of bronze. Their breast is ample as a column. Nature, besides, has gifted them with a rich head of hair, which they leave thick and flowing, and which would be much more beautiful, if they had not adopted the practice of shaving it off at the temples."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 44. The long-haired Greeks (Κάρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ) is one of Homer's epithets.

of the Greek ladies of antiquity.* Such of the women as I have seen from the islands of the Archipelago, with the exception of the Sciotes, are more plain than those on the main-land." Mr. Emerson confesses that he was disappointed in the beauty of the Grecian females. "They have beautiful black hair, sparkling eyes, and ivory teeth; but they seem to have lost the graceful cast of countenance which we denominate Grecian, and their figures are peculiarly clumsy, owing to their sedentary habits and slight attention to dress. A delicate and even sickly air, and an inanimate expression, seem their most striking characteristics. These, however, differ in various districts. The Morote ladies are far inferior in personal attractions to the Roumeliotes, who again yield the palm to the Hydriotes and Spezziotes:† these are in turn excelled by the Sciotes; and the Smyrniotes, by their more

* Mr. Hobhouse is even inclined to admit the absurd hypothesis of De Pauw, that the celebrity and secondary of the Greek courtesans, arose from the rareness of female beauty. The superior cultivation bestowed upon their minds, and their general accomplishments, taken in connexion with the neglect and degradation of their sex, may better serve to account for their retaining, even to what in Grecian women is old age, their extraordinary influence. In countries where female beauty is no phenomenon, individuals have attracted scarcely less general admiration. No where, probably, is the Greek blood less pure than at Athens; and there is no part of Greece, Mr. Dodwell says, in which the females are so plain. "Their features are fine, but their complexions are pale, and their general appearance is characterised by langour and debility. Premature corpulence, proceeding from a sedentary and inactive life, is particularly conspicuous in the Athenian ladies. This corpulence, however, is an object of desire, rather than of aversion, as the symmetrical contour of a delicate shape is not much in unison with the taste either of the Greeks or the Turks."—Dodwell's Greece, vol. ii. p. 84.

† The Hydriotes are an Albanian colony, but the women are probably Greek. Mr. Emerson elsewhere speaks of them as the most interesting, if not the most beautiful females he had seen in the Levant.—See Mod. Trav. Greece, vol. ii. p. 127.

civilised manners and graceful dress, are much more beautiful than all the others."*

The Hon. Mr. Douglas, however, draws a very different portrait of the Grecian female. "Though the delicacy of her form," he remarks, "is not long able to sustain the heat of the climate and the immoderate use of the warm bath, I can scarcely trust myself to describe the beauty of a young Greek when arriving at the age which the ancients have so gracefully personified as the Χρυσοστέφανος Ἥβη. Were we to form our ideas of Grecian women from the wives of Albanian peasants, we should be strangely deceived; but the islands of Andro, Tino, and above all, that of Crete, contain forms upon which the chisel of Praxiteles would not have been misemployed." †

The fact appears to be, that, in early youth, the Grecian Hebes are not less beautiful than the modern

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. p. 332.—See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol ii. p. 109.

† The Rev. C. Swan, who, in his Voyage up the Mediterranean, visited several of the Greek islands, speaks of the women of Syra as presenting "models for the statuary." The wife of the vice-consul of Mycone had a face "nearly perfect," and, but for her "unbuddiced person," would have passed the severest test of beauty. A great variety of costume obtains in the islands. The women of Mycone "would not be disagreeable," says Tournefort, "were their habits a little less ridiculous: a dress lasts them their lifetime." Their short, stiffly-plaited petticoats, richly-ornamented corsets, embroidered aprons, and red or blue stockings, give them altogether a very grotesque appearance. The women of Milo bind the hair tightly with a white cotton handkerchief, and wear something like the Venetian boddice, of dark velvet, with a very short white petticoat. The costume of Crete is very different and more becoming, though Tournefort complains, that the deep plaits of their long, full robe of reddish cloth, conceals their shape, "which is the best thing about them." Those of Scio, however, are proverbially beautiful; and Count Pecchio speaks in high terms of the beauty of the Ipsariote women.

Ganymedes, and that the inferiority of face and form subsequently observable, is to be attributed to their mode of life, their luxurious and sedentary habits, and the different standard of beauty among Orientals. With the Turk, if not with the Greek, corpulency is the perfection of form in a female; and those very attributes which disgust the Western European, form the attractions of an Oriental fair. The universal use of all sorts of cosmetics, added to the relaxing effect of the warm bath, and their loose garments, (for the lose zone is a useless ornament, neither confining nor supporting any part of the dress,) will sufficiently account for the early loss of their natural beauty.

The Greek women can seldom read or write, but are all of them able to embroider very tastefully, and can generally play on the Greek lute or rebeck. Most of them, Mr. Hobhouse says, are acquainted with a great number of songs, or recitatives, accompanied with tales, which are combined something in the manner of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia, and appear to have no end, being taken up by different individuals of the party for hours together. Whenever they have the opportunity of acquiring any unusual attainments, they evince great quickness of understanding. "At Constantinople and at Smyrna, where there are great numbers of them in the families of the dragomans and others connected with the consuls, ambassadors, and foreign missions, they speedily acquire the modern languages, and sometimes a partial knowledge of the literature and accomplishments which distinguish the females of civilized Europe. With respect to their moral character, it is what may be called amiable, and would appear very strikingly so to those of our sex who admire a woman for her weaknesses, and love her the more in proportion as she seems to fall upon them

for support and protection. They are assiduous house-wives and tender mothers, suckling their infants themselves; and, notwithstanding the boastings of travellers, I must believe them generally chaste. They have no other scope for the good qualities of either head or heart, than the circle of their family, and, whatever secret power they may possess, are never heard of as influencing any public transaction. A man may travel through Greece, and, unless at his particular desire, never see a Greek lady. Like their sex in all parts of the world, they carry their devotion to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and more readily, if possible, than the men, believe all the absurd fables and dogmas of their church. Some of their superstitious observances savour strongly of paganism. The ceremonies at child-birth, where the attendant is always a woman, are very mystical. The lamp burns before the picture of the Virgin during the labour; and the cradle is adorned with embroidered handkerchiefs, jewels, and coins, as presents to the four fairies who preside over the infant. When the child is born, he is immediately laid in the cradle, and loaded with amulets." In their dread of the evil eye,* as well as in many other superstitious customs, there is a close conformity between the Greeks and the Ottomans; nor is it easy to decide, in all cases, with which nation they have originated. †

The manners of the Greeks, Mr. Hobhouse says, would be very engaging, were it not for an obse-

* For a curious account of this classical superstition in Dodwell's Greece, vol. ii. pp. 30—37.

† Whether the Turks have been infected by the Greeks with their superstitions, or brought their fables with them into Europe, they also have belief in these fairies, whom they denominate *pias*. See for further details relating to the manners and customs of the

quietness which, to the eye of an Englishman, has the appearance of insincerity. They are assiduously attentive, and perform the rites of hospitality with equal good humour and politeness. There is, moreover, an air of great kindness, and even of ceremonious attention, in their treatment of servants and dependents, which ought to rescue their politeness to superiors from the imputation of servility. If they are not without reason charged with the love of gain, they live in a country where riches afford the only means of advancement. "There is nothing," says Mr. Hobhouse, "which is not venal with the Turks." The Greeks, in fact, are a nation of traders, even the princes of the Fanar being engaged in merchandise; and the cultivation of the earth is left chiefly to Albanian colonists. But, if avaricious, they are not miserly, being not only fond of show, but profuse and generous. As merchants, their character is said not to bear a comparison with that of the Armenian, or even the Turk, in point of commercial probity and fair dealing; and *Graecia mendax* is said to be not less applicable to the country now, than in ancient times. Their political circumstances drive them to have recourse to perpetual artifice and fraud; and their religion, it is to be feared, is ill adapted to act as a moral restraint. Yet if, in this respect, the Levantine Greek is too nearly on a par with the Jew, it is among the lower classes chiefly that this want of honourable principle manifests itself.* How can a sense of

modern Greeks, and their resemblance to those of the ancients, Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. ii. p. 104; also, Douglas on the Modern Greeks, ch. iv.; Hobhouse's Albania, lett. 31 and 32; and Tournefort's Voyage, vol. i. let. 3.

* The English are the last persons who ought to decry the mercantile character of the Greeks, if Mr. Hobhouse's statement be

national honour be expected to survive centuries of political degradation? Debarred the hope of rising in the state, (with the exception of the few posts open to the princes of the Fanar,) excluded even from the profession of a soldier, the law wholly in the hands of the Moslems, his church in a state of degradation, what wonder, it has been remarked, that the only passion which has a chance of being gratified, should predominate in the mind of a Greek; when, in countries where other paths to distinction are open, this is, with so many, the sole principle of action? What wonder that the riches of the individual should be the scale by which his merits are estimated? that to have πλάκα, πλάκα ἄνθρωπε, (or, as we should say, to be worth thousands,) is the criterion of an agreeable man; and that poverty and folly should be regarded as convertible terms?

This is, perhaps, not the place, even if our limits would admit, to enter into details relating to the state of modern Greek literature. Constantinople has (or had) two very large academies; but it is by no means the place where the purest form of Romaic is spoken.

correct, that, previously to the dissolution of the Levant Company, every British agent in the Levant but one, (except the mission at Constantinople,) whether minister, consul, or vice-consul, was a Greek or a Jew. "The salaries of these agents, who are all petty traders, are not such as to enable them to support themselves with any respectability as representatives of the British nation. The English vice-consul at Scio has about 12*l.* sterling a year: the French vice-consul at the same place, between 5 and 600*l.* The conduct of some of these vice-consuls is exceedingly disgraceful. The French seldom employ any but French agents, and these are settled with adequate salaries in every sea-port town, and in many inland places." To these miserable specimens of the Greek nation, to whom the British interests in the Levant were ignominiously confided, much of the opprobrium cast upon the Greeks is, we believe, attributable.

Nothing, Mr. Hobhouse says, can be more mixed and barbarous than the common dialect spoken by the wives and daughters of those principal Greeks with whom strangers consort, which is solicitously interlarded with French and Italian phrases: the priests, and the grandees of the *Fanar*, affect a greater accuracy. The modern Greeks delight in poetry, and very many among them evince a great facility in versification. Some amatory and bacchanalian songs are common to all parts of Greece, while others are local and fugitive. "A young man of any spirit," says Mr. Hobhouse, "who has been ill-treated by his mistress, anathematised by his priest, or beaten by a Turk, seldom fails to revenge himself by a lampoon."* The Greek music is plaintive but monotonous. A first part of some airs borrowed from Italian sailors, the first part of *Malbrook*, and even of "God save the King," are well-known tunes. It is said, that they cannot arrive at a second part. The men and women all sing, and all sing through the nose. The violin and three-stringed guitar are the usual instruments. All ranks are attached to singing and playing, not less than to dancing, and at some seasons appear to do nothing else."† The

* See, for specimens of Romaic literature, Sheridan's Songs of Greece, 12mo. 1825. Hobhouse's Albania, *Appendix*. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, notes to canto II.; and Leake's Researches in Greece, 4to. 1814.

† This apparent fondness for music, combined with a deficiency of musical ear, is very remarkable. The Wallachian music, Mr. Wilkinson says, has some resemblance to that of the modern Greeks, but is more regular in time, and altogether more harmonious: its style, however, has hardly any variety, and it is uniformly in the minor key. The church music of the Armenians is represented by Dr. Walsh as "much more tolerable" than that of the Greeks. The best musicians in Turkey are the Algerines, Bohemians, or gipsies, who, without knowing a written note, perform the German music with admirable correctness and precision.

arts are in a deplorable state. "It would be difficult," says this Traveller, "to find an architect, a sculptor, or a painter, equal to the common workmen in Christendom. At sculpture they make no attempt, and their paintings are chiefly gilded saints." Yet, the mosque of Sultan Ahmed was built by Greek architects; and in the useful arts, they cannot rank below the Portuguese.

We have dwelt, perhaps, too long, on the characteristics of this interesting class of the inhabitants of Constantinople, and must now proceed to the execution of a still more delicate and difficult task; that of portraying with impartiality the distinguishing features of their Turkish lords.

THE OTTOMANS.

In no instance which could be cited, would it be more unfair to judge of a people by the arts and constitution of its government, than in the case of the Osmanlies, or, as they are generally denominated, the Turks. It is, indeed, difficult, to explain, how, living under such a government, venal, corrupt, despotic, treacherous, remorseless throughout its whole system of administration, the people should retain so many social virtues as, by the concurring testimony of all our travellers, they are admitted to possess. "How do we trade among the Turks, and trust the Mahommedans?" inquires a writer at the beginning of the last century.* "They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable practice in trade, and you credit them without scruple, nay, rather than some Christians." "Ingratitude," says Mr. Hobhouse, "is

* Harley's Essay on Public Credit, 1710, (reprinted 1797,) p. 17.

a vice unknown to the Turks, whose naked character, where it can be discovered through the incrustations of a defective system, displays a disposition which belongs only to those whom nature has formed of better clay, and cast in her happiest mould." The testimony of Lady M. W. Montagu on this point, who avowed that she would "rather be a rich effendi with all his ignorance, than Sir Isaac Newton with all his knowledge," will not carry much weight: the very voluptuousness and sensuality of the Turks, are the subject of her Ladyship's panegyric.* Nor is her account at all times very consistent. "It is very rare," she says, "that any Turk will assert a solemn falsehood;" yet, she immediately adds: "I do not speak of the lowest sort, for, as there is a great deal of ignorance, so there is very little virtue among them; and false witnesses are much cheaper than in Christendom, those wretches not being punished, even when they are publicly detected, with the rigour they ought to be."†

M. du Loir, who was at Constantinople about the year 1640, and understood the language, thus speaks

* "'Tis true, their magnificence is of a very different taste from ours, and perhaps of a better. I am almost of opinion, they have a right notion of life. They consume it in music, gardens, wine, and delicate eating, while we are tormenting our brains," &c. "The Turkish ladies are, perhaps, more free than any ladies in the universe, and are the only women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure exempt from cares, their whole time being spent in visiting, bathing, or the agreeable amusement of spending money and inventing new fashions."—Works, vol. ii. pp. 4, 10.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 11. For the best description of the Arcon and the Turkish women, however, we must still refer to the lively, but warmly-coloured and exceptionable description given in her Ladyship's Letters. "However highly it may be coloured," remarks Thornton, "it is the only one certainly drawn from life." Russell (a much higher authority than Thornton) concurs in admitting its general accuracy, notwithstanding the suspicious restraint and occasional mistakes which the work contains.

of the national character: "The Turks are naturally a good people, which is not to be ascribed to the climate, for the Greeks born in the same climate have very different dispositions, and retain only the bad qualities of their ancestors, viz. roguery, treachery, and vanity. The Turks, on the contrary, priding themselves on their integrity and modesty, are distinguished universally by an open, ingenuous simplicity of manners; courtiers excepted, who, in Turkey, as every where else, are the slaves of ambition and avarice."

D'Arvieux describes them in very similar terms: "The native Turks and Moors are a good sort of people of themselves, and will not injure their neighbours, unless provoked; but their resentment is easily excited. They love strangers, especially the Franks. In commerce, they are shrewd but honest. In outward appearance, they are zealous observers of the law, but in reality licentious and dissolute."

Sandys, in 1610, sums up their character very bluntly: "A lazy people that work by fits, and more esteem of their ease than of their profit; yet are they excessively covetous. And although they have not the wit to deceive, (for they be gross-headed,) yet have they the will, breaking all compacts with the Christians that they find disconsolate." * The only virtues he allows them are, great reverence for their parents and the aged, and alms-giving.

Another English traveller, Henry Blount, who appears to have had better opportunities of personal observation than his learned countryman, thus charac-

* It is remarkable, that Sandys speaks of bribery as "not known till lately" in the judicial administration of the divan.

tenless ills people.* "If ever any race of men were born with spirits able to bear down the world before them, I think it to be the Turk. He is in his behaviour (howsoever otherwise) the right son of Ishmael: every man's hand is against him, and his against every man.....Now, as the subtle use to be malicious, false, and superstitious, the timid incline to breach of promise, to base ways of revenge, and the like, (so) the magnanimous are apt to be corrupted with a haughty insolency, though in some sort generous. This is the Turkish way, remorseless to those who bear up, and therefore mistaken for beastly; but such it is not, for it constantly receives humiliation with sweetness. This, to their honour and my satisfaction, I ever found.....The only beastly piece of injustice I found among these Turks, was their confidence to catch up or buy for a slave any Christian they find in the country; nor can he escape, unless where he be a settled known merchant, or go with some protector.... This excepted, the Turkish disposition is generous, loving, and honest. So far from falsifying his promise, as if he do but lay his hand on his breast, beard, or head, as they use, or chiefly break bread with me, if I had a hundred lives, I durst venture them upon his word, especially if he be a natural Turk, no Moor, Arab, or Egyptian." After apologising for the "violent nature of the government," he adds: "To the better parts of their justice, I must attach the main disorder which defames it, that is, their insatiable covetousness." He refers also, repeatedly, to the "outrageous drunkenness" of the Turks.

Maundrell, who resided for some time at Aleppo, as

* He travelled in 1634. See Harl. Coll. i. 313. Pinkerton's Collection, vol. x. p. 522.

chaplain to the British Factory, and whose remarks are in general characterized by equal fairness and acuteness, has sketched the character of the Turks, in a letter to a friend, subjoined to his Journal. "I think," he says, "they are very far from agreeing with that character which is given of them in Christendom; especially for their exact justice, veracity, and other moral virtues; upon account of which I have sometimes heard them mentioned with very extravagant commendations, as though they far exceeded Christian nations. But I must profess myself of another opinion; for the Christian religion, how much soever we live below the true spirit and excellency of it, must still be allowed to discover so much power upon the minds of its professors, as to raise them far above the level of a Turkish virtue. It is a maxim I have often heard from our merchants, that a Turk will always cheat when he can find an opportunity. Friendship, generosity, and wit, (in the English notion,) and delightful converse, and all the qualities of a refined and ingenuous spirit, are perfect strangers to their minds, though in traffic and worldly negotiations they are acute enough.

"Their religion is framed to keep up a great outward gravity and solemnity, without infusing the least good tincture of wisdom or virtue into the mind. You shall have them at their hours of prayer, (which are four a day always,) addressing themselves to their devotions, with the most solemn and critical washings, always in the most public places, where most people are passing, with most lowly and most reverend prostrations, and a hollow tone, which are amongst them great excellencies of prayer. I have seen them, in an affected charity, give money to bird-catchers (who make a trade of it) to restore the poor captives to

their natural liberty, and at the same time hold their own slaves in the heaviest bondage. At other times, they will lay flesh to relieve indigent dogs, and yet curse you with famine and pestilence, and all the most hideous imprecations, in which way the Eastern nations have certainly the most exquisite rhetoric of any people upon earth. They are incredibly conceited of their own religion, and contemptuous of that of others, which I take to be the great artifice of the Devil in order to keep them his own. They are a perfect visible comment upon our Blessed Lord's descriptions of the Jewish Pharisees. In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness, and the most exquisite hypocrisy, complete their character. The only thing I could ever observe to commend in them, is the outward decency of their carriage, the profound respect they pay to religion, and to every thing relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality."

Again, Sir James Porter, the British ambassador at the Porte in 1746, gives the following outline of the national character. "The Turks are, in general, a sagacious people: in the pursuit of their own interest or fortune, their attention is fixed on one object, and they persevere with great steadiness, until they attain their purpose. They appear, in the common intercourse of life, to be courteous and humane, and by no means void of sentiments of gratitude: perhaps some, or all these virtues, when extended towards Christians, are practised with a view to their own emolument. Interest regulates their conduct throughout. Where that becomes an object of competition, all attachment and friendship, all ties of consanguinity are dissolved: they become desperate; no barrier can stop their pursuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In their tempers, they are rather hypochondriac, grave, sedate,

and pensive; but, when agitated by passion, furious, raging, ungovernable; deep dissemblers; jealous, suspicious, and vindictive beyond conception; perpetuating revenge through successive generations. In matters of religion, they are tenacious, superstitious, and morose."

Lastly, Dr. Russell, physician to the British Factory at Aleppo, from 1740 to 1755, thus sums up his observations on the Turkish inhabitants. "The Osmanli, though rather solemn in their ordinary deportment, may justly be reckoned courteous and polite. In conversation with inferiors, even with Christians and Jews, they can assume an easy, affable manner; but, when irritated by contradiction, they are impetuous in their gesture, they elevate their voice, and indecently descend to the most scurrilous language. In the presence of superiors, they are attentive, silent, and submissive; no provocation almost whatever, can make them forget the respect they owe, or disconcert the seeming steadiness of their temper: they feel, but conceal their emotion. It is an habitual power of controlling the passions, to be acquired only by practice, and consequently is possessed in different degrees, proportionate to the occasions which individuals, in the progress of life, may have had for exercising it. The Osmanli of middle age, who have risen slowly from obscurity to eminent stations, possess this talent in a high degree.

"The moral virtues of the Turks have, perhaps, been extolled with not less partiality by some, than injuriously depreciated by others. . . . The simpler virtues are, in no climate, reckoned the natural growth either of great cities or of maritime towns. Yet, the Turks, who are scarcely known to the Euro-

poons in any other situation,* have been branded with vices and crimes, as if such were the genuine offspring of their religious constitution, though, under similar circumstances, those are uniformly found in every part of the globe. Whether political character differs essentially in different countries, is best known to those who have been practised in courts, and are versed in negotiations; but the commercial character of different nations probably admits of less variety. The Turks, in their commercial dealings, are seldom charged with dishonesty, but are often taxed, by the Europeans, with conducting all their transactions on the narrow principles of self-interest. . . . An eager thirst for gain, consummate art, a readiness to seize every legal advantage, together with a large share of dissimulation, are among the qualities liberally ascribed to the Turks. . . .It may be added, that, in politics, the Turks are assiduous, venal, and vindictive; in private life, indolent; not averse, but indifferent to literature; temperate in diet, but addicted to voluptuousness; and habitually, if not naturally grave, or, at least, little given to intemperate mirth." †

With regard to the imputation of barbarism cast upon the Turks, on the ground of their tasteless destruction of the ancient monuments, Mr. Dodwell attempts to extenuate their conduct by remarking, that they are not singular in this respect. "The same system has been pursued by a people who have made no small parade of their taste for the fine arts, which,

* "In the Turkish villages, where there is no mixture of Greeks, innocence of life and simplicity of manners are conspicuous, and roguery and deceit are unknown."—Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 196.

† Russell's History of Aleppo, vol. i. pp. 235—8. In the notes will be found the citations from Du Loir, D'Arvieux, Maundrell, and Porter.

as they imagine, flourish more luxuriantly in their soil, than in other countries. I allude (he says) to Italy in general, and to Rome in particular. This boasted cradle of the fine arts, has produced so many glaring instances of stupid barbarism, which cannot be exceeded by Turkish insensibility, that their enumeration would occupy too great a space in this volume. There is great similarity in the devastations committed in the two countries: the Turks have nothing in common with ancient Greece, nor have the inhabitants of modern Rome any kindred affinities with the ancient glory of that city." *

From these concurrent testimonies, we may safely deduce the general conclusion, that the Turk is distinguished from other races, by nothing so much as by his phlegmatic temperament, which generally disposes him to quiescence and indolence, and admits of many of the passive virtues, but which, under the influence of any powerful excitement, passes from insensibility into the most unrestrained violence and excess. This habitual sedateness and inertness, in combination with a latent energy, may serve to explain some of the inconsistencies in the national character and history. The Turk is habitually temperate: he never tastes the forbidden juice, however, but he gets drunk. He is mild and grave, but when provoked, he is infuriated. He has little fanaticism, but when his religious fervour is kindled, it becomes a brutal frenzy. † He is not habitually cruel; he is sometimes generous and humane; but begis of all men the most

* Dodwell's Greece, vol. i. 327. The Turks, in fact, only completed the destruction which the Goths and the Crusaders had begun.

† See the account of the Mendicant and Howling Dervishes in Holdsworth, pp. 32—34.

remorseless in his cruelty. He will not luxuriate in the agonies of an enemy, and trample upon his victim; he has little taste for the more exquisite refinements of revenge: in this respect, notwithstanding some doubtful anecdotes, he displays less of the demon in his worst excesses, than either Frank or Greek. But then he butchers with less compunction, and with a more entire contempt for human life: his eye never pities, and his heart never bleeds. Age or sex excites no commiseration in him, who, on slight provocation or from policy, dooms the wife of his bosom to the death of a cat, and his children to the bowstring.* The same insensibility displays itself in the smooth-faced perfidy with which he can inveigle, in order to destroy, his unsuspecting victim—perhaps his old associate or guest. In fact, alike in his pleasures and in his cruelties, the Turk is a cold-blooded animal, coldly voluptuous, and coldly cruel; deliberate alike in good and in evil; less to be dreaded when choleric, than when concealing his emotions; not intolerant,—far less so, as a Moslem, than either Greek or Papist; not ungrateful, not inhospitable; not unkind to his dependents; not incapable of generosity and amiableness; but naturally arrogant, sensual, and implacable; knowing no medium between the despot and the slave;

* The transactions of courts are not always fair specimens of national character, but there is no reason to suppose that the polity of the Seraglio is at variance with public feeling. "More severe," says Sandys, "are these tyrants to their own, who lop off those branches from the tree, the unnatural brother solemnizing his father's funeral with the slaughter of his brothers: so fearful are they of rivalry, and so damnably politic, making all things lawful that may secure the perpetuity of their empire." Private murders, however, are committed with as little remorse or compunction, and excite as little inquiry. "Murder is never pursued by the king's officers, as with us," says Lady M. W. Montagu. (Vol. II. 7-1

too generally a hypocrite in all things,—so much so as to please the Frank whom he despises; in a word, exhibiting, more or less, the deadening and debasing effects of a despotic government, oriental prejudices, and a pharisaical and sensual creed."*

One redeeming feature in the Turkish character demands, however, to be adverted to. "No one," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "has written on the character of this nation, without noticing the reciprocal affection of the mother and the children in a Turkish family: and this feeling, tender in the one, respectful in the other, and constant and indissoluble in both, must of itself secure for the women, a happiness which the artificial regulations of European society have, perhaps, a tendency to interrupt and to annihilate. The Valide, or Sultan-mother, possesses a maternal power, and has sometimes exercised an unpropitious influence over the Grand Signior himself. The law which forbids the Mussulman to weep for the dead, still allows the mother to weep three days over the tomb of her son. The woman has an absolute control in her own household, and enjoys a domestic power which, among ourselves, it is often the fruitless aim and labour of a whole life to attain. Though the *Senden dasel*, or two words of divorce, can dissolve a mar-

* Tournefort, in his attempt to describe with impartiality the character of the Turks, absurdly represents it as a composition of contradictory qualities. "We find them brave and pusillanimous, gentle and ferocious, resolute and incorrigible, active and indolent; passing from the rigour of morality to the grossness of sense; at once delicate and coarse, fastidiously abstemious and indiscriminately indulgent. The great are alternately haughty and humble, arrogant and cringing, liberal and sordid; and in general, it must be confessed, that the qualities which least deserve our approbation predominate." Vol. I. p. 4. So far as there is truth in this paradoxical statement, it will serve to confirm our representation.

stage, they cannot deprive the wife of her portion, which remains at all times, and under every circumstance, inviolable."—Without stopping to inquire which are the more "artificial regulations," those of European or those of Asiatic society, or whether the reciprocal affection of the mother and her children is less strong in England than in Turkey,—the fact, that maternal and filial affection are found to prevail among this people, must be allowed to have its weight in estimating their national character. What that character might become under the genial influence of a just government, wise and equal laws, science and literature, and above all, the light of Christian knowledge, remains to be ascertained.

With regard to their treatment of the female sex, the Osmanlees only adhere to the usages and institutions of most of the ancient and oriental nations. The ladies of Athens, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, were confined as rigorously as those of a Turkish haram.* The Theban ladies, when in public, shewed no part of their faces but the eyes. And in the time of the Greek empire, the females were so secluded, that the higher classes never went abroad except in covered litters.* The beard,† the loose robe, the recumbent posture, and the use of the bath, distinguished the old inhabitants of Italy and Greece, not less than those of Asia. "The

* See authorities in Hobhouse, Letter xliv.

† "This distinction of manhood was universally worn by the first Greeks and Romans, as it was in early periods by all the Turks. It did not begin to be left off at Athens, until the time of Demosthenes; and no man was seen without one at Rome, before the year of the city 454. The beard was again introduced by Hadrian; and although Julian was ridiculed on that account at Antioch, it was worn by all the generals of Justinian, and by every person of any rank among the Greeks to the latest period of the empire."—Hobhouse, p. 64, note. "Among the Moslems, slaves are not

Byzantine ceremonies were, some of them, borrowed from those of the court of Persia; and the Frank who witnesses the audience of an ambassador at the Seraglio, may fancy himself another Liutprand at the Court of Nicephorus Phocas, astonished by the obscure splendour and mysterious magnificence of the Imperial Greek."*

suffered to let their beards grow; this appendage, therefore, is a sign of freedom, and generally marks official dignity. When once it has been suffered to grow, it is thought indecorous and almost profane again to shave it."—See ANACHARSIS, vol. ii. p. 34, and note. Among some of the German nations, on the contrary, Tacitus states, that no one was allowed to cut off his beard until he had killed an enemy. The Lombards (Longobardi) received their name from the singularity of wearing this appendage. Mr. Hobhouse supposes that the Frankish nations who adopted it, borrowed it from the Asiatics. The professors of the University of Paris were beards till forbidden by edict, in 1535: in England, the habit prevailed much later. The Greek and Roman Churches have long been at issue on this important article. The latter have made some express constitutions *de radendis barbis*, while the Greeks espouse very zealously the cause of long beards, and are extremely scandalized at the beardless images of saints in the Romish churches.

* In Turner's Tour in the Levant, (vol. i. p. 31,) an account is given of the British ambassador's audience of the Sultan: but the narrative does not impress the reader with any very lively idea of Ottoman magnificence. From the garden, after being strayed in pelisses, the ambassador and his suite were led through an outer hall and a room splendidly furnished with a carpet richly worked with gold, in which were drawn up about two hundred white eunuchs in lines three deep. The throne room (of which D'Ohsson has given an accurate drawing) is very small: all the rooms appear to be far from large. The Sultan was sitting at one end of it, on a throne formed like a four-post bed, and superbly decorated. The suit, of black velvet, was covered with strings of fine pearls; and from the top were suspended many ostrich eggs, gilt, and scattered with diamonds. The Sultan wore a turban surmounted with a splendid diamond aigrette and feather; his pelisse was of the finest silk, lined with the most valuable sable, and his girdle was one mass of diamonds. The deadly paleness of his face was strongly contrasted with the deep blackness of his ample beard. The ambassador recited his speech in French, which the state-dragoman

Among the minor customs and usages in which a striking contrariety is observable to those of Western Europe, may be enumerated the following. The abhorrence of the hat is well known; but the uncovering of the head, which with us is the expression of respect, is by them considered as disrespectful and indecent. A Quaker would give no offence by keeping on his hat in a mosque, if he left his shoes at the threshold: The Turks turn in their toes; they mount on the right side of the horse; they follow their guests into a room, and precede them on leaving it; the left hand is the place of honour; they do the honours of the table by serving themselves the first; they take the wall and walk hastily in sign of respect; they beckon by throwing back the hand, instead of drawing it towards them; they cut the hair from the head, and remove it from the body, but leave it on the chin; they sleep in their clothes; they look upon beheading as a more disgraceful punishment than strangling; they deem our close and short dresses indecent, our shaven chins a mark of effeminacy or servitude; they resent an inquiry after their wives as an insult; they eschew pork as an abomination; they regard dancing as a theatrical performance, only to be looked at, except by slaves; lastly, their mourning habit is white, their sacred colour is green, and their holy day is Friday.

Many of these usages are not peculiarly Turkish, nay more than their costume, or their writing from left to right. The Turks are great smokers and coffee-

translated: and the reply, delivered by the Kiaimakam, was rendered into French by the same interpreter. The Sultan scarcely moved, and only turned his head twice, but his eyes were very busy. All the attendants stood immoveable, their hands before them, and their eyes fixed on the ground.

drinkers; yet, neither of these practices can be ranked among their national characteristics. Coffee was not introduced into Arabia earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, and it did not reach Constantinople till a century later. The lawfulness of using it was for a long time a question among the Moslems. Tobacco found its way to France from the New World about the year 1560; into England in 1586; into Turkey, not till the beginning of the seventeenth century.* "The Turks," says Dr. Russell, "probably received the custom of smoking through water from Persia; that of smoking in the ordinary way, they certainly had from Europe; and it is a curious circumstance in the history of human luxury, that a practice so disagreeable at first, and accompanied with so little positive sensual pleasure, should afterwards have spread with such rapidity among a people not much disposed to adopt foreign customs." It is now the delight of both sexes.

Their funereal customs have already been adverted to. Interment almost immediately follows upon the decease of the person; a practice common to all classes

* See Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. pp. 119—126, and notes 29 and 29; where will be found much curious information and a reference to authorities. The first English traveller who notices the practice of smoking tobacco in Turkey, is Sandys. After remarking that they are incredible takers of opium, "which, they say, expelleth all fear," he adds: "They also delight in tobacco, which they take through reeds that have joined unto them great heads of wood to contain it: I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English. And were it not sometimes looked into, for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a Turk, and so to be led in derision through the city, it no question but it would prove a principal commodity. Nevertheless, they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth pass here among them for most excellent."

at Constantinople. The corpse is carried to the grave on a bier by the friends of the deceased: this is considered as a religious duty, it being declared in the Koran, that he who carries a dead body the space of forty paces, procures for himself the expiation of a great sin.* The graves are shallow, and thin boards only, laid over the corpse, protect it from the immediate pressure of the earth, which is set with flowers, according to the custom of the Pythagoreans,† and a cypress-tree is planted near every new grave. As a grave is never opened a second time, a vast tract of country is occupied with these burial-fields, which add by no means to the salubrity of the vicinity. Much is gained, unquestionably, as regards the health of the inhabitants, by burying without the cities; but the shallowness of the graves contributes to render these vast accumulations of animal dust, at certain seasons more especially, a source of pestilential miasmata. The cemeteries near Scutari are immense, owing to the predilection which the Turks of Europe preserve for being buried in Asia,—that quarter of the world

* Mr. Hobhouse has pointed out some remarkable points of similarity between the funeral customs of the Greeks and those of the Irish; in particular, the howling lament, the interrogating the corpse, "Why did you die?" and the wake and feast. "But a more singular resemblance," he adds, "is that which is to be remarked between a Mahommedan and an Irish opinion relative to the same ceremony. When a dead Mussulman is carried on his plank towards the cemetery, the devout Turk runs from his house as the procession passes his door, for a short distance relieves one of the bearers of the body, and then gives up his place to another, who hastens to perform the same charitable and holy office. No one who has been in Ireland, but must have seen the peasants leave their cottages or their work, to give a temporary assistance to those employed in bearing the dead to the grave; an exertion by which they approach so many steps nearer to Paradise."—Letter xxii.

† "*Dii majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram*
Spiraeumque crocus, et in urna perpetuum ver." PERSIUS.

in which are situated the holy cities, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus. The vivid description which the Author of Anastasius gives of this extraordinary spot, must close our account of the manners and customs of the Osmanlies.*

"A dense and motionless cloud of stagnant vapours ever shrouds these dreary realms. From afar, a chilling sensation informs the traveller that he approaches their dark and dismal precincts; and as he enters them, an icy blast, rising from their inmost bosom, rushes forth to meet his breath, suddenly strikes his chest, and seems to oppose his progress. His very horse snuffs up the deadly effluvia with signs of manifest terror, and, exhaling a cold and clammy sweat, advances reluctantly over a hollow ground, which shakes as he treads it, and loudly re-echoes his slow and fearful step. So long and so busily has time been at work to fill this chosen spot,—so repeatedly has Constantinople poured into this ultimate receptacle almost its whole contents,—that the capital of the living, spite of its immense population, scarcely counts a single breathing inhabitant for every ten silent in-

* For further details relating to the religion and some of the customs of the Turks, see Mod. Trav., Arabia, pp. 64—6. Ibid. Palestine, p. 116. Ibid. Syria, vol. i. pp. 287—290; vol. ii. pp. 44—53, 115, &c. Also, Thornton's Turkey, vol. ii. ch. 7 and 8. Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. b. 2. Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vols. ii. and iii. Tournefort, vol. ii. letter 7. Turner's Tour in the Levant. Dallaway's "Constantinople, Ancient and Modern." Sir Paul Rycaut's "Present State of the Turkish Empire." De Tott's Memoirs; and D'Ohsson's Tableau Général, &c. The works of Busbequius and Roland need not be recommended to the learned reader. Thornton has exposed many of the mis-statements and exaggerations of De Tott, whose object appears to have been, to blacken as much as possible the Turkish character, in which he has been imitated by Eton. D'Ohsson is their equally partial apologist and panegyrist.

mates of this city of the dead. Already do its fields of blooming sepulchres stretch far away on every side, across the brow of the hills and the head of the valleys; already are the avenues which cross each other at every step in this domain of death, so lengthened, that the weary stranger, from whatever point he comes, still finds before him many a dreary mile of road between marshalled tombs and mournful cypresses, ere he reaches his journey's seemingly receding end; and yet, every year does this common patrimony of all the heirs to decay, still exhibit a rapidly increasing size, a fresh and wider line of boundary, and a new belt of young plantations, growing up between new flower-beds of graves.

"There, said I to myself, lie, scarcely one foot beneath the surface of a swelling soil, ready to burst at every point with its festering contents, more than half the generations whom death has continued to mow down for nearly four centuries in the vast capital of Islamism. There lie, side by side, on the same level, in cells the size of their bodies, and only distinguished by a marble turban somewhat longer or deeper—somewhat rounder or squarer,—personages, in life, far as heaven and earth asunder, in birth, in station, in gifts of nature, and in long laboured acquirements. There lie, sunk alike in their last sleep,—alike food for the worm that lives on death,—the conqueror who filled the universe with his name, and the peasant scarcely known in his own hamlet; Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mahmoud's perhaps more deserving horse;* elders bending under the weight of years, and infants of a single hour; men with intellects of angels, and

* "Sultan Mahmoud's horse was actually interred in the cemetery of Scutari, under a dome supported by eight pillars."

men with understandings inferior to those of brutes; the beauty of Georgia and the black of Sennaar; visiers, beggars, heroes, and women."

It only remains briefly to notice a fourth class of the inhabitants of Constantinople,—that ubiquitous and every where oppressed and despised people,

THE JEWS.

"The Jews of Constantinople," Mr. Holhouse says, "have all the usual characteristics of their nation: the more considerable among them are brokers and money-changers, jewellers, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; the lower classes are sherbet-sellers, silk-twisters, druggists, boatmen, fishermen, confectioners, perfumers, tobacco-sellers, and mountebanks. The bankers of many of the Turkish grandees are Jews, and some of them have been involved in the fall of their employers; but this circumstance, and the address shewn by them in the management of all pecuniary concerns, give their principal people a consideration in the eyes of the Turks equal to that of any other subjects; although the common Turks, and more especially the Christians, affect to treat and talk of them with every mark of contempt and disgust. They are distinguished by a high square cap of black felt, without any rim or border. The lower classes are dirty, both in their persons and dwellings. Ballata, the Jew quarter, is the most filthy of any in the capital, and not less nauseous than in the days of Christian Constantinople, when the tanners used to empty their pans before the doors of the houses inhabited by this persecuted people. The wise tolerance of the Turks has produced a great increase of this part of the population since the last conquest of the city. In

the twelfth century, when the Jew of Tudela travelled, he found only a thousand of his countrymen in the place; and in the reign of Andronicus the Elder, the Patriarch Athanasius represented, in a formal petition to the Emperor, that the whole nation ought to be banished from the metropolis. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a traveller was persuaded that there were between 20 and 30,000 of that *accursed* and *contemptible* people in the city; and the smallest computation would rate them now at fifteen."

The taxes levied on the Jews are not greater than those paid by the other rayahs, and they feel the burden of them the less, by being allowed a *tefterdar*, or treasurer of their own, who collects the whole sum, and settles with the ministers of the Porte. "Custom and precedent," Mr. Thornton says, "which in Turkey soon acquire the force of laws, have established the Jews in their offices of collecting the customs, and of purchasing whatever is required for the use of the Seraglio, while they have conferred on the Armenians the direction of the mint: these, however, are the highest civil employments to which either of them can attain."*

We shall conclude our sketch of this extraordinary city and its motley population, with the following spirited picture of the scene, as it first strikes upon the European stranger. "It would be difficult," says Dr. A. Neale, who visited Constantinople in 1806,

* Lady M. W. Montagu represents the Jews as in possession of the whole trade of the empire, and of many privileges above the natural Turks themselves. "Every pasha has his Jew, who is his *homme d'affaires*; he is let into all his secrets, and does all his business. They are the physicians, the stewards, and the interpreters of all the great men."—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 178.

"for any imagination, even the most romantic or distempered, to associate in close array all the incongruous and discordant objects which may be contemplated, even within a few hours' perambulation, in and around the Turkish capital. The barbarous extremes of magnificence and wretchedness,—the majesty of nature, crowned with all the grandeur of art, in contrast with the atrocious effects of unrestrained sensuality, fill up the varied picture. The howlings of ten thousand dogs, re-echoing through the deserted streets all the live-long night, chase you betimes from your pillow. Approaching your window, you are greeted by the rays of the rising sun, gilding the snowy summits of Mount Olympus and the beautiful shores of the Sea of Marmora, the point of Chalcedon, and the town of Scutari: mid-way, your eye ranges with delight over the marble domes of St. Sophia, the gilded pinnacles of the Seraglio glittering amid groves of perpetual verdure, the long arcades of ancient aqueducts, and the spiry minarets of a thousand mosques ... The hoarse guttural sounds of a Turk selling *kaimac* at your door, recall your attention towards the miserable lanes of Pera, wet, splashy, dark, and disgusting: the mouldering wooden tenements hetling over these alleys, are the abode of pestilence and misery. You may mount your horse, and betake yourself to the fields, rich with the purple fragrance of heath and lavender, and swarming with myriads of humid insects: in the midst of your progress, your horse recoils from his path, at the loathsome object occupying the centre of the highway;—an expiring horse, from which a horde of famished dogs are already tearing the reeking entrails. Would you behold his unfeeling master, look beneath the acacia, at the hoary Turk performing his pious ablutions at the sacred fountain. Retracing

your steps, you are met by a party passing, at a quick pace, towards that cemetery on the right, the field of the dead: they are carrying on a bier the dead body of a Greek, the pallid beauty of whose countenance is contrasted with the freshness of the roses which compose the chaplet on his head. A few hours only he has ceased to breathe; but see! the grave has already received its obscure and nameless tenant. Having returned to the city, you are appalled by a crowd of revellers pressing around the doors of a wine-house: the sounds of minstrelsy and riot are within. You have scarcely passed, when you behold two or three gazers round the doors of a baker's shop: the *kaim-akan* has been his rounds, the weights have been found deficient, and the unfortunate man, who swings in a halter at the door, has paid the penalty of his petty villany. The populace around murmur at the price of bread; but the *muezzins* from the adjoining minarets are proclaiming the hour of prayer, and the Moslems are pouring in to count their beads. In an opposite coffee-house, a groupe of Turkish soldiers, drowsy with tobacco, are dreaming over the chequers of a chess-board, or listening to the licentious fairy-tales of a dervish. The passing crowd seem to have no common sympathies, jostling each other in silence on the narrow foot-path; women veiled in long caftans, emirs with green turbans, *bostanjis*, Jews, and Armenians, encounter Greeks, Albanians, Franks, and Tatars. Fatigued with the pageant, you observe the shades of evening descend, and again sigh for repose; but the *passawend*, with their iron-bound staves striking the pavement, excite your attention to the cries of *yangen var* from the top of an adjoining tower; and you are told the flames are in the next street. There you may behold the devouring element over-

wholesale in a common ruin the property of infidels and true believers, till the shouts of the multitude announce the approach of the Arch-despot, and the power of a golden shower of sequins is exemplified in awakening the callous feelings of even a Turkish multitude to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. The fire is extinguished, and darkness of a deeper hue has succeeded to the glare of the flames. The retiring crowds, guided by their paper lanthorns, flit by thousands, like *ignes fatui*, amidst the cypresses of the "Field of the Dead;" and you are left to encounter the gloom and solitude of your own apartment." *

* Neale's Travels, 4to, (1818) p. 286. "Amid the novelties that strike the European on his arrival, nothing surprises him more than the silence that pervades so large a capital. He hears no noise of carts or carriages rattling through the streets; for there are no wheeled vehicles in the city, except a very few painted carts, called arabats, drawn by buffaloes, in which women occasionally take the air in the suburbs, and which go only a foot pace. The only sounds he hears by day, are the cries of bread, fruits, sweetmeats, or sherbet, carried in a large wooden tray on the head of an itinerant vender, and at intervals, the barking of dogs disturbed by the foot of the passenger,—lazy, ugly curs, of a reddish brown colour, with muzzles like that of a fox, short ears, and famished looks, who lie in the middle of the streets, and rise only when roused with blows. The contrast between Constantinople and a European city is still more strongly marked at night. By ten o'clock every human voice is hushed, and not a creature is seen in the streets, except a few patrolas and the innumerable dogs, who at intervals send forth such repeated howlings, that it requires practice to be able to sleep in spite of their noise. This silence is frequently disturbed by a fire, which is announced by the patrols striking on the pavement with their iron-shod staves, and calling loudly yangen-var (there is a fire); on which the firemen assemble, and all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood are immediately on the alert. If it be not quickly subdued, all the ministers of state are obliged to attend; and if it threaten extensive ravages, the Sultan himself must appear, to encourage the efforts of the firemen."—Turner's Tour in the Levant, vol. I. pp. 81—3. Mr. Hobhouse says, that a fire that has continued an hour, and has been thrice proclaimed, "forces the

In the month of *Ramazan* (the Mohammedan Lent), the scene, however, is entirely changed. The day is passed, by the rich at least, in sleep, or in total idleness. Every Moslem, with the exception of travellers, children, and invalids, is forbidden to taste food or drink, to smoke or take snuff, from sunrise to sunset; and very wretched do they look, squatting on their divan or at their door, without their favourite pipe in their mouths, and having no other occupation than counting their beads. As the Turkish month is lunar, the Ramazan runs through every season in the course of thirty-three years; and when it occurs in summer, the labouring classes suffer extremely from exhaustion and thirst. "I have seen the boatmen," says Mr. Turner, "lean on their oars almost fainting; but I never saw—never met with any one who professed to have seen—an instance in which they yielded to the temptation of violating the fast." The moment of sunset is of course eagerly looked for: it is announced by the firing of cannon. It might be imagined, that the first act of the hungry and thirsty would be to eat and to drink; but numbers of Turks may be seen, their pipes ready filled, and the fire to light it in their hands, awaiting the welcome signal, every other gratification being postponed for that of inhaling the fragrant weed. The night is passed in devotional forms and revelry. All the mosques are open, and all the coffee-houses: the latter are crowded with Turks smoking, drinking coffee, and listening to singers and story-tellers. The minarets are illuminated, and the streets are crowded with the faithful. The *Bairam*, which succeeds the *Ramazan*, presents three days of

Grand Signior himself to the spot." This singular custom has often been the cause of fires, as the people take this method of making their discontents known to the Sultan in person.

unmixed festivity. Every Turk who can afford it appears in a new dress; visits are exchanged, and parties are made up to the favourite spots in the vicinity.* Seventy days after is the festival of the *Courban Bairam*, (feast of sacrifice), which lasts four days, during which sheep and oxen are sacrificed to Allah and "the Prophet," and the same festivities are observed as on the *Bairam*. These seven days are a universal holiday, the shops being shut, and business everywhere abandoned for pleasure. †

ENVIRONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

STRANGERS at Pera are usually taken to a number of spots in the vicinity: the principal of these are, the Valley of Sweet Waters, the villages of Belgrade and Buyuk-dere, the mouth of the Bosphorus, the Giant's Tomb, the Mountain of Bourgaloue above Scutari, and the gardens of *Fanar Baktchessi*. For a description of these, we shall borrow from Mr. Hobhouse.

* Mr. Turner states, that he has heard many Europeans long resident in the Levant, observe, that the decline of Turkey is in nothing more remarkably apparent, than in the festivities of the Bairam. Formerly at that season, every Turk procured himself an entire new suit: but, owing to the depreciation of their money, and the decline of their national wealth, all but the richer sort now content themselves with a new *beneish*, or with simply patching their old clothes. The Grand Signior on this day appears more magnificently dressed than usual, and entertains the grandees in the hall of the Divan. Tournefort says, "The women, who are shut up all the year, have the liberty of being abroad the three days this feast continues."

† Turner's Tour, vol. i. pp. 84—6. Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 293. et seq. The latter Traveller states, that the "smaller *Bairam*" lasts only one day, the 10th of the twelfth month, (Ramadan being the ninth in the Turkish year,) but that they also keep as a festival the night of Mohammed's birth, that of the 11th of the third month, as well as the 30th of the fourth month, on which he is fabled to have made his celestial excursion upon *Alborez*.

"At the head of the port is a large flat of low land, having very much the appearance of the meadows near the harbour at Portsmouth, which seems to have been created by the perpetual alluvions of the river Lycus, formed by the united streams of the ancient Cydaris and Barbyssus. There are nine paper-mills near the head of the port, which have given the spot the name of Kiat-Hana, or in Greek, Kartarion. A mile and a half beyond the mills, the ground rises on each side, and encloses a flat valley adorned with the pleasure-grounds and kiosk of Sultan Achmet the Third, which were constructed by a Frenchman on the plan of the gardens at Versailles and Fontainebleau. The river is there converted into a straight canal, running between avenues of tall trees. At the kiosk, the stream runs over two flights of marble steps. Near the cascade is a grove of tall trees, which is the resort of parties from Pera and Constantinople. Strings of females promenading between the avenues, sets of dancing Greeks, horses superbly caparisoned, add to the beauty and singularity of the spectacle which is to be seen on any fine day in the Valley of Sweet Waters. At the kiosk of Kiat-Hana, there is a line of field-pieces pointed up the valley, not intended for defence, but for the practice of the Topgees. The kiosk was the favourite summer palace of Sultan Selim; it is a gaudy building, not very large, of lath and plaster; and not having been inhabited by the court for some time, is now neglected and in decay."

* Mr. Turner obtained permission to enter this palace. The rooms are generally about 45 feet by 25; the walls stuccoed, and painted blue, pale lilac, or buff, with round or oval compartments, containing landscapes, evidently the work of a European artist. The apartments of the harem were plentifully adorned with Venetian looking-glasses. The divans were most elegant, of red or dark satin, richly embroidered with gold or silver.

"A mile and a half above Kiat-Hana, there is a small village, which is at the mouth of the Valley of Sweet Waters, and separates it from another long plain, enclosed on each side by a chain of hills. It may be about six miles in extent; the Barbysses runs through its whole length. The plain is the pasturage of the Sultan's horses, which are turned out on the 23d of April.

"The country beyond the valley, as well as on each side, is an expanse of open downs, which, generally speaking, is the character of all the immediate vicinity of Constantinople towards the interior of Thrace. The forests of Belgrade commence about ten miles from Pera, extending in length from the village of Bourgas towards the shores of the Black Sea, not less than twelve miles, and ranging along the coast at intervals for at least a hundred miles. A rich vein of coal, which has not yet been worked, has been discovered in the woods near the sea-shore.

"At Bourgas, is a portion of the aqueduct built originally by Theodosius, or by Valens and Valentinian; destroyed by the Avars in the reign of Heraclius; repaired by Constantine Iconomachus; and totally reconstructed by Solyman the Magnificent. Pococke has given a very minute account of this structure. The most ancient part of it, as to its appearance and materials, which are alternate layers of brick and stone, is that within the walls; the largest, that at Bourgas, which is a stupendous structure four hundred and forty feet long, and one hundred and seven feet high. The aqueduct at Pontoyssylky may very safely be compared to either of these works.—Bourgas is between four and five miles from Belgrade. The road passes through a forest on a gravel-walk, by a stream dammed up by high massive walls, and, near Belgrade,

skirts two large reservoirs. The largest of these is railed off, and, as the wood grows down to the water's edge, and is intersected by many paths and green rides, looks like a lake in a cultivated park, and has indeed much the appearance of the piece of water at Bowood Park, in the county of Wilts. The village of Belgrade itself is embosomed in the depth of the forest, a little above a streamlet (the ancient Hydraulis) which falls into the reservoirs, and supplies the whole capital with water. On a green knoll is the country-house of Mr. Pisani, the chief dragoman, which was built by Sir Robert Ainslie, on the site, as some assert, of the mansion which the residence of Lady M. W. Montagu has rendered an object of curiosity to every traveller. Another site is also pointed out, but the first place has the advantage of being more beautifully situated than any other in the village; and it alone commands a view of the first lake through a vista of the neighbouring groves, which so conceal the termination of the reservoir, as to give the water the appearance of a broad river winding through the woods.

"Some of the foreign ambassadors retire to this village during spring and autumn. The repose of Belgrade is completely interrupted by the loud merriment of the Greeks, who often retire thither, and celebrate their marriages and church-festivals with discordant music and songs. Night after night is kept awake by the pipes, tabors, and fiddles of their moonlight dances; and the fountains resorted to by the nymphs which charmed Lady M. W. Montagu, do not adulterate the beverage of the youths who assist at these continued Saturnalia."*

* "The heats of Constantinople, (June 17) have driven me to this place (Belgrade), which perfectly answers the description of the Elysian Fields. I am in the middle of a wood, consisting

"The route from Belgrade to Buyuk-dere is through the woods; but, after an hour's ride, you burst suddenly upon the view of the Bosphorus and the Mountains of Asia. At this spot, an aqueduct, built in the beginning of the last century for the supply of Pera, Galata, and the villages on the Thracian side of the canal, crosses a narrow dell; and the road passes under one of the stupendous arches, into a valley between sloping woods, which expands at last into a green plain, stretching down to the shore of a deep bay of the Bosphorus, still preserving its ancient name Βαθυαλος in the Turkish appellation of Buyuk-dere."

The village of this name, which is fourteen miles from Constantinople, contains the country-houses of most of the foreign ministers, who now reside here during the summer, instead of at Belgrade.* The façades of those mansions are, for the most part, in the European style, and range along an extensive strand, a mile and a half long, which is the evening promenade. Behind are large gardens and groves of plane, lime, and walnut-trees, overshadowing parterres of flowers and valuable plants. On every side, the meadow, or plain, is embanked with waving acclivities

chiefly of fruit-trees, watered by a vast number of fountains famous for the excellency of their water, and divided into many shady walks, upon short grass, . . . within view of the Black Sea, from whence we perpetually enjoy the refreshment of cool breezes that make us insensible of the heat of the summer. The village is only inhabited by the richest among the Christians, who meet every night at a fountain forty paces from my house, to sing and dance. The beauty and dress of the women exactly resemble the ideas of the ancient nymphs, as they are given us by the representations of the poets and painters."—Works, vol. ii. p. 100. Belgrade is five miles inland on the European shore: it is stated to be unwholesome in the midst of summer.

* Buyuk-dere was not built when Lady M. W. Montagu wrote her letters.

covered with verdure; and, on the west and north, it is enclosed with the woods of Belgrade, "running like a park plantation along the verge of the hills." This village (as well as Belgrade) is crowded with rich Armenian families, who enjoy more liberty here than they can in the capital; and, when Mr. Hobhouse travelled, a hotel was kept here by an Englishman, where a stranger might find "comfortable lodgings and good fare." The higher classes of Greeks resort to the neighbouring village of Terapia.

THE BOSPHORUS.

It was numbered among the ancient glories of the Bosphorus, that its banks were adorned with a continued line of edifices; and the same peculiarity, Mr. Hobhouse says, is still observable on the Thracian border.* From Tophana, a street of wooden houses skirts the water's edge, the intervals being occupied with royal palaces and their surrounding domains.† The banks are everywhere high, and the declivities are clothed with woods interspersed with vineyards and hanging gardens. Near the point called *Effendi-bornou*, above *Arnaout-keui*, the stream runs with so strong a current that the boatmen are obliged to tow

* To the artillery-barrack succeeds the village of Fondoukle; beyond are the gardens and pier of *Dolma-bakhtche*; then, the village of *Beshik-tash*, a favourite retreat of the present Sultan; next succeed the villages of *Orta-keui*, *Kourou Tcheme* (where the rich Fanariotes and many Armenians and Jews have summer-houses), and *Arnaout-keui* (Albanian village); between the points of *Effendi-bornou* and *Kistar-bornou*, is a large imperial palace and domain; beyond the latter point is an inlet of shoal-water, called *Balta-kouin*, supposed to be the Gulf of Phidalia; then, the bay of *Stenia*, the village of *Yeni-keui*, and further on, Terapia.

† According to Mr. Turner, there are no fewer than ten imperial summer-palaces along the Bosphorus and in the neighbourhood.

the wherries for nearly a quarter of a mile. The depth of water close to shore is so considerable as to allow the Turkish line-of-battle ships sometimes to touch the wooden wharfs. The succeeding point, *Kislar-bornou*, is rendered conspicuous by an old castle called *Eski-hissar*, built by Mahommed II. on the site of some fortresses of the Greek emperors, which, together with the fortress of *Bogaz-hissar*, on the opposite shore, points out the exact part of the channel where the Persians, Goths, Latins, and Ottomans, successively passed the Bosphorus. There are no houses near the fortress, which is in the midst of a thick grove clothing the high and steep declivities of the impending hill. "At this spot, the Bosphorus appears like a majestic river, winding between banks as high and woody as those of the Wye, and not less lively and cultivated than those of the Thames." The towers of the castles have a mean appearance, being covered with conical roofs. Nearly opposite to Mahommed's Tower, is a seat of the Sultan's, inhabited by the *Bostange-bashe*, who is charged with the police of the Strait. The castle of Anadoli (Bogaz-hissar) stands on a flat under the hills, projecting into the strait, the breadth of which in this place is about half a mile. This spot, "perhaps seven miles up the Bosphorus," is usually considered as midway; but Mr. Hobhouse, on the authority of the boatmen, makes it "as far from Tophana as from Buyuk-dere, which gives the whole canal, from the mouth at Fanaraki to the point of Scutari, a length of twenty or twenty-one miles." Tournefort makes it only sixteen miles and a half. Sandys, about twenty.*

* Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, and other ancient authorities make it 120 *studia* in length, or nearly fifteen miles, reckoning from the Temple of Jupiter to Byzantium. "The ancients," re-

A short distance beyond Terapia, in crossing the deep bay of Buyuk-dere, is obtained the first view of the opening into the Euxine. Higher up, on the banks of the small river Chrysorrhoas, is *Roumeli-kavak*, the castle of Roumelia, where there is a battery; and above are ruins of a castle built by the Genoese on the site of the Temple of Serapis. On the hill above the river, which commands a view of the Euxine and the Propontis, of the Bosphorus and of Constantinople, was placed the ancient light-house. The modern one, *Roumeli-fener*, is higher up, at Fanaraki, two hours from Buyuk-dere.* As the traveller advances, the hills on each side become more high and rugged, terminating, on the Thracian side, in dark, rocky precipices. The hills of Fanaraki (the ancient Panium) rise in five pointed crags; and here, upon the top of a rock environed with the sea, is the pedestal of a column dedicated to Augustus, which was standing as late as 1730, and which is described by Sandys:

marks the Abbé Barthelemy, "differ among themselves, and still more the moderns, respecting these measures, as well as respecting those of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont."—Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. ii. p. 31, note. Those of our readers who wish to enter further into the question relating to the topography of the Bosphorus, may consult Robhouse, letter 43; Tournefort, vol. ii. letter 8; and Le Chevalier's "*Voyage de la Propontide*," vol. ii. pp. 50—64. The whole coast has been described with "interitable accuracy" by Gyllius. With regard to the origin of the name, Sandys tells us it was called Bosphorus (Βοσπορος), "for that oxen accustomed to swim from one side to the other, or, as the poets will have it, from the passage of the metamorphosed Io." A recent Traveller (Dr. Neale) supposes the oxen to have been the *boves lucas turrita corpore terras* of Lucretius; in other words, that the strait derived its name from the passage of the Persian elephants, which the Greeks and Thracians, having no other appellation for them, called *bos lucas*, white bulls. The passage from Chalcedon to Scutari was anciently called the Ox-passage, whence it is plain, Tournefort says, that that place must be considered as the beginning of the Bosphorus.

it is a fragment of white marble, rather more than five feet high, and nine feet and a half in circumference. A festoon of laurel-leaves with the head of a ram (or of a heifer), is still discernible, but the inscription is defaced by the names of travellers.* The land recedes much more suddenly on the European, than on the Asiatic side, so that, to those beating along the Thracian shore, Mr. Holhouse says, the entrance to the Strait is abrupt, and has a fantastic appearance, like the mouth of some enormous sea-monster, the white castles on the dark-coloured hills having the resemblance of teeth. The rugged rocks on each side of the Strait look as if fresh from the irruption of the waters which tore a passage into the lake of the Granicus and Rhyndacus, and, creating new channels, gave another surface to a vast portion of the western hemisphere."

The catastrophe here alluded to, notwithstanding the ancient authorities which vouch for the tradition, must still be regarded, however, as an hypothesis,—at least so far as regards the extent as well as the causes of the phenomenon. The whole problem relating to the Euxine is one of the most interesting in geography. Its character is that of an immense fresh-water lake, rather than a sea. The freshness of the waters was remarked by the ancients; and Mr. Hobhouse says, "it was not to establish any theory, but merely from a persuasion of the fact, that we all pronounced them to be scarcely brackish."† Some geo-

* The vulgar name is Pompey's Pillar; but the inscription, as given by Sandys and Wheler, proves it to have been dedicated to the emperor. The pedestal is supposed to have been originally an altar, of antiquity prior to the pillar, which was Corinthian.

† Tournefort, while he remarks that the water of the Euxine is less briny than that of other seas, states, that the land all round is full of fossil salt, which is continually melting into it.

logists have supposed, that the immense plains between the Baltic and the Caspian were once an expanse of water. Between the Baltic and the Black Sea, the ground is at present scarcely fifty fathoms above the level of the ocean; while "the plain of La Mancha, in the western peninsula, if placed between the sources of the Niemen and the Borysthenes, would figure as a groupe of mountains of considerable height." Many appearances favour the opinion, that the waters of the Euxine once rose far above their present level. The borders of the Danube, even as high as Buda, are said to exhibit evident indications that the plains of Hungary were once the bottom of a marsh; and the inland parts of the Hæmus and the Carpathian mountains have been supposed to present a strong resemblance to head-lands and bays. Tournefort supposes, that the waters of the lake first wore for themselves a channel between the two rocks where the new Castles of Roumelia and Anatolia now stand, and formed the gulfs of Sarala and Therapia; that, continuing to wash away the earth, they then gradually formed the second elbow of the Straits, and at length extended the canal to the Point of the Seraglio, the bottom of which is a living rock, not by any means to be shaken. "This large heap of waters," he adds, "did probably throw down at once the dike of earth that remained between Constantinople and Cape Semari, and so discharged itself into the Sea of Marmora." At this time, if we may judge by appearances, happened the great inundation spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, one of the most faithful historians of antiquity. That author informs us, that the inhabitants of Samothrace, a considerable island situated to the left of the entrance of the Dardanelles, perceived the irruption made by the waters of the *Pontus Euxinus* into the *Propontis*

through the aperture of the Cyanean Islands; that the inundation drowned part of the cities on the coast of Asia, which undoubtedly was lower than that of Europe; but, notwithstanding this, the waters mounted to the tops of the highest mountains of Samothrace, and changed the face of the whole country. The islanders had still the tradition of it among them in the time of that historian. . . . . This must convince us, that the great passage of the Propontis into the Mediterranean, was made long before by the same mechanism.* It is very probable, that the waters of the Propontis, which anciently might be nothing but a lake formed by the Granicus and the Rhyndacus, finding it more easy to work themselves a canal by the Dardanelles than by any other way, spread themselves into the Mediterranean. . . . The Mediterranean discharges itself into the ocean at the Straits of Gibraltar, where, by good fortune, it was easier for the water to scoop itself a canal, than to overspread the lands of Africa. The All-wise God had left this opening between Mount Atlas and Calpe: the plug, as we may say, only wanted to be pulled out." †

* The formation of the channel of the Bosphorus, Tournefort remarks, must have been long before the voyage of the Argonauts, which is supposed to have been B.C. 1263.

† The learned Frenchman suggests, that possibly this terrible irruption either sank or carried away "that famous isle of Atalantis, which Plato describes beyond the coast of Spain, and Diodorus Siculus beyond that of Africa." Strabo and some other ancient writers believed, that the Mediterranean, swelled by the waters of the Euxine, the *Palus Mœotis*, the Caspian, and the Lake Aral, had broken the pillars of Hercules: others, with Pomponius Mela, supposed that the irruption was made by the waters of the ocean. The latter hypothesis is at variance with probability on many grounds. The whole subject, however, has hitherto received an imperfect investigation. See HUMBOLDT's *Per. Nar.* vol. i. p. 20., and the authorities referred to in note. TOURNEFORT, vol. ii. let. 8. THORNTON's *Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 400. *et seq.*

The water discharged by the Euxine through the narrow channel of the Thracian Bosphorus, by no means accounts for its receiving so prodigious a quantity from the influx of the Danube, the Dniester, and various other streams, without becoming larger. The Black Sea, Tournefort says, besides the *Palus Mæotis*, or Sea of Azof, receives more rivers than the Mediterranean. The loss which the latter sustains by evaporation, according to the experiments of Dr. Halley, is supposed, however, to be more than equal to all the freshes, including the Dardanelles, which flow into it. In the case both of the Euxine and the Caspian, the theory of a subterranean canal has been proposed as a solution of the problem; but the hypothesis, as regards the Caspian, is disproved by the fact, that its level is lower than that of the ocean; and probably, as regards the Euxine, it is not better founded.

Between Fanaraki and *Kara Burnou* (Black Cape), the land on the coast of the Euxine gradually recedes from the margin of the sea, excepting in some places, where the shore, Dr. Neale says, "seems to have been precipitated into the sea by earthquakes." In those places, the perpendicular faces of the cliffs disclose horizontal beds of limestone, alternating with rich veins of coal, so advantageously situated, that shafts might be opened almost at the water's edge. "These beds of coal stretch for many miles beneath the forest of Belgrade, cropping out (as the miners term it) in various places, and pursuing a direction from S.W. to N.E." This Traveller suggests, that the spontaneous decomposition of the pyrites usually accompanying this formation, may give rise to the violent earthquakes with which Constantinople has been repeatedly visited. The shores of the Euxine are stated by another traveller (Olivier) to exhibit volcanic appear-

ances; and some writers have been disposed to ascribe the opening of the Bosphorus to such agency.

The Bosphorus was remarkable in ancient times for its tunny-fishery, and it is still a source of considerable profit to the inhabitants. This fish, which is the same as the Spanish mackarel, (the *scomber thynnus* of Linnæus,*) regularly migrates in autumn to more southern latitudes, returning in the spring; and the shoals which find their way, by the narrow outlet of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, from the Euxine into the Mediterranean, are so numerous, that sufficient might easily be taken, Gyllius says, to supply all Greece. "Neither is any particular skill requisite to succeed in this fishery, for women and children," he adds, "may sit at their windows, and bring up the *pelamydes* in basket-fulls from the current, or with hooks even without any bait, so very torpid are the fish." Dr. Neale witnessed this remarkable phenomenon. A few days after his arrival at Terapia, in the autumn of 1305, two smart shocks of earthquake were succeeded by a strong hurricane from the north, and a fall of snow. The wind continued in this quarter for some days, and at length he observed "a singular rippling appearance in the waters of the Bosphorus, forming a dark serpentine line about a mile and a half

* The *arcyous* Rosus and *pelamys* of other writers. Πελαμυς was the name given to the young tunny (θυνος), either from its colour, or from its fondness for the mud. According to the ancients, "no fish more dreads the cold." Sometimes they attain seven or eight feet in length, and have been found to weigh as much as 450 lbs. avoirdupois. When cut in pieces, the flesh has the appearance of raw beef, but becomes paler on being boiled, and has somewhat the flavour of salmon. The *abdomina thunni* was a Roman delicacy. The salted pelamydes and the roe of the tunny and sturgeon (*caviare* and *pontargue*), form the principal food of the lower classes of Greeks during Lent.

long. Over and all around this rippling were assembled a prodigious concourse of aquatic fowls,—swans, cormorants, pelicans, penguins, solan geese, ducks, quails, divers, &c., which shrieked in hoarse concert as they dived upon the myriads of pelamydes which floated in mid-channel." While he was looking on, the boats from Constantinople began to arrive. By mid-day, there were hundreds, "navigated by Turks, Albanians, and Greeks, all pulling against the rapid current, bawling, shouting, and wrangling for the prize, which they were even forced to contest with the wild fowl, who intrepidly descended to seize the fish when struggling amid the meshes of the net." This scene lasted "day and night," till the fourth morning, when the last of the shoal passed Terapia. In returning in the spring, Dr. Neale adds, the tunnies carefully avoid the rapid currents, as they are closely followed by the *xiphias*, or sword-fish, which constantly pursue them in their passage to and from the Mediterranean. Rapid as the Bosphorus is, it is sometimes frozen over, and in the year 401, the Euxine itself is said to have been frozen for twenty days.*

"It may be said," remarks Mr. Turner, "that there are two climates at Constantinople, that of the north and that of the south wind. The former, bringing with it the cold which it has gathered in blowing over the Black Sea,† gives coolness to the days of

* Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 358. "When the weather broke, such mountains of ice passed by Constantinople as frighted the inhabitants. Zonaras writes, that in the reign of Constantine Copronymus, there happened so severe a winter, that people walked upon the ice from Constantinople to Scutari: nay, that it bore carts too." Cantemir states, that the same circumstance occurred in the year 860.

† ——— "Like to the Pontic Sea,
Whose icy current and compulsive course

summer, and frost and snow to those of winter. The latter, coming from the southern provinces across the Archipelago, often renders a December day uncomfortably hot, and is most oppressively heating in summer. The north wind is the prevailing one, blowing with little intermission from May to September, and being frequent in the other months. It is not uncommon to see a north wind blowing in the Bosphorus, and a south one in the Sea of Marmora. Both of them blow at times with extreme fury. It must be owned, however, that the climate of Constantinople is, in general, mild and moderate, though it is not sufficiently hot for the growth of olive-trees, and orange and lemon-trees will not thrive in the open air, but require a slight shelter. It is very seldom that the sun is obscured by clouds, and rain is not frequent or lasting."* This prevalence of the north or north-east

> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont."
>
> Othello, act iii. sc. 3.

It is remarkable, that this simile is not in the first edition of the play, and Theobald calls in question the propriety of the epithet; but seemingly without reason. (Vol. ii. p. 200).

* Turner's Tour, &c., vol. i. p. 90. The greatest heat, in the Writer's recollection, is stated to have been 94° of Fahr. in August, with a slow wind; and the greatest cold, 32° 50' in February. The lowest temperature during Dr. Clarke's residence, from Jan. 15 to March 31, was 30°; the highest, 60°; the mean average of Jan. and Feb., between 42° and 48°. "Constantinople," says Dr Clarke, "is by no means a healthy place of residence for persons who have not lived long enough there to become inured to the vicissitudes of climate. The sudden changes of temperature render such persons liable to the most fatal effects of obstructed perspiration." After giving several cases of the kind, he adds: "Such are the blessings of what is often described as a delightful and luxurious climate. There can scarcely be found a spot upon earth more detestable than Pera, particularly in the most crowded parts of it. We might be said to live in cemeteries: the only water used for drinking passing through sepulchres to the feverish lips of the in-

wind is very injurious to the commerce of Constantinople, since, blowing in the direction of the currents, it frequently renders Constantinople inaccessible to ships coming from the Mediterranean or the Archipelago.

To complete our description of this remarkable Strait, we must now rejoin Mr. Hobhouse, and accompany him in his return along the Asiatic coast. From the two *Fanars*, the Strait contracts; and at *Perim-Hissar*, a mile and a half lower down, is a fort erected by De Tott in 1773. A mile below this is another headland, called *Fil-burnou*, the ancient Cape Cornicum (Cape of the Crows), where the width of the passage is only a mile and a quarter. This forms, according to Tournefort, the beginning of the narrows. The Bosphorus then retreats in a deep bay, nearly three miles across, the ancient Gulf of Pantichium, now called *Kelekli-limon*. Upon the southern headland, one of the three points of the ancient Cape of Bithynia, stands *Kavak Anadoli*, the castle of Asia, nearly opposite to that of Roumelia. Here, where the strait is not more than a mile across, the first modern defences of the canal were erected by Mahommed IV., to stop the incursions of the Cossacks, Poles, and Russians; but a modern battery has now given the name of the New Castle to the site of the most ancient fortress. "This spot," says Mr. Hobhouse, "being considered as the entrance to the Bosphorus, was chosen by the Byzantines for the site of a strong-hold; and

habitants, filled with all sorts of revolting liquidities. The owner of the hotel where we resided, wishing to make some repairs in his dwelling, dug near the foundation, and found that his house stood upon graves yet containing the mouldering relics of the dead. This may perhaps account for the swarm of rats," &c.—*Travels*, &c. Part II. 8vo. vol. viii. p. 137; and *Appendix* 4.

on the slope of the hill above the new battery, there are considerable remains of a castle and wall, which appear to be what the topographers of the Bosphorus describe as the fortress and circular walls ruined by the Gauls, rebuilt by the Greek emperors, and (as is generally supposed) put into a state of defence by the Genoese. A village near the battery, called *Jore* (*Yoro*) has been mentioned by every traveller, as pointing out the site of the port and temple of Hieron, and as consequently deciding the spot on or near which Darius took his survey of the Euxine. The best view of the *embouchure* of the Bosphorus and of the expanding sea, is to be procured, not on the hill commonly called the Giant's Mountain, but on the barren summit above the Genoese castle. The temple of Jupiter Urius ——— under this castle." *

The next head-land, *Magiar-bornou*, the ancient Argyronium, is a mile and a half below *Kavak Assaghi*, and under the towering Giant's Mountain. It is fortified by the battery called *Yenicha*. From this point, the strait recedes opposite the Gulf of Buyuk-dere, forming a bay, overlooked by abrupt precipices, and terminated by a promontory two miles lower down, in face of Terapia. The canal bends inwards to the south, and the Sultan's Bay (or the Round Gulf), which is a mile in width, is closed at the other horn by Cape Stridia, or the Cape of Oysters, called by the Turks, *Sefri-bornou*. In this bay there is a landing-place leading to the magnificent kiosk of Sultan Soliman, now in ruins, but the gardens of which still remain at *Sultanie Baktcheseri*, near the village of Beicos

* Toumefort says, "the temple must have been at the village of Jore, which is close to the new castle of Asia."

or Becoussi (the Walnut-tree village.)* Mr. Hobhouse landed here, for the purpose of ascending the mountain. He procured horses at a coffee-house, where several are kept ready saddled for visitors, and soon afterwards passed by a large paper-manufactory at the head of an extensive meadow, shaded by rows of tall oaks, and watered by two clear rivulets. Here, the ladies of the Imperial harem often take boat in the summer, and proceed up the beautiful valleys in their arabats, to some artificial lakes or reservoirs, where they amuse themselves with fishing. In winding up the hills towards *Anadoli-kavak*, peeps were obtained of several woody dells divided by little rivulets. According to Gyllius, the Bosphorus receives thirty rivers, and its banks are adorned with more than fifty valleys. In less than an hour, the party gained the summit above *Magiar-bornou*, and repaired to the *Tekeh* or Dervish's chapel. In the adjoining garden, is shewn a flower-bed more than fifty feet long, rimmed round with stone, with a sepulchral turban at each end, which perpetuates a superstition attached to the spot long before the time of the Turks or of the Byzantine Christians: after having been called the Tomb of Amycus† and the Bed of Hercules, it is now known as the Giant's Grave. The ride on the hills from this place to the summit above the Genoese Castle, afforded a view of an extensive tract of dark forest country on the right, which is set apart for the Grand Signior's hunting. It is intersected by deep dells, or

* The village above Beicos is called Tom, that is, the Village of Cherries. "All this coast," says Tournefort, "is so fruitful, that every village bears the name of some fruit."

† Amycus, king of the Bithynians, and son of Neptune, who was slain by Pollux, the son of Jupiter and Leda, in a wrestling match.

green ravines, and in contrast with the luxurious banks of the Bosphorus, rolling beneath between a line of painted villages and gardens, appeared like a dreary wilderness.

Next to the Sultan's Bay, is the Gulf of Cartacion or Catangium, terminating at *Kadlinge-bornou*, which derives its name from a considerable village. *Anadoli-hissar*, opposite to Mahommed's Tower, together with a village, is a mile and a half lower down, at the western extremity of the Gulf of Manoli. The *Yok-su* (Green Water), the largest of the streams running into the Bosphorus, and which is navigable by boats for a mile, discharges itself to the south of the fortress. The palace and domains assigned to the *Bostanje-bashe*, occupy the plain and the sides of the hills between this river and the *Kutchuk-su* (Little River), which falls into the strait a little above *Candile Bak-tchessi*, the supposed site of the Bithynian Nicopolis. A mile and a half below that village is *Coule Bak-tchessi*, on the point anciently called *Cecrium*, opposite to *Kouron-tchesme*. From this place, the towns of *Tchenzel-keui*, *Stavros*, and *Cossourge*, occupy with little intermission the whole shore as far as Scutari. The first of these is on the site of Chrysokeramus, which received its name from a church with gilded tiles. Stamrosis, which has preserved its ancient name in Stavros, was so called from the golden cross which surmounted a church constructed there by Constantine the Great: it is now remarkable for a magnificent mosque built by Sultan Abdulhamid. Between these two places, is a large monastery of the *Akoiemeti*, or night-watching monks.

As the villages on the Bosphorus are not, like the capital, enclosed in walls, the passage from Buyuk-dere after night-fall, Mr. Hobhouse says, is inde-

scribably agreeable. "As far as the castles only, the Thracian border is lighted; but, below that point, a thousand twinkling fires gleam upon the margin of the canal; and near the mouth of the Strait, the sloping hills on each side of the water glow with the brilliancy of a vast illuminated amphitheatre."

The hills on the side of Scutari, (or, as the Turks call it, Iskindar,) are, for some height, one cemetery or forest of cypresses. Not quite an hour's ride from Scutari, is the hill of *Bourgalou*, famous for its commanding view of the capital and the windings of the Bosphorus. Near the top is a fountain of clear water, which is much esteemed, and is sold in Constantinople at five *paras* the half-gallon. The declivity is covered with gardens, melon-grounds, and vineyards, supplying the capital with fruit. Northwards also, the ground is well cultivated, and is divided by hedge-rows and frequent avenues and clumps of trees. The grove of *Fanar Baktchessi*, on the point anciently called *Heræum*, is one of the many resorts of the Franks, Greeks, and Turks of the capital. A ruined church, which has been subsequently used as a mosque, and remains of some ancient baths, are supposed to have been constructed out of buildings erected here by Justinian. Scutari itself, which has succeeded to the ancient Chrysopolis, is described by Tournefort as a large and beautiful town.* It is a principal rendezvous of merchants and caravans from Armenia and Persia. "Formerly, the port of Scutari served as a retreat to the galleys of Chalcedon; and it was on account of its situation, that the Persians, aiming at the conquest of Greece, made choice of it, not only as a place of arms, but as a treasury or bank for keeping the gold and

* The population has been estimated at 30,000. See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 233.

silver they levied by way of tribute from the towns of Asia. Hence it got the name of Chrysopolis, or Gold Town.....It was destined to be a harbouring-place for excisemen; for the Athenians erected there, the first of any nation, a custom-house, for the gathering of the imposts laid on such as used the Black Sea."

Crossing over a sandy peninsula terminating in the head-land of *Mounde-burnou*, through lines of vineyards, the traveller arrives at *Kadi-keui*, the Judge's Town, the representative of the ancient Chalcedon;—"a poor, beggarly place," says Tournefort, "consisting of between 7 and 800 houses." The name only seems to preserve a memorial of its ancient celebrity, as the seat of the general council which, in 451, condemned the Eutychian heresy.* The church of [redacted] Euphemia, in which the assembly was held, is said to have been in the suburbs; and M. de Noinsel found in a ruined church, about a mile from the modern village, an inscription mentioning the council. The small church which the Greeks now shew as the identical edifice, has no pretensions to so high an antiquity. Persians, Greeks, Goths, Saracens, and Turks by turns despoiled Chalcedon. The walls were razed by Valens, and the materials were used in constructing the aqueduct which goes by his name. Soliman II., in repairing that aqueduct, as well as in building the *Suleimanie*, had recourse to the same quarry. "Chalcedon," says Tournefort, "seems to have been built on purpose to embellish Byzantium."

Between *Mounde-burnou* and Soutari Point (Dumalis) is a head-land dividing the shore into two bays, on which is a ruined kiosk, called *Kazak-serai*, built by Murad IV.; the marbles of which were taken by

* See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. p. 304.

Sultan Selim in 1794, to adorn a mosque within the walls of the Seraglio. On a hill above the bay, the shore of which is partly occupied with the burying-ground and the suburbs of Scutari, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by that unfortunate monarch, the exercising-ground, the mosque, and several projected streets, intended to have been allotted to silk and cotton manufacturers. Just by Scutari Point, in crossing to Tophana, is a small fort called *Kis-kulessi*, the Maiden's Tower, and by the Franks, with no propriety, Leander's Tower. It stands on a rock in the midst of the channel, just large enough for the base of the building, and for a platform containing five cannons. "This tower, with a wall crossing the sea to the Point of Scutari, and a chain attached to a second fort on the European shore, was contrived by the Emperor Manuel to close the mouth of the Bosphorus; but it is now a light-house, not a place of defence; and the garrison," adds Mr. Hobhouse, "as it was a hundred years ago, is composed of one man."

We must now take leave of the extraordinary scene of commingled wonders and contrasts presented by this triple capital of the Ottoman empire, so singularly placed, so mysteriously guarded by the double strait which forms its portals.* But we have first to give a brief description of the Dardanelles.

* The author of Anastasius thus describes the approach to Constantinople from the Propontis. "With eyes directed on the expanding splendour, I watched as they came out of the bosom of the surrounding waters, the pointed minarets, the swelling cupolas, and the innumerable habitations, either stretching along the jagged shore, and reflecting their shape in the mirror of the deep, or creeping up the crested mountain, and tracing their outline on the expanse of the sky. At first aggloinerated into one confused mass, the lesser part of this immense whole seemed, as we advanced,

GALLIPOLI.

The modern name of the Hellespont,* is the Sea of Gallipoli (*Gallibeli Denghizzi*). The city of that name, the Callipolis of ancient geography, is situated at the mouth of the Propontis, in a strait above five miles in breadth: it is 25 miles from the Dardanelles, 40 from the Isle of Marmora, 80 miles S. of Adrianople, and 108 S.W. from Constantinople. Standing in a peninsula, it has two harbours, north and south, and not unfrequently receives the imperial fleets: it is, in fact, the chief station of the Capitan-pasha. Mr. Hobhouse describes it as a very considerable town, containing perhaps (in 1810) 15,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Turks, the remainder Greeks and Jews. But, according to Mr. Turner, who visited it in 1812 and 1815, the population had increased in a most extraordinary manner, in consequence of emi-

by degrees to unfold, to disengage themselves from each other, and to grow into various groupes, divided by wide chasms and deep lacerations; until at last the clusters, thus far still distantly connected, became transformed, as if by magic, into three distinct cities, each individually of prodigious extent, and each separated from the other two by a wide arm of that sea whose silver tide encompassed their base, and made its vast circuit part half on Europe, and half on Asia." Vol. i. p. 68.

* Whether by the Hellespont the ancients meant merely the Strait between Thrace and Phrygia, there is some reason to question. Bryant asserts, that Homer never alludes to the canal of Abydos under that name. Mr. Hobhouse, however, after shewing that this is incorrect, cites a number of ancient authorities, to prove, that the Hellespont included both the strait and the whole line of coast from Abydos to the promontory of Lectum, the northern boundary of Troas; being, in fact, that part of the Ægean Sea which washed the shores of Phrygia Minor, as high as Abydos. In later times, it became restricted to "the strait beginning at Abydos and Sestos, and ending at Callipolis and Lampsacus, in which sense it is always taken by Pliny."—See Bougainville's Memoir, Letter 42.

grations from other parts of Turkey, so as to contain little short of 80,000 inhabitants.* The town was once fortified, but is now without walls, its only defence being "a sorry square castle, with an old tower, doubtless that of Bajazet." † The town consists of miserable houses and dirty streets. The bazars, however, are extensive and well-furnished. Few monuments of antiquity are in good preservation, but fragments of sculpture and architecture are seen in every part of the town. Gallipoli, which is the see of a Greek bishop, was the first European town that fell into the hands of the Ottomans, being taken by them nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople, A.D. 1357. "The Emperor John Paleologus, to comfort himself for the loss of it, said, he had only lost a jar of wine and a sty for hogs, alluding to the magazines and cellars built by Justinian. Bajazet I., however, knowing the importance of the post for passing from Prusa to Adrianople, caused Gallipoli to be repaired in 1391, strengthening it with a huge tower, and made a good port for his galleys." ‡ "On

* See note at p. 137, and Turner's Journal, vol. ii. p. 6. The increase of population appears to consist almost entirely of Greek refugees from Servia and Thrace. The Jews, Franks, and Armenians, Mr. Turner was informed by "our vice-consul" (a ragged Jew), did not amount to more than 200 souls. 200 Turks were carried off by the plague of 1812. If this statement could be relied on, the disappearance of the Jews, who have been established here ever since the twelfth century, would be a most extraordinary circumstance. Wheler says: They reckon the number of inhabitants to be 12,000 Turks, 4 or 500 Greeks, and as many Jews: Tournefort says, about 10,000 Turks, 500 Greeks, and not quite so many Jews. The former Traveller adds: "They say it is about six miles about."

† Tournefort. Mr. Turner supposed it to be Genoese.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 148. (See p. 16 of this volume.) Sandys tells the story differently. "A little beyond Abydos," he says, "we

the south side of the city," Sandys says, "in a little plain, are sundry round hills, the sepulchres, as they say, of certain Thracian kings. The country above is champaign and not barren. The infinite number of Turkish graves by the high-way side and on the adjoining hills, do shew it to have been plentifully inhabited by them. Here is a ferry for transportation into Asia." A little corn is grown in the vicinity, but not enough for a fourth part of the population.

The modern Lampsacus (Lamsaki) is about two miles to the southward, on the Asiatic side, where the strait is about five miles over. "Lampsacus was one of the towns Xerxes gave to Themistocles. Magnesia was for his bread, Myus for his meat, and this for his wine; and it hath yet," says Whelen, "abundance of fine vineyards all about it, especially on the south parts, well hedged with pomegranate-trees. It had a good harbour, and was counted 21 miles (170 *stadia*) from Abydos. It now consists of about 200 houses, and hath a fine mosque, whose portico is supported by red marble pillars. It was formerly a Christian church, as they well prove by the crosses that yet remain carved on the capitals of the pillars." This Traveller was shewn several inscribed marbles. Mr. Hobhouse praises the beauty of its situation. The mountains, which are clothed with wood, approach within a few miles of the back of the town.

passed by the ruins of a castle, which the Turkish carmasals and galleys, still sailing by, salute with their ordnance, it being the first fort by them taken in Europe, who call it *Sembenick*. The besotted Grecians, being so far from attempting a recovery, that they jested at the loss, and said that they had but taken a hog-sty, alluding to the name, *Dochastron*." Callipolis is "some 24 miles distant."

THE HELLESPONT.

A LITTLE way below the tongue of low land on which Lamsaki stands, is the mouth of the Ægospotamos, now called the *Kara-ova-su*,* the name alone of which, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, is a history. The victory obtained by Lysander here, terminated the Peloponnesian war. The Hellespont here is about a mile and three-quarters wide. Below this are the mouths of the Practius (now *Monion kevi-su*) and the river of Percote (*Bourghas-su*). For several miles, the channel now preserves a nearly uniform width, and the banks on either side, cultivated with corn intermixed with vineyards, with hedge-rows and frequent villages, present a succession of beautiful scenery, more rich, however, than romantic, and closely resembling, Mr. Hobhouse says, the banks of the Menai, in Wales. A rocky strand, or mole, in the narrowest part, preserves the name of *Gexiler Iskelssi*, the Victor's Harbour, in memory of the landing of the first Ottoman invaders. Two or three miles further is a hill crowned with a scanty ruin, called Zemenic, the ancient Choiridocastron (Pig's Fort), where the standard of Soliman, the son of Orchan, was first planted on the Thracian shore. Below this, is the bay of *Ak-bashi-liman*, "reasonably conjectured to be the ancient port of Sestos," and further down, a deep inlet

* The Black-stone-water! "The naturalist," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "might assist the topographer in identifying this memorable stream, by discovering on its banks the monstrous stone foretold by Anaxagoras, and still remaining in the days of Pliny, which fell from the sky.—Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, states, that it was considered by some as portentous of the fatal battle of Ægospotamos." Its fall was preceded by a meteoric appearance, and there can be little doubt that it would be found to be of atmospheric formation.

called Kellia, and the bay of Maito (Madytus). About a mile and a half below the western point of that bay, are the castles which give name to the Strait. "The castles *Chanak-kalessi*, or *Sultanie-kalessi*, on the Asiatic side, and *Chelit-bayri* or *Kilidul-bahar* (the lock of the sea), on the European shore, are called by the Turks *Bogaz-hissarlevi*,* and by the Franks, the Old Castles of Natolia and Roumelia. The town of Chanak-kalessi is the place properly called the Dardanelles, which name has been extended to the strait itself. *Chelit-bayri*," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "is but a small town, inconveniently built on the side of a jutting hill; nor is the castle considered of such importance as that of *Chanak-kalessi*, although the cannon of its batteries are as numerous and of the same enormous bore. The barrow of Hecuba is a hillock, not very distinguishable, in the high ground above the town, but within the walls. *Chanak-kalessi* is on a flat point, immediately opposite to the European fort; so that the two batteries, as the guns are immoveable, and are laid on each side at right angles with the strait, must, in the time of action, bombard each other. I was, indeed, shewn, in the streets of the Asiatic town, and in the neighbouring fields, several of the granite masses which had been discharged from *Chelit-bayri* during the passage of the English fleet in 1807. The interior castle was built by the Greeks. Above the fortress is a battery of German field-pieces, behind a redoubt of earth and fascines erected by French engineers. These guns are used in saluting, and would be more serviceable than the monsters of the castle." *Chanak-kalessi* is a very miserable town of about 2000 houses. The prin-

* * *Bogaz* signifies a strait.

cipal inhabitants are Jews, who trade in the wine produced in the neighbouring vineyards, which are in much repute. To the east of the suburbs, there is a large pottery, which supplies not only Constantinople, but Alexandria also with earthenware.* At the back of the town are many cemeteries belonging to the Turks, Jews, and Christians; and further inland, a tract of enclosed country in a state of high cultivation, extends to the Idean mountains. A considerable stream, which has been supposed to be the ancient Rhodius, washes the western suburbs: it is crossed, not far from the castle, by a long wooden bridge.

These castles were formerly supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Sestos and Abydos. Wheler and Spon first pointed out the error, remarking, that "it is neither the narrowest part of these straits, nor yet could we find any mark of antiquity for it; but at a place much narrower, which we passed, about three or four miles further northward, we found considerable ruins on the shore of Natolia. This confirmed us in our opinion, and that the Dardanelli were built after the ruin of those places. Having since consulted Strabo, I am of opinion that the city Dardanus was thereabouts, and that thence came the corrupted modern name of Dardanelli applied to both castles."

To the north-east of *Chanak-kalessi*, the Hellespont forms a long bay between three and four miles across, terminating in a point of low land, called *Nagara-burnu*, or Pesquies Point. This is the spot alluded to by Sir G. Wheler as the site of Abydos, near which are considerable ruins and old foundations; and some way within the cape, there still remain a few scattered vestiges of an ancient town. A fort has been raised

* Hence its name, *chanak*, signifying pottery.

near the point of land. The Thracian side of the Strait, immediately opposite to Nagara Point, Mr. Hobhouse says, "is a strip of stony shore projecting from between two high cliffs; and to this spot, it seems, the European extremity of Xerxes' bridges must have been applied; for the height of the neighbouring cliffs would have prevented the Persian monarch from adjusting them to any other position. There is certainly some ground to believe this to have been the exact point of the shore, called from that circumstance *Apobathra*, since there is, within any probable distance, no other flat land on the Thracian side, except at the bottom of deep bays, the choice of which would have doubled the width of the passage. Here the strait appeared to us to be narrower than in any other part, although to those on board our frigate, who might be supposed skilled in judging of distances, it no where seemed to be less than a mile across: the ancient measurements, however, give only seven stadia, or 875 paces.—Sestos was not opposite to the Asiatic town, nor was the Hellespont in this place called the Straits of Sestos and Abydus, but the Straits of Abydus. Sestos was so much nearer the Propontis than the other town, that the ports of the two places were thirty stadia, more than three miles and a half from each other. The bridges were on the Propontic side of Abydus, but on the opposite quarter of Sestos; that is to say, they were on the coasts between the two cities, but nearer to the first than to the last: and supposing the few ruins before-mentioned about a mile from Nagara to belong to Abydus, that point answers sufficiently to the spot on the Asiatic coast to which the pontoons were affixed."* The passage of

* Herodotus states, that the bridge of Xerxes was thrown over the Hellespont between Sestos and Madytus, which seems suf-

Xerxes is not more suggested to the traveller who sails through these straits, than the enterprise of Leander. It was the custom for those who would cross from Abydus to Sestos, to incline a mile out of the direct line; and those making the contrary voyage were obliged to have recourse to a similar plan, in order to take advantage of the current. The lover, therefore, had a perilous adventure to perform, who swam at least four miles to meet his mistress, and returned the same distance in the same night."*

ciently to correspond to the above description. He also states, that from Abydos to the opposite shore is a distance of *seven stadia*, or less than a mile. (Polyhymnia, § 33, 4.) Lucan, however, seems to make Sestos and Abydos opposite to each other (lib. 2)—

> ——*Fama canit tumidum super aequora Xerxem*
> *Constrixisse vias, multum cum pontibus ausus*
> *Europamque Asiae, Sestumque admovit Abydo.*

But this may be understood of the districts. If, however, the Dardanelles be the site of Dardanus, as Wheler supposes, we must look for Abydus much further north than Nagara. May not Gavilar Lokolossi be the site of Xerxes' bridge, as well as of Sullman's exploit? At that point, Leunclavius asserts, that the Hellespont is narrower than at any other part; and his account of the width substantially agrees with the statement of Herodotus:—"*Graecum mensa millare non superat*;" whereas at Nagara, Mr. Hobhouse admits, "it no where seemed less than a mile across." Mr. Turner says, it is a mile and a half; and that if Herodotus be correct, it must have *widened considerably since*. Add to this, that Strabo evidently places Abydus at the northern extremity of the Strait, when he makes it to be its boundary towards the Propontis, which by no means answers to the point fixed upon by Sir George Wheler and Mr. Hobhouse. Le Chevalier supposes Cape Berbieri to be Dardanus, affirming it to be precisely seventy *stadia* from *Nagara-Sarum*; but Wheler's opinion is far more likely to be correct, that *Chanak-kalessi* is the site of Dardanus, which was probably the name of the river mentioned by Mr. Hobhouse, and which has been corrupted into Dardanelle. It is impossible that the ancients should have neglected such a spot, and it corresponds to the situation of no other city.

* Hobhouse, pp. 505, 6.

Lord Byron and his companion, Mr. Ekenhead, succeeded, "with little difficulty," on a second attempt, in swimming across from a point of land nearly a mile and a half above *Chelit-baivri*, to the castle of Natolia. They were an hour and ten minutes in the water. But his Lordship did not attempt the *other half* of Leander's exploit, to swim back again. This, Mr. Turner affirms, he would have found impracticable, as he would then have had the current *against* him. "For the tide does not here run straight down, parallel with the banks, but, having been dashed violently into the bay of Maito, is, by the reaction, thrown to the opposite shore lower down; and thus, in the narrowest part of the gulf, flows transversely from the European to the Asiatic coast, whence it is again thrown off with vehemence into the Archipelago. Whatever, therefore, is thrown into the stream on this part of the European bank, must arrive at the Asiatic shore. I attempted (he adds) to swim across from Asia to Europe, starting from the northerly side of the castle; but the current was so completely in my teeth, that, with the most unremitted and violent exertion, I did not, in twenty-five minutes, advance more than one hundred yards, and was then obliged to give it up from utter exhaustion. Having been accustomed to swimming from my childhood, I have no hesitation in asserting, that no man could have strength to swim a mile and a half (the breadth of the strait in the narrowest part, a little northerly of the castles) against such a current; and higher up or lower down, the strait widens so considerably, that he would save little labour by changing his place of starting. I therefore treat the tale of Leander's swimming across both ways, as one of those fables to which the Greeks were so ready to give the name of history.

Quidquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ."* There remains, however, one way of rescuing the legend from this imputation, and of saving the credit of Leander. As this is *not* the narrowest part of the Strait, and Chanak-Kalessi is *not* Abydos, Leander may have achieved his exploit at some other point, where he would not have had this transverse current to contend against, and where the distance across is a third less; moreover, "when the wind is southerly," the stream is far less strong, and the Grecian lover may have availed himself of the more favourable season.

The mouth of the Strait, according to Tournefort, is five miles and a half over: it is defended by the new castles built by Mahommed IV. in 1659, to secure his fleet from the insults of the Venetians, who used to come and attack it in sight of the old castles. "The waters that pass through this canal," he adds, "are as rapid as if they flowed beneath a bridge: when the north wind blows, no ship can enter; but when it is south, you hardly perceive any current at all." The strait at Cape Berbieri has the appearance of being narrower than at the Dardanelles.†

* Turner's Tour, vol. i. pp. 46. 8. In a note, it is added: "Dr. Clarke says, that the servant of the Imperial Consul swam over both from Asia to Europe and from Europe to Asia. As, however, his authorities were probably the Jews of the town, who, in retailing it to me, only mentioned his having swam from Europe to Asia, it may be permitted to doubt their statement."

† A small farm-house near the village on the Cape, was pointed out to Mr. Hobhouse as the place where the preliminaries to the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Turkey, were signed by Mr. Adair and the Minister of the Porte. About eight miles below the Dardanelles on the Thracian side, an English gentleman (Mr. Rob. Wilis) had, some years before, "created on the shores of the Hellespont, a country seat not to be rivalled by any villa on the shores of the Thames." But the Turks would not permit him to remain there.

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO ADRIANOPLE.

In proceeding to describe the route from the capital to the provinces, we shall avail ourselves chiefly of the narrative of Dr. E. D. Clarke, who, in the winter of 1801-2, travelled from Thessalonica to Constantinople, and returned by way of Bucharest and Vienna.

Three hours from the capital, proceeding westward along the coast of the Sea of Marmora, is the village of *Kutchuk Tchekmadji*, or *Ponte Piccolo* (Little Bridge), "remarkable only for its unwholesome situation, amid marshes and pools, and the dangerous *malaria* during summer." Lady M. W. Montagu, however, mentions her "very pleasant lodging" here, in a monastery of dervishes, having before it a large court with marble cloisters, a good fountain, and gardens, and commanding a very pleasing prospect of the sea.* Another three hours brings the traveller to *Buyuk Tchekmadji* (Great Bridge), a town of about 200 houses, with a fine harbour: it derives its name from a series of four stone bridges. To the north of the town, a lake extends to a considerable distance inland. The road continues to lie along the shore, passing through Pivatis (Bevados), where there is a bridge of thirty arches with a square tower, to Silivria,

* Her Ladyship tells a curious story of the aërial bed-chamber of the hegis, or schoolmaster, then stationed in the monastery. "I asked him," she says, "to shew me his own apartment, and was surprised to see him point to a tall cypress-tree in the garden, on the top of which was a place for a bed for himself, and a little lower, one for his wife and two children, who slept there every night. I was so much diverted by the fancy, I resolved to examine his neat theatre: but, after going up fifty steps, I found I had as many to go up, and must then climb from branch to branch with a cord tassel of my silk. Thought it, therefore, the best way to ramble down again."—Vol. ii. p. 196.

the ancient Selymbria, distant from Constantinople thirty-two miles. Here there is another "bridge of thirty arches over a nameless river."* The town contains about 2000 houses, and "a famous Greek church:" it is the see of a Greek bishop. The surrounding vineyards furnish an excellent wine.

Thus far, the route to Salonika is the same as the Adrianople road; but, two hours beyond Selivria, the latter turns off in a north-westerly direction to Tchorlu, where the Grand Signior has a *conak* or little seraglio, built for his use when travelling this road.† Dr. Clarke took this road in his journey from Constantinople to Bucharest. In the whole distance from Selivria to Tchorlu, a journey of eight hours or twenty-four miles, he mentions only one village, called Kunneklea. The country is open and level, consisting chiefly of a sandy loam,‡ in parts very rich, and abounds with *tumuli*.§ Tchorlu (the Turullus of the

* Lady M. W. Montagu says: "It is now a good sea-port, and neatly built enough, and has a bridge of thirty-two arches." This evidently gives name to the town. Dr. Clarke is mistaken in supposing that the termination *bria*, "so common in this country," answers to the Greek πολις and the Celtic *dunum*. It is the Celtic word for bridge, *brign* or *brig*, softened into *bria*; as Cantabriga into Cambria, &c.

† Lady Montagu's Letters, vol. ii. p. 189. Dr. Clarke says: "If the Grand Signior should choose to travel through his dominions, he would not find an inhabitant in any of the towns to receive him. No sooner does the news arrive of the coming of Turks of distinction, than the people betake themselves to flight, and the stillness of death prevails in the streets."

‡ "The coast near Selivria consists of beds of sand-stone, clay, and green-stone; beyond, towards the East, the rocks are amygdaloid and sandstone."—MACMICHAEL's *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople*, 4to. p. 165.

§ Dr. Macmichael says, that he traced these artificial mounds from the neighbourhood of the Valdai mountains, north of Moscow, across the steppe between the Bogh and the Dnieper, through

ancients, and the Tenedos of the Byzantine historians) consists of 900 houses, the greater part inhabited by Turks; and contains "ruins of Turkish baths, and a neat mosque with a minaret. The town is paved with black marble." Its trade consists in wheat, barley, and wine. Proceeding over "wide and barren plains, as before," Dr. Clarke, at six hours from Tchorlu, turned a little out of the road, to halt at the village of Caristrania, near which the country is well cultivated; and in four hours more, reached Burghas (*or Bergase*), a town of 2000 houses, carrying on a considerable trade in wine, flax, and pottery. "The internal appearance of Burghas," he says, "is better than that of Turkish towns in general. It is famous for a manufacture of the small terra-cotta bowls for Turkish pipes, and for salted shrimps, which are caught in the Black Sea." From this place, the learned Traveller proceeded northward to *Kirk Iklise* (Forty Churches). The Adrianople road turns off westward through Eski Babi, a small town with a handsome mosque and a very neat bridge, to Hafsa (or Apsa), where are ruins of a very fine caravanserai. About fifteen hours from Burghas, the traveller reaches the first European capital of the Ottoman empire.

Bulgaria, and in Roumelia. They are found in every country of Europe, in many parts of Asia and Africa, and even in America. The barrows of Cornwall and Wiltshire, the cairns of Ireland and Scotland, and the tumuli of Greece and Asia Minor, are all sepulchral monuments of the same description. See an account of the opening of the tumulus of Achilles on the Sigæan promontory, in Chevalier's *Voyage de la Troade*, vol. ii. p. 201; and of the opening of some Siberian tumuli near Tomskoi, in Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 273.

ADRIANOPLE.

Dr. Macmichael, who, in the winter of 1817-18, journeyed from Moscow to Constantinople by way of Bucharest and Rudshuk, thus describes the appearance of the city as approached from the north. "Before we reached Adrianople, every vestige of winter had disappeared; not a particle of snow was observable on the surface of the country, which was well cultivated, and planted chiefly with mulberry-trees. About a mile from the city, we passed some low sand-hills to the left; the minarets of the famous mosque of Selim began to appear; and, instead of the coarse tomb-stones of the Turkish burying-grounds, which we had been hitherto accustomed to see, white marble monuments, with well-sculptured turbans, and ornamented with inscriptions in gilt characters, were crowded together by the road-side.

"Near the confluence of the Tundsha and the Arda with the Hebrus, and on the eastern bank of the former river, stands the first European capital of the Turkish empire, on a spot celebrated alike in the earliest traditions of antiquity, and in the records of more authenticated and modern history. It was at the junction of these three rivers, that the infuriated Orestes purified himself from the contamination of the murder of his mother; and a town erected in commemoration of that event, bore his name, and is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine authors. Here also, where the Hebrus first changes its course from the eastward, to descend to the south, the Emperor Adrian afterwards built the city that, at a later period, enjoyed the dignity of a metropolis, in the province of *Haimi-montus*, and still retains the ap-

pellation derived from its Roman founder.* 'By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals,' says Gibbon, 'we can discern that Amurath I. subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania and Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital, and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe.'...Since that period, although it has lost the rank of a capital, Adrianople has been frequently chosen as the seat of government by succeeding sultans, and was the favourite residence of Achmet III., Mahommed IV., and Mustafa.† It is now the chief town of an extensive and important pashalik.

"We entered the city by a long, narrow bridge, built over the Tundsha, which falls into the Marisa at a little distance below the town to the south. Passing along narrow streets, darkened by wooden projections from the opposite houses, we stooped under a very low, ruined brick archway in the wall of the

* The modern Turkish name of Edrene is obviously a corruption of its ancient appellation.

† "Mahomet IV. and Mustafa, the brother of the reigning emperor, were so fond of it, that they wholly abandoned Constantinople, which honour so far exasperated the Janizaries, that it was a considerable motive to the rebellion that deposed them. Yet this man (Ahmed III.) seems to love to keep his court here. I can give you no reason for this partiality. It is true, the situation is fine, and the country all round very beautiful: but the air is extremely bad, and the seraglio itself is not free from the ill effect of it. The town is said to be eight miles in compass: I suppose they reckon in the gardens. There are some good houses in it,—I mean large ones; for the architecture of their palaces never makes any great show. The river Marissa, on which it is situated, is dried up every summer, which contributes very much to make it unwholesome. It is now a very pleasant stream. There are two noble bridges built over it."—Lady M. W. Montagu, vol. ii. p. 176.

fortress, and alighted at a khan crowded with Albanian troops of the Pasha.

"The population of the city is now estimated at something less than 90,000, of which one-third may be accounted Turks, the rest being Greeks, Armenians, and Jews; but the number of its inhabitants, and the extent of its commerce, have been greatly diminished by the plague of 1813, and by the disturbances and depredations committed by robbers, before the appointment of the present pasha. The two annual fairs which were held in the neighbourhood, to which Russians with furs, and Germans with cloth, were in the habit of resorting, no longer exist; still, however, Adrianople remains a place of considerable trade, consisting chiefly in its exports of raw silk, and the colouring substance used as a yellow dye, known generally by the name of *graine d'Avignon* (the fruit of a species of *Ilycium*). That part of the town called the Fortress, surrounded with a ruined wall, with here and there a dilapidated tower, is the chief residence of the Franks and Greeks.

"The mosque of Selim and the bazar of Ali Pasha are the pride of Adrianople, and merit the attention of every traveller. We paid a sequin to be permitted to ascend to the top of one of the four minarets of the mosque, which are fluted and of a very elegant construction. Three spiral staircases, winding round each other, separately conduct to the three different galleries of the minaret, to the highest of which you mount by 377 steps. On our descent, we were permitted, on condition of taking off our shoes, to enter the interior of the mosque itself. The floor was covered with carpets, and many lamps and ostrich eggs were suspended from the ceiling of the immense dome. In several recesses, similar to the side chapels

in large cathedrals, devout Turks were reading or praying. On the walls of the interior, were inscriptions in Turkish characters. On one side of the building stood an elevated chair or pulpit, to which a very narrow and steep flight of steps conducted. In the centre of the mosque was a spring, surrounded with a circular screen; and we were invited to apply our mouths to the top of the marble fountain, to imbibe the sacred water, which did not jet out, but merely rose to the brim. Struck with the prodigious number of windows around me, I was attempting to count them, when our guide hastily intimated to us, that it was time to withdraw. The French consul, who had the kindness to accompany us on this occasion, explained this circumstance by telling us, that it was considered a bad omen among the Turks, to allow a Christian to make such a calculation, which, however, he had once made, and found to be 999. The exterior court of the mosque is paved with large slabs of white marble, and the antique columns of the cloisters built round it, are of various orders and dimensions, but all of the most costly materials, either verde antico, Egyptian granite, or Cipollino marble.* Near the building is a college of dervishes.

"From the mosque of Selim, which is reported to be one of the largest and most beautiful Mohammedan temples in the world, we walked to the famous bazar of Ali Pacha. It is a brick building, vaulted with arches, consisting of alternate red and white bricks. It has at each extremity, and four lateral ones, forming so many entrances, and its length is about 500 paces.†

* See a description of this mosque in Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vol. ii. p. 154.

† "Lady M. W. Montagu greatly exaggerates the dimensions of this bazar, when she asserts that it is half a mile long."

The *coup d'œil* offered by the entire length of the bazar of Ali, is more striking than any thing I afterwards witnessed at the bezesteins of Constantinople; and my companion was of opinion, that it far exceeds any buildings of a similar description that he had seen at Cairo. It is allotted to the more precious commodities, such as jewellery, shawls, muslins, &c. In another part of the town, we visited a bazar appropriated to tanners.

"Sepulchral monuments of white marble, many of which were covered with ornamental canopies of the same material, and all having a more splendid appearance than any we had hitherto seen, lined the road on each side for a considerable distance, as we turned our backs on the ancient capital of Amurath. The country before us assumed the appearance of a brown and barren heath, upon whose surface grey plovers were flying in numerous flocks." *

* Macmichael's Journey, pp. 143—158. About a league to the S.W. of Adrianople, Pococke says, is "a village called *Demotica*, where Charles XII. of Sweden resided some years, till he was removed to Demotica, as it is imagined, at the instigation of his enemies." This place, which occurs in the route to Rodosto, is about twelve miles S. of Adrianople. It is built on the N. and E. side of a hill, near "the *Kemikle-su*, which falls into the *Meritcheh* (Maritza) about a mile to the N.E. There are remains of the walls of a castle, and of several artificial grottoes: the Christians have two churches. Charles XII. lived at this place some time." Demotica is supposed to be the ancient Dyme. Higher up the river was Pistrinopolis; perhaps at *Kara-agatch*. Trajanopolis was 12 miles below Dyme, in the way to Heraclea. Pococke crossed the Maritza in a flat-bottomed boat, and travelled seven miles eastward, through a very fine country, to the village of *Ouzoun-kupri*; so named from a long bridge of 170 arches, constructed of hewn stone, and nearly half a mile long, built across the plain of the small river *Ergasch*. Sixteen miles further eastward, he came to the small town of "*Jerdiel*, which seems to be a corruption from Hieropolis;" and the next day, went eight hours to Rodosto. "The whole country of Thrace I passed through," he says, "is an exceeding rich soil,

In proceeding from Adrianople towards Mount Hæmus, the road, after crossing the Maritza at *Djiafe Mustafa*, continues along the right bank of the river as far as the village of Hevitza, where it is crossed again at a ferry. This river, which is no other than the ancient Hebrus, so celebrated in classic story as the scene of the tragical death of Orpheus, has its source in the valleys between Mount Hæmus and Rhodope; and after receiving various tributary streams, crosses the maritime road from Constantinople to Salonika, and falls into the Egean, nearly opposite the island of Samothrace. On approaching its banks from Bulgaria, the country becomes more uneven, and is broken into rugged granitic rocks. Wild roses intermingled with stunted oaks, were seen blooming in profusion in the month of February, and the banks were covered with the crocus. Swallows were flying about the stream, and storks were seen on the islands or sand-banks in the middle. Beyond the village of Karabona, the road enters upon a marshy tract, in some places under cultivation, and in eight hours further, leads to *Eski Zadra* (or *Sagra*). This town, which D'Anville conjectures to be the representative of the ancient Berœa, is finely situated on the southern declivity of some hills of the most graceful forms, and in the highest state of cultivation. Its eight mosques give it a very imposing appearance when approached from the south. The town is described by Dr. Macmichael as "very Turkish," and its inhabitants re-

which produces in the downs the greatest plenty of herbage I ever saw in places entirely unimproved, and a great quantity of excellent corn, and also some flax. The country is mostly uneven, and has very little wood in it. So that the ancients, who say that Thrace is a plain country, except near the sea, were very much mistaken."

garded the strangers with an air of savage curiosity. The adjacent country is covered with vineyards and orchards of mulberry, cherry, and plum-tree.

Soon after leaving Eski Sagra, the signs of cultivation disappear. The road lies for some way in the bed of a river, the banks of which are of hornstone schist, and then crosses a ridge of low mountains, in which granitic points occasionally rise to the surface. A post-house is found at Kasanlik; two hours further, is Shipka, situated at the southern foot of Mount Hæmus, and the first village on this line of road in Roumelia; that mountain being the natural boundary between that province and Bulgaria. This village stands embosomed in walnut and mulberry-trees, on the skirts of a small plain, which is covered with tumuli of various shapes. Among them is a lofty conical one, with five smaller barrows disposed round it; and at some distance from this groupe, is one that is distinguished by a very long and truncated summit. The passage of the Balkan, (the name by which the mountain is designated,) from Shipka to Gabkova, occupies five hours.* Dr. Macmichael was disappointed in his expectation of fine scenery, the general outline of the mountain being of a tame character, without any bold or prominent peaks. The strata on the northern side are generally calcareous, presenting occasionally beds of shale, limestone, and ochre, but generally covered with stately beech-trees; the summit is a blue or variegated marble, bare of trees; but, immediately on beginning to descend towards Roumelia, the rock changes to a hard argillaceous schist, with large veins of quartz, and the southern declivity is

* Dr. Macmichael was only five hours in travelling from Gabkova to Shipka; we have reversed his route, but this can make little difference.

much more rapid. Gablova is remarkable for its neat appearance and beautiful situation: it stands at the southern extremity of a fruitful valley, and is surrounded with mulberry-trees. A romantic bridge, built over a fall of the Isatra, (the ancient Istrus,) forms the entrance to the town. The road still continues to descend through forests of oak and beech, following the course of the Isatra, which it repeatedly crosses, and sometimes leaving the narrow defile to cross higher points; till, at the end of four hours from Gablova, the traveller arrives at Ternira, once the capital of Bulgaria, and supposed to occupy the site of Nicopolis *ad Hæmum*. "The houses, built close to the very edge of steep rocks, hang over the torrent of the river that winds its course through the confined and difficult pass below. Surrounded on all sides by mountains, the town stands in a situation at once bold, dangerous and picturesque. The streets, ill-paved and excessively dirty, are in many places darkened by wooden projections extending from the opposite houses, built, as is the case in all Turkish towns, so as nearly to touch each other at the top."

On leaving this place, the road is a steep descent, having, on the right, in a deep, narrow ravine, the Isatra, and, on the left, precipitous limestone rocks, planted, wherever there is soil, with vineyards. At the end of two hours is a Servian village; and two hours further, the Isatra is forded. The road then enters on a small plain covered with more than fifty barrows, to the left of which are seen the walls of a ruined town. Three hours from the ford, is another small nameless village, and several hamlets of *Tchingoanhs*, or gipsies, are passed further on, as the traveller once more approaches the banks of the Isatra, flowing through a beautiful valley covered with dwarf

oaks, maple, and pollard elm-trees. Couriers are said to be sometimes detained as much as ten days in winter, on the banks of this river, waiting for the torrent to become fordable. On the other side, the road ascends a steep hill, to the large village of Bichy, consisting chiefly of huts built of rough stones, cemented with mud, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a high fence of basket-work: there is a ruined mosque, and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are Turks, the rest being Servians or Bulgarians.

The whole of the tract thus far from the foot of the Balkan, is an uneven and wooded country, a fine view of which is obtained from an immense *tumulus*, at least fifty feet in height, on an eminence beyond Bela. The road now descends through a fine valley, and then passes over a rich tract covered with the wild apple, the hazel, the beech, and the elm, to the Bulgarian village of Cresto, situated in the midst of orchards on a hill. The low and dark houses of the peasants here, who are of the Greek Church, are made of twigs wattled together, each being surrounded with a fence, within which the winter provision of Indian corn, is piled up in tall conical baskets inverted. Two burying-grounds, one Christian and the other Mohammedan, are attached to the town. For the next six hours, the traveller passes over a tract that appears almost a desert, although the soil is everywhere good. Dr. Macmichael describes it as a fine, uncultured, undulating country, intersected occasionally by deep ravines, with here and there a few wild apple and [illegible] trees; and traces of the labour of man were observable in small patches of maize. Buffaloes were seen grazing in herds. Fountains by the way side, ornamented with verses from the Koran, are of frequent occurrence; and sometimes Turkish burying-grounds are

seen amid the wild waste, at a great distance from any habitation; the expressive memorials of a once flourishing population. On approaching Rudshuk, the road passes for some time along the foot of some bold, perpendicular, calcareous rocks, full of caverns; and at length leads to the banks of a small stream, the *Kara-lou*, flowing on the south side of that town, to join the Danube. The appearance of Rudshuk in 1818, is thus described. "The castle, which, since its destruction by the Russians, remains untouched, stands upon a limestone rock, close to the edge of the Danube, whose banks in the immediate neighbourhood are, in many places, twenty feet high, very precipitous, and formed of beds of sand and clay. The breadth of the river may be estimated at three quarters of a mile; the stream is very rapid, and the waters, at the time of our passage, were very muddy. Little has been done towards repairing the town of Rudshuk, since it was burned by the Russians (in 1810); and we waded through its muddy streets among ruined buildings, till we reached the strangers' room at the Turkish post-house."

When Dr. Clarke passed through Rudshuk in 1801, it was a flourishing town, strongly fortified with ramparts and a fosse, and containing, according to his statement, 20,000 houses, 7,000 of which belonged to Armenians and Greeks, and the rest to Turkish inhabitants. A considerable commerce was carried on with Vienna, the exports consisting of cloth, indigo, corn, and wine; and it was well supplied with provisions of every kind. He describes the Danube as *two miles* wide at this part, but "its shores low and mean, without the slightest feature of sublimity; the channel filled with a number of shallows and paltry denuded islets, which, by dividing the current, diminish its grandeur."

Those persons who form their ideas of the majesty of the Danube from the extent of its course, will, he remarks, in no part, perhaps, of its channel, find them realized by viewing the torrent. "It is almost always yellow with mud, and throughout its whole course, its sands are auriferous; but, in dignity and sublimity of scenery, it can nowhere be compared either with the Rhine, or with those magnificent rivers which fall into the north of the Gulf of Bothnia, or with the Severn, or even with any of the principal pellucid waters of Wales." *

The route by which Dr. Clarke reached the banks of the Danube, has already been traced as far as Kirk-Iklisie; "a large but miserable" walled town, containing between three and four thousand houses, (only 500 of which belong to Greeks,) several mosques, and many shops. Dirt and wretchedness were everywhere conspicuous. The trade consists in corn, a wine of a bright gold colour, resembling champaign in flavour, and a conserve made of the inspissated juice of boiled grapes. The nearest port upon the Black Sea, is Æsopoli, distant twelve hours: it is a journey of fourteen hours to Ineada or Tineada.† Yet, although this town is so near the sea, the small river upon which it stands, the *Dearaderi* (the ancient Tearus)

* The opposite town on the Wallachian side, which also enjoys a considerable commerce, presents, in its name, a curious specimen of the varieties of orthography, being written by different travellers, Georghova, Giurdegio, Giurdeiov, Giurgevo, and pronounced (Dr. Clarke says) Vergiov. Rudschuk is also written Rustschuk, Rutcek, and Rusrig.

† Supposed by D'Anville to be the ancient Thynnias. Dr. Neale, who writes it Eneada, contends for the probability of its being the town founded by Æneas, which Pomponius Mela places near the mouth of the Hebrus.—(See Virg. Æn. iii. 18.) The harbour of Ineada affords the only safe anchorage between the Danube and the Bosphorus.

flows in a westerly direction, and joins the Maritza or Hebrus.

On leaving Kirk-Iklisie, the road lies through a hilly country to a village called *Hevicler*, distant four hours; and four hours further, Dr. Clarke halted for the night, at a ruined village called Kainars. The next day, at the end of four hours, he reached the miserable village of Fachi; and in five hours more, that of Beymilico, the inhabitants of which, with the exception of a single Turk, were all Bulgarians of the Greek Church. "Notwithstanding their extreme poverty, their houses were clean, and the beauty of the women was remarkable." The whole district was at this time beset by desperate banditti, who had burned several villages, and others were found deserted by their inhabitants. In every village, storks were seen building their nests (April): the strange noise they make, resembles, Dr. Clarke says, a cherry-clack. Several pelicans were seen lying dead on the road; a circumstance he was unable to account for. The woods which were passed, consisted of small and stunted trees.

The next day, after a ride of five hours, chiefly over plains covered with underwood, in which persons were frequently observed coursing with greyhounds, the Author reached Carnabat; a town of 700 houses, (about a third Greeks,) agreeably situated in a plain at the northern foot of a ridge of hills. The country near it is well cultivated, and the town afforded "plenty of good wine, limpid and colourless as water, tasting like cider." The storks, from the prodigious numbers in which they appeared, seem to have made this place their metropolis. A second ridge of hills, over which the next day's route lay, divides the plain

of Carnabat from another level tract; and at the end of four hours, the road begins to ascend the hilly pass over the Balkan, called the *Boccase*. "Hitherto," says Dr. Clarke, "we had been somewhat surprised that nothing like Alpine scenery characterised the approach to Mount Hæmus. Nor is this range of mountains any where remarkable for grandeur of scenery, or for great elevation. The defile here, however, might be considered as possessing somewhat of that character, but in no eminent degree: it was a hilly pass, full of woods of oaks. In the midst of it, we crossed a rapid river called *Kamtchi-sa*, and saw, at a distance, a mountain entirely covered with snow; but there was nothing to remind us of the great Alpine barriers. The appearance of Mount Hæmus may rather be likened to Welsh scenery, where every swelling *mountainet* is insular; and nothing is seen of that towering of broken cliffs and heights, one above another, which distinguishes the cloud-capped, congregated summits of the Alps and the Pyrenees, of Caucasus and Lebanon." In about eight hours from Carnabat, they reached a scattered village of 200 houses, lying between two mountains called *Chaligh-kavak*: half the inhabitants were Turks, and half Bulgarians. The next day, the scenery improved in grandeur, and several fine views were afforded by the opening of a narrow defile of the Balkan, as they began to descend to the Bulgarian village of *Dragoeln*. "As far as the eye extends, but at a great depth below the traveller, rich plains are seen, spreading before the view all the wealth of husbandry. The mountains are cultivated even to their summits, and covered with vineyards, and the plains with plantations of fruit-trees growing amid the corn; being now in blossom,

their gaudy flowers, above the deep verdure of the corn-fields, exhibited the most cheerful aspect imaginable." The whole way from Dragoslu to Shumla, a distance of four hours, the land is described to be cultivated like a garden. An hour before reaching that town, the *Kamtchi-ou* is again crossed. Shumla, which Dr. Clarke supposed to be Marcianopolis,* is a place of some trade, chiefly in wine and in ready-made Turkish clothes for the capital; "a great number of tailors are kept constantly at work here, their getting the German cloth at a lower rate than the merchants of Constantinople, enabling them to undersell, at a great profit, the makers of Turkish apparel in that city." Dr. Clarke describes it as a considerable town, well fortified with ramparts and a double fosse; it is placed between two mountains, in a fertile but unwholesome plain, being particularly subject to *malaria*. The same level country, in high cultivation, continues as far as the Turkish village of *Tufchelani*, distant three hours; it then becomes rather more hilly. Six hours further is the town of *Lougarat* (Rasgrad?), consisting of 3000 houses, of which one-third belong to Greeks, and containing several good shops. In this day's route, several villages were seen at a short distance from the road, and every where the land was neatly kept and cultivated. Two hours from Lougarat, are two immense *tumuli*, surmounted with large trees, and similar sepulchres appear all round the town. The next day, a ride of five hours brought the travellers to Tchiach, a considerable village; two hours further,

* D'Anville places Marcianopolis, which was the capital of *Mœsia Inferior*, near the confluence of two small rivers flowing towards the Euxine, and says, that the Bulgarians call it Pristlider, the Illustrious City. It was twenty-four miles from Odessus (Varna.)

they passed through Pisanitza, and in five hours more, reached the Danube at Rudshuk.*

That part of the ancient Mœsia which, among modern geographers, bears the name of Bulgaria, lying between Mount Hæmus and the Danube, is styled by the learned Traveller "the most fertile plain, perhaps, of the whole earth." The native Christian inhabitants of this and the adjoining province, are collectively called *Serbiani* (Servians), all being in fact of the same Slavonic race, and speaking dialects of the Illyrian or Slavonian language. The original Bulgarians are supposed to have been a Tatar tribe who, in the fifth century, emigrated from the banks of the Volga, (whence their name,) but soon adopted the

* Lasgarat is written Rasgrad and Hrasgrad in the maps, and this orthography is adopted by Dr. Clarke himself in the map of his route; according to which it might be Rasci-grad, the town of the Rascians, a Slavonic tribe. Dr. Neale, however, says, that "Ras-grade, or Las-garad, is a corruption of Lazi-gorad, the city of the Lazi pilingorai, one of the vagabond tribes from the valleys of the Caucasus." He estimates the population at 10,000 souls; one-third Greeks, the remainder Jews and Turks. It contains two small mosques, and is surrounded with mud walls in a ruinous state. At Torlach, which he writes Tôrlaqui, distant five leagues, the population is principally Turkish. "A sect of dervishes take their origin here, who live by roaming over Turkey, subsisting on the superstitious terrors which they infuse into the minds of the peasants. They carry with them in these peregrinations an old man, whom, like the Xamoixis of the ancient Gotæ, or the Lama of the Tatars, they impose upon the credulous as a living incarnation of the Divinity. They have an establishment forthign in the greatest state at the best house in the village. Ever and anon, the old Lama prognosticates some impending public calamity, such as earthquake, pestilence, or famine; which is only to be averted by sending him rich gifts. The terrified peasantry hasten to propitiate the Divine wrath by laying at the feet of the holy man all their little wealth."—NEALE's *Travels*, p. 269. The Author calls the next place where he slept Pisanza, describing it as a poor village of straggling huts, covering in a picturesque manner the side of a steep slate rock.

dialect of the Slavonic inhabitants, retaining a few words only of their former language. The most southern districts in which the Bulgarian is spoken, according to Colonel Leake, are, on the western side of Macedonia, some villages in the vicinity of Koritza, and, on the eastern side, the hills bordering the great plains of Thessalonica, Pella, and Edessa. From this latter district, as their southern boundary, the Christians who speak the Bulgarian dialect extend, with scarcely any interruption, through all the northern part of Macedonia Proper, the interior of Thrace, and the whole of Mœsia to the Danube. In some parts of Macedonia, it is not uncommon to meet with persons among the lower classes speaking three languages, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Romaic. The Bulgarian dialect appears to bear a close affinity to the Malo-Russian.*

* See a Comparative Vocabulary of the Malo-Russian and Bulgarian Dialects, Clarke's Travels, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 230. Col. Leake, in his Researches in Greece, has given a "Pentaglotton" vocabulary of the Romaic, Albanian, Wallachian, and Bulgarian dialects, shewing that they have scarcely any thing in common, either in their construction or vocabulary. The imitation of resemblance in the Wallachian, to the Latin and Italian languages, are too numerous to be otherwise accounted for, than by the fact, that Dacia was colonized by the Romans. "That the original Slavonic possessed a considerable affinity with the Sanscrit, may be gathered from the manifest traces of this ancient Indian language still to be recognised in the ecclesiastical dialect of Russia, notwithstanding the changes which entered into its formation in the ninth century. But of this common and primeval Slavonic dialect, no monument has reached our times. Long before this translation of the Bible was made, that people had separated into a number of distinct tribes, and spread themselves over an immense extent of country, by which means a number of idiomatical modifications were formed, many of which maintain their distinctive character to the present day. These dialects have been divided into two classes: I. The *Oriental Division*, comprising the Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and the dialect spoken with certain minor diversi-

The history of the Bulgarians is obscure, and, except as incidentally connected with that of the Roman empire, not very interesting. Gibbon, who, on the authority of the Greek writers, derives them from the Huns, (an appellation which he admits to be vague and uncertain,) distinguishes them from the Sclavonians; yet, in the faint outline of their early annals, the boundaries of the two tribes are, he says, not to be ascertained.* They had crossed the Danube before the reign of Justinian; but their first formidable irruptions, and their permanent settlements in the Moesian provinces, date from his reign. From the middle of the sixth century to the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth, they were alternately the allies, the tributaries, and the victorious antagonists of the Greek emperors; at one time, exacting an annual tribute as

tion in Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia. II. The Western Class, which comprehends the Slovakian, Bohemian, Polish, and the two Sorabic or Wendish dialects spoken in Upper and Lower Lusatia. But many of these contain a number of subdivisions; as for instance, under the general name of Serbian, is comprehended the Slavonic, Dalmatian, Bosnian, Ragusian, and Sclavonian dialects. Numerous, however, as these dialectical branches are, and widely as some of the tribes by which they are spoken are separated from each other, the general affinity is still abundantly predominant, and is, indeed, so great, that the inhabitants of the different countries have little difficulty in making themselves understood to each other."—HASSENKAMP'S *Biblical Researches*, p. 66. The dialect into which the Scriptures are translated, is the Serbian.

* Ch. 42. In a subsequent chapter, (ch. 53,) he thinks, that "the unquestionable evidence of language asserts the descent of the (modern) Bulgarians from the original stock of the Sclavonian race; and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Ragusans, Croatians, Wallachians, &c., followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe.....Chalcocondyles." (It is added,) "a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Poles, and Bohemians. The same author has marked the separate idiom of the Hungarians."

the price of their friendship; at another, defeated and brought into nominal subjection; but always occupying a large portion of European Turkey, and extending their ravages over Greece. Their treaty of peace and alliance with Michael III. in the year 860, when their prince and all his followers were baptized, and received a gift of the desolate country about Mount Rhodope, appears to have laid the foundation of their power in Northern Greece. Lychnidus (afterwards named Achris or Achrida) became the capital of a Bulgarian kingdom,* which attained its zenith about the middle of the tenth century, when Simeon, under the walls of Constantinople, accepted the submission of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus; and his son Peter, soon afterwards, received the emperor's grand-daughter in marriage, with the title of *Basileus*. It declined from the beginning of the eleventh century, when Samuel (or Macrus), who had made conquests even in the Morea, was defeated, and his capital taken and rifled by the Emperor Basil II. Although Roman garrisons remained in possession of Achrida, the Bulgarians appear to have been still masters of the greater part of the surrounding country.

About the year 1040, soon after their king Peter Deleanus had taken Dyrrachium, the whole of the Nicopolitan province, which included Epirus and Acarnania, surrendered, with the exception of Naupactus (Lepanto,) to the Bulgarian conqueror. In the

* "The new conquests successively acquired, by war or by treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus: they were assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, A.D. 809; the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch."—Gibbon, c. 55.

year 1186, a rebellion of the united Bulgarians and Wallachians, led to the foundation of a second Bulgarian kingdom, of which Ternovo (Ternica) * became the capital. In those times, Dardania and those parts of Macedonia which had been included in the first Bulgarian kingdom, were occupied by the Servians (Σέρβλοι), † with whose monarch Cantacuzene was for a long time at war, and was at length compelled to make a disadvantageous peace, ceding to him all the country to the north of the great plain of Bottiæa, and a part even of Upper Macedonia. The capital of the Servian kingdom was Scopia upon the Axius. Servia, a strong town on the borders of Thessaly, took its name from a colony of that people. "Thus," remarks Col. Leake, after giving the brief outline of which we have availed ourselves, "a succession of people of Slavonian race and language may be traced, as occupying the north of Greece, from the

* The Bulgarian patriarchate, according to Gibbon, was successively transferred from Justinianea prima to Lychnidus, and from Lychnidus to Ternovo.

† The word slave (esclave) is supposed to be derived from Sclavonian or Slavonian, and to have been introduced, in the eighth century, into oriental France, "where the princes and bishops were rich in Slavonian captives. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines. The confusion of the Σέρβλοι or Servians with the latin *Servi*, was still more fortunate and familiar."—Gibbon. This throws little light on the etymology of the words. The word *Slave*, in the language of the people whose national appellation it supplied, is equivalent to Σέρβος, *Iana*, glory or renown. The Slavonians are first mentioned under this name (written by the Greeks Σκλαβηνοί) by Jordanus, A.D. 376. They are supposed to be the same as the Κρεβέζοι (Krivitzi) of Herodotus and other ancient historians, a branch of the Sauromatæ, or Sarmatian family. Ptolemy mentions the *Serbi* as one of the most celebrated tribes: hence, probably, the word Servian.—See Henderson's *Biblical Researches*, p. 61.

sixth, or at least the ninth, to the fifteenth century. Their long residence in these countries seems demonstrated with not less certainty by the numerous names of places of Slavonian derivation, still to be found in every part of Greece; although with greater frequency, as might naturally be expected, in the northern, than in the southern districts. In many instances, the ancient name has received a Slavonian termination in *litza*, *itza*, *itzi*, *ave*, or *ovo*.* In others, the name is entirely Slavonian, and often the same as that of places in the most distant parts of Russia or other countries where dialects of the Illyric are spoken."† From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or of allies or enemies of the Greek empire, they overspread the land;‡ and Slavonian pirates were the terror of the Italian traders, till, towards the close of the tenth century, the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian Republic. From the latter end of the fourteenth century, the history of the Slavonian nations south of the Danube, belongs to the annals of the Ottoman empire.

The other chief towns in Bulgaria are, Silistria, Nicopoli, and Widin, all on the Danube, Sophia, on the Isca, and Varna, on the coast of the Euxine. Silistria, or Dristra, situated at the mouth of the small river Missova, 135 miles N. N. E. of Adrianople, is a well fortified town, with a population

* Leake's Researches in Greece, pp. 275—80. Gibbon, c. 55.

† "Among these (Slavonian) colonies, the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia.... The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings, dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the Sea of Darkness."—Gibbon, c. 55.

of about 20,000 souls. Nicopoli, situated 164 miles N. W. of Adrianople, was founded by the emperor Trajan; but the victories of the Roman are forgotten in the disastrous battle fought between the Hungarian king Sigismond and Sultan Bajazet, near this city, in 1396.* The modern city, the see of a Greek archbishop, and the residence of a sanjakbeg, contains an ancient castle and several handsome mosques and baths, with a population loosely stated at 10,000 souls. It stands on a hill overlooking the Danube. Widin (Widdin, Vidin) is a considerable city, well fortified and better built than most Turkish towns. It is the seat of a pasha of three tails and of a Greek archbishop, and carries on a considerable trade in rock-salt, corn, and wine. The population is supposed to amount to 20,000 souls. It is 104 miles E.S.E. of Belgrade. Varna, the ancient *Odessus*, is a walled town, situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, which falls into a bay of the Black Sea; it carries on a trade in corn, wine, butter, and cheese. The population is estimated at 16,000. It is the see of a Greek bishop, and contains two Greek churches and twelve mosques. Dr. Neale, who landed at this place in going from Constantinople to Jassy, thus describes its appearance. "The high ruins of some quadrangular towers announced at some distance the importance of the ancient city of Odessus, celebrated in history as the earliest sea-port of the Milesians on the Euxine, and, in modern times, for the defeat and death of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, whose army was totally destroyed in the adjoining valley by Amurath I. There is now a ruinous wooden pier projecting into the bay; but so shallow is the water, that our boats grounded before we reached it; and we

* See page 19.

landed by stepping from the deck on a bullock's wain, which was driven into the water to receive our luggage and the crew of the *kaique*." *

Sophia is the fourth city in importance in European Turkey, ranking next to Adrianople and Salonika in respect to population: its inhabitants are stated to amount to between 40 and 50,000 souls. It may properly be considered, therefore, as the capital of Bulgaria; and it is the see of a Romish bishop, as well as of a Greek metropolitan. It was founded by the Emperor Justinian on the ruins of the ancient Sardica.† Its hot baths are still frequented, and being in the high road from Constantinople to Belgrade, it is a place of considerable trade. This route, however, is seldom taken by modern travellers; and we must content ourselves with extracting the very imperfect description of it contained in Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, as serving to give a general idea of the character of the country. The Emperor's ambassadors and the few English that travel hither, she says, always descend the Danube to Nicopolis; but that

* Neale's Travels, p. 264. The Author does not give any opinion, as to whether the shallowness of the water arises from the formation of sand-banks, or from the retiring of the waters; but, the fact is important, as sanctioning the representation, that the waters both of the Euxine and of the Sea of Azof, *annually diminish*.—(See Mod. Trav. *Russia*, pp. 212, 241.) At the end of a days' journey from this place, "ascending, by deep roads, slate hills covered with hazel copses," Dr. Neale reached a Bulgarian hamlet called *Dafne*, built on a steep, commanding a distant view of the Black Sea. His next stage was *Yeni-hanar*, a modern town of about 300 families, of whom about 50 are Bulgarians, the rest being chiefly emigrants from Wallachia and Moldavia. From this place, his route lay through an open, fertile, but thinly-peopled tract to Kirul, Rasgrad, Torlaqui, Pinnera, and Ruschuk. He describes the Bulgarians as generally a humane, kind-hearted, hospitable people.

† Justinian was born at Taurenium near Sardica.—See Gibbon, c. xl.

river being still frozen, in the month of March (1717), Mr. Wortley and his lady resolved to take the direct route from Belgrade to the capital; and she represents herself as having accomplished a journey which had not been undertaken by any Christian, since the time of the Greek emperors.

FROM BELGRADE TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

"We crossed the deserts of Servia, almost quite overgrown with wood, through a country naturally fertile. The inhabitants are industrious; but the oppression of the peasants is so great, they are forced to abandon their houses, and neglect their tillage; all they have being a prey to the janizaries, whenever they please to seize upon it. We had a guard of 500 of them, and I was almost in tears every day, to see their insolences in the poor villages through which we passed.* After seven days' travelling through thick woods, we came to Nissa, once the capital of Servia, situated on a fine plain on the river Nissava, in a very good air, and so fruitful a soil, that the great plenty is hardly credible. . . The happiness of this plenty is scarcely perceived by the oppressed people. After four days' journey from this place over the mountains, we came to Sophia, situated in a large, beautiful plain on the river Isca, and surrounded with distant moun-

* In another letter, her Ladyship writes: "The desert woods of Servia, are the common refuge of thieves, who rob fifty in a company, so that we had need of all our guards to secure us; and the villages are so poor, that only force could exact from them necessary provisions. Indeed, the janizaries had no mercy on their poverty, killing all the poultry and sheep they could find, without asking to whom they belonged. . . . When the pashas travel, it is yet worse; . . . such is the natural corruption of a military government!" Vol. ii. p. 99.

tains. It is hardly possible to see a more agreeable landscape. The city itself is very large and extremely populous. Here are hot baths, very famous for their medicinal virtues.* Four days' journey from hence, we arrived at Philippopolis, after having passed the ridges between the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, which are always covered with snow. This town is situated on a rising ground near the river Hebrus, and is almost wholly inhabited by Greeks. Here are still some ancient Christian churches.† They have a bishop, and several of the richest Greeks live here; but they are forced to conceal their wealth with great care, the appearance of poverty being all their security against feeling it in earnest. The country from hence to Adrianople, is the finest in the world. Vines grow wild on all the hills; and the perpetual spring they enjoy makes every thing gay and flourishing." ‡

In another Letter, her Ladyship states, that she observed few remains of antiquity. "We passed near the piece of an arch which is commonly called Trajan's Gate, from a supposition that he made it to shut up the passage over the mountains between Sophia and Philippopolis. But I rather believe it the remains of

* In a subsequent letter, Sophia is described as "one of the most beautiful towns in the Turkish empire." The ruins of Justinian's church are stated to be little more than a heap of stones.

† "I found at Philippopolis, a sect of Christians that call themselves Paulines. They shew an old church, where, they say, St. Paul preached; and he is their favourite saint, after the manner that St. Peter is at Rome."—Vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ Works, vol. ii. pp. 87—90. Philippopoli, which is in Roumelia, before the earthquake of 1818, which almost destroyed it, contained a population estimated at 30,000 souls. It is situated on a small island formed by the Maritza, which here becomes navigable; distance from Adrianople, 98 miles, W.N.W.

a triumphal arch, though I could not see any inscription; for, if that passage had been dirt up, there are many others that would serve for the march of an army; and notwithstanding the story of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, being overthrown in these straits, after he was Constantinople, I do not fancy the Germans would find themselves stopped by them at this day. It is true, the road is now made, with great industry, as commodious as possible for the march of the Turkish army. There is not one ditch or puddle between this place and Belgrade, that has not a large, strong bridge of planks built over it. But the precipices are not so terrible as I had heard them represented. At these mountains, we lay at the little village Kiakai, wholly inhabited by Christians, as all the peasants of Bulgaria are. Their houses are nothing but little huts raised of dirt baked in the sun; and they leave them, and fly into the mountains, some months before the march of the Turkish army, who would else entirely ruin them by driving away their whole flocks. This precaution secures them in a sort of plenty; for, such vast tracts of land lying in common, they have the privilege of sowing what they please, and are generally very industrious husbandmen. I drank here several sorts of delicious wine."*

We must now hasten to complete our description of ancient Thrace, by taking up the route, already traced as far as Selivria, which leads

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO SALONIKA.

Twenty hours from Selivria, following the old Roman military road, which is still entire in many parts of the route, and has been paved with black

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 107–8.

marble, the traveller arrives at *Eski Ereyli* (old *Heraclea*). In spite of its imposing name, the village contains scarcely any vestiges of antiquity, but only a few fragments of small columns. The episcopal city of Heraclea, more anciently called Perinthus, and now distinguished as *Buyuk Ereyli* (*i. e. Heraclea Major*), is two hours distant, on the coast of the Sea of Marmora, and was visited by Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheler in their voyage to Constantinople. "This town," says Wheler, "hath a good harbour, whose mouth lieth east of it, turning almost so, that it maketh a peninsula. It bends round in the form of an amphitheatre, and may have about four or five miles in circumference. The town lieth in the strait, having the sea on the one side, and the port on the other. We made haste ashore, soon discovering it to be a place of great antiquity by the foundations of the old walls, especially on the west side and towards the haven; where, strewed up and down, we saw abundance of fragments of marble statues, cornices, bulls' heads, wreaths, and broken pillars; and of such are compiled the present buildings of the town.....We copied several good inscriptions; especially one where we found the name Perinthus, which this city bore in the time of the first Roman emperors; it being more anciently called Heraclea, which it regained in the time of the latter emperors, and yet retains the same.....This inscription is on the pedestal of a statue erected to the honour of the Emperor Severus, whom they had reason to honour as their benefactor, because he subjected Byzantium to them, at which he was offended, because that town had espoused the party of Pescennius Niger against him." * We found here

* Wheler mentions a medal of this town in the possession of Dr. Spon, with the head of Septimius Severus on one side, and, on the

another inscription of the Emperor Hadrian in the cathedral church,- besides one more in the town, being only a sepulchral stone of a Roman. As poor a place as it now is, it is an archbishop's seat, whose church is one of the best now standing in Turkey. And in the times of the Christian emperors, this metropolitan was one of the three who, with the patriarch, had the privilege of crowning the emperor at his inauguration. In the cathedral church, in a little chapel at the right hand, is the tomb of one of our countrymen, who died here while he was embassador from his majesty of Great Britain; Sir Edward Gaitts,—written in Greek characters thus: ΓΟΥΙΤΣ."*

From *Eski Eregli*, it is reckoned a journey of nine hours and a half to Rhodosto, the ancient *Rhædestus* or *Bisanthe*, and called by the Turks *Tekirdagh*. The road lies over a blank, inhospitable country: *tumuli* are in view the whole way. Wheler describes "Rodosto" as "a town at least as big as Gallipoli and more populous, situated upon the brow of a hill at the bottom of a bay, and maketh a goodly show towards the sea. We could number ten or twelve mosques by the minarets; the Greeks have also, they

reverse, a galley with its sails hoisted, and the legend Ephesiæ Neocoræ, which he professes himself unable to explain. Neocoros signifies a sacristan or temple-keeper, and, when assumed as an epithet by the inhabitants of a whole city or province, implied that they were the temple-keepers or devoted servants of the deity. Thus, the city of the Ephesians was νεωκόρος τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος, a worshipper of the great Goddess Diana.—Acts xix. 35. The adulation of these times frequently ascribed divine honours to the emperors, and to this medal it seems to be intimated, that the Perinthians honoured Severus as their patron deity.

* No such name as this occurs in a list of embassadors to Constantinople extending from 1583 to 1804. Sir Peter Wyche comes nearest to it, who was embassador from Charles II.

say, many churches there." Dr. Clarke says: "Rhodosto contains 10,000 houses. It has more Greeks than Turks for its inhabitants, besides Armenians and Jews. The whole commerce of the place consists in the exportation of corn, wine, fish, and wool to Constantinople. It has little of the appearance of a very ancient town: it is without walls, and we found no antiquities upon the spot. Benjamin of Tudela describes Rodosto as a Jewish university, distant two days' journey from Pera."

The road now leaves the shore, which bends to the southward. In four hours, the traveller reaches the village of *Yenijik*, and in three more, *Develi*. The roads are deep and slippery, and the country undulating, waste, and dreary. A succession of bleak and solitary plains, separated by ridges of hills, occupies the next day's journey of nine hours, to Kishan. This part of Thrace reminded Dr. Clarke of the steppes in the South of Russia; and a more dreary prospect, he says, can hardly be conceived, than that which is afforded by a lofty mound erected upon the brow of a ridge of hills, looking down on Develi. Within an hour of Kishan is a village called *Bulgurlàra* (Bulgarian town). Kishan is a large town, situated at the eastern extremity of the plain of the Hebrus, upon the side of a mountain towards the termination of the range of Rhodope, distant eight hours from Fairy, twelve from Enos, and twelve from Gallipoli.* It contains 1500 houses, 400 of which belonged to Greeks. Its trade consists in supplying the inland districts, by means of caravans, with cotton,

* Distances in this part of Thrace are reckoned by the time in which waggons are drawn by buffaloes; not three miles an hour. The Tatar couriers perform the distance in half, and sometimes less than half the computed time.

corn, and tobacco. It is described as being "in a better condition than the other towns in Thrace."

The route now lies in a south-westerly direction over a wretched country, to the Greek village of Achooreia, and thence, still over the dreary and, in some parts, swampy plain of the Hebrus, to the ferry over that river. Dr. Clarke found it to be "much swoln, broad, and muddy;" but, although at this season (Jan.), the mouths of the Danube are sometimes frozen, there was neither the appearance of ice, nor any thing in the temperature of the water corresponding to the descriptions of the Hebrus given by the Romans as the

——"freezing Hebrus bound in snowy chains."*

The banks of the Maritza are covered with tamariaks. "Nothing, however," says Mr. Walpole, "can be more uninteresting than the wide, open plain through which this river runs. The general appearance of the country is not relieved by many marks of civilisation or of culture. The eye, as it wanders over the bleak, inhospitable Thracian plains, is arrested only by some of those artificial mounds of earth, marking either the site of some battle, or the spot where the bodies of the slain were heaped and entombed together; or, in later times, the place where the standards of the Mussulman invaders of Greece were fixed, when the army was encamped. When or whence the Hebrus took the name of Maritza, it is not easy to determine; but I find it in the history of Georgius Acropolita, who lived in the year 1222." According to Plutarch, it once bore the name of Rhombus, and he speaks of a herb resembling origanum as growing upon its banks.

* "*Hebrumque nivali compede vincta.*"—HORACE, *Epist ad Florum.* See also Carm. lib. 1 od. 25.

Pliny mentions it as one of five auriferous rivers;* and a French traveller (Belon) in the sixteenth century, states, that the inhabitants annually collected and washed the sands for the gold they contained, though he represents them as not finding enough to pay them for their trouble.

The traveller now enters upon the ancient territory of the *Cicones*, and in three-quarters of an hour from the ferry, arrives at the town of Fairy,† distant eight hours from Kishan. This place exhibited, at the time, one wide heap of smoking ruins, having been recently sacked and burned by banditti. It is situated upon the eastern side of the mountain *Serrium*, a branch of Rhodope. The inhabitants had fled to the neighbouring town of Morogna (the ancient Ismarus or Maronea), distant eight hours, on the coast, which occurs in the ordinary route to Salonika. Dr. Clarke saved three hours by taking the more direct route over the mountain, following the old Roman military way. A *derveni*, five hours from Fairy, marks the boundary between that district and the territory of *Gymmergine* (*Commerchini*).‡ Four hours further, is a village called *Kalliage-derai*, "situated exactly mid-way between Thessalonica and Constantinople." The road

* The others are, the Tagus, the Po, the Pactolus, and the Ganges.

† What Dr. Clarke's fancy was in writing the name of this town *Fairy*, and that of Morogna, *Mary*, it is hard to say. In the maps, it is written *Feret*. Higher up the river stood the city of Trajanopolis, and above this, at the mouth of the Zerna, is the town of Zernita. At the mouth of the Maritza, on the western side, is the site of the Thracian *Ænos* (Ygnus, Inos), or Apsynthus, the large silver medals of which are described by Dr. Clarke as the boldest specimens of the very ancient coinage of Greece. Marogna or Marolla is the next port to the west.

‡ Written Cumalza, Cumulza, Gumalza, Gumalzina, Cuimmercine, Comerchini, Gymmergine.

then descends to the village of *Tchafts-tcheyr*, situated at the eastern extremity of the great plain of *Tchouz-gilarkir*; and at the end of five hours more, over a dreary maritime tract, crossing several ancient bridges, leads to *Gymmergine*. This is a town of 1,000 houses, carrying on an inland commerce in corn, cotton, tobacco, and wool. About 400 of the houses belonged to Greeks, 60 to Jews, 15 to Armenians, and the rest to Turks. The high and bare mountains which border this plain, extending east and west, evidently form a part of the great chain of Rhodope: they now bear the name of *Karowlan*. Many towns and villages lie out of the road upon the southern side of the long Rhodopean chain. The most accurate description of this part of Thrace, Dr. Clarke says, is still to be found in the pages of Herodotus.

On leaving *Gymmergine*, the road, in about an hour and a quarter, passes a river called *Ak-su* (white water), and in another quarter of an hour, a ruined town called *Mycena-kalis*; the walls, which are very thick, have been constructed of large pebbles imbedded in mortar. In another hour, the traveller crosses the *Kurn-tchi*, a torrent which is considerable only during heavy floods. A number of cemeteries, situated in desert places over which the road passes, containing, severally, between three and four hundred graves, form the melancholy memorials of towns or villages of which no other trace remains. Beyond this last-mentioned river, the sea forms a wide salt-water lake, the ancient *Palus Bistonis*, now called the lake of *Bouron*.* At its northern extremity, the road passes

* The fishery of this lake is stated by Belon to be a source of considerable profit to the inhabitants. It abounds with a small fish called by the Greeks of Bouron, *bilingo*, and at Constantinople *limeini*.

near a spacious and picturesque ruin,—apparently of a castle or monastery, now called *Bosr-kalla*, which the learned Traveller supposes may occupy the site of the ancient Bistonia, an episcopal see within the province of Trajanopolis. "A paved causeway led through the fen to and from this building. Almost the whole of the walls, and many of the mural towers, were yet standing. It had once been fortified. Within this structure we found the remains of a church and of a chapel, evidently formed out of a more ancient edifice; the interior exhibiting arches that had been walled up, and walls plastered over and painted by some of the early Christians. We found fragments of Grecian sculpture; among others, the bust of a female statue covered with drapery, and finely executed in white marble. The remains of portals were visible, with three gates in each place of entrance. Upon the western side, we observed among the foundations, large blocks of marble placed securely together without any cement. In the walls of the church were some large slabs of Thasian marble finely grooved."

The lake was covered with various kinds of water-fowl; and the whole plain is flat and swampy. In two hours from its border, is the Turkish village of Yeniga, containing about 200 houses. Beyond this, the road crosses, at a ferry, the rapid torrent of the *Kara-su* (black-water), the ancient Nessus, at the mouth of which, on the eastern side, stood the ancient Abdera, the birth-place of Democritus, "the fair colony of the Teïi, and the most powerful city of all Thrace." Two hours and a half further, a Turkish *tchiftik*, called *Charpanda*, is seen upon the side of a hill, and above it is a ruined fortress. The road now leaves the dreary plain, and ascends, by a paved road, to a pass which has once been closed by a gateway. After

skirting a bay of which this hill forms the eastern point, it then leads over a part of Mount Pangæus, still called Pangea, commanding a fine view of the bay of Neapolis. The summit is covered with ruined walls, and an ancient aqueduct crosses the road, composed of two tiers of arches, which having been repaired by a certain Ibrahim Pasha in the sixteenth century, still conducts water to the city below. Two precipices of this mountain approach so near the sea, as to leave only narrow defiles on the beach, which have once been closed by walls. Opposite to the most easterly of these points (called the *Castagnas*) lies the isle of Thasus, famous for its quarries of white marble, resembling the Parian.

Cavallo, the ancient Neapolis, contains 500 houses, belonging chiefly to Turks. The greater part of the town is within the walls of the citadel. The promontory upon which it is built, stretches into the sea so as to form a port on each side of it; hence the advantageous situation of the city as an emporium. The western port is reported to be safe even for large vessels. The commerce of the place is confined to the exportation of tobacco and cotton. Neapolis was the port at which St. Paul landed in his first voyage from Asia Minor to Macedonia.* The ruins of the ancient Philippi are only ten miles distant, situated upon the side of a hill. Dr. Clarke was unable to visit this most interesting site,—interesting both to the classic scholar, as the adjacent plains were the scene of the memorable battle between Brutus and Cassius and Mark Anthony, and still more so as the first European

* "Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia and a (Roman) colony."—Acts xvi. 11, 12.

city in which the Gospel was preached and a Christian church planted (about A.D. 53), the scene of St. Paul's memorable imprisonment with his companion Silas, and for the inhabitants of which he appears to have entertained a peculiar regard.* An imperfect description of the place is furnished by M. Belon, who spent two days in examining its ruins, in the sixteenth century. He found there the remains of a magnificent amphitheatre, and a number of *sarci*, of the marble of the place, of such magnitude that nothing could be compared to them. He mentions also four enormous columns, the remains of the temple of Claudius, an infinite number of statues and large marble columns of the Doric and Ionic orders, beautifully sculptured, and numerous inscriptions. In short, the ruins of no other city, in his opinion, were adapted to excite so much admiration.† If this description may be at all depended upon, few ancient sites would seem to be more deserving of investigation.

The modern representative of Philippi appears to be the town of Drama, described by Ville Hardouin as being situated in the valley of Philippi.‡ This is a town of sufficient importance to be the seat of a pasha of two tails, and has manufactories of calico and tobacco. It is about fifteen miles N.E. of Emboli (Amphipoli.). Near it are ruins of an ancient town, supposed by Col. Leake to be those of Drabescus; but

* See Acts xvi. and xvii. Philippians i. 2; ii. 12; iv. 15.

† See Clarke's Travels, vol. viii. p. 44. The learned Author also refers to a more recent and curious description of the ruins in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, tome ii. p. 377. A fair is said to be still annually held among the ruins. From the number of its fountains, it was anciently called Crenides.

‡ Pococke speaks of an ex-archbishop of *Philippi and Drama*, whom he met with.

that city is placed by Dr. Clarke at Pravista,* distant three hours S.W. of Cavallo, and six hours and a half N.E. of Orphano.† This is a town of 500 houses, containing a mixed population, chiefly Greek; extremely dirty and wretched. It is situated in a defile leading into the great plain of Serres (or Seres), which is seen from an eminence over which the road passes. Dr. Clarke describes it as "a noble plain, flat as the surface of a lake," and in its geological character strikingly resembling the plains of the great limestone formation of Greece. Its proverbial fertility is owing chiefly to the annual inundations of the Strymon.‡ Except towards the South, where this river has its outlet to fall into the head of the Gulf of Contessa, the plain of Seres is surrounded by lofty mountains, having the highest ridges of Pangæus towards the east, Mount Scomius towards the north, and Mount Cercina towards the west. It is said to contain "nearly 300 villages, so closely placed together that,

* Pravista, written Πραβιστα, "may be nothing more," he remarks, "than a corruption of the ancient Drabiscus of Strabo, to whose situation it remarkably corresponds."

† In an extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, given by Dr. Clarke in a note, Pravasta is stated to be only *five hours* from the mouth of the Strymon. "This place," it is added, "is situated between two plains, and is distant from the sea three hours. There are here many iron works; and the fortresses at the Dardanelles are supplied from this place with balls for the cannon. The mountains containing the iron ore, run in a direction from Orfano near the Strymon, to Pravasta. At three hours' distance is Cavalla, situated on a piece of land projecting into the sea, opposite to Thasus, and united by a low isthmus to the continent of Macedonia."—CLARKE's *Travels*, vol. viii. p. 7. This Traveller, following Belon, supposes Cavalla to be a corruption of *Bucephala*; but Dr. Clarke doubts the existence of a city of that name on this part of the coast.

‡ The Strymon (Strumona or Yemboli river) has its rise at the foot of Mount Scomius, and, after a course of twenty leagues, falls into the Gulf of Amphipolis (or Contessa).—*Bouquier*.

when viewed from the summit of Mount Cercina, they seem to join, and present the imposing appearance of an immense city. These villages are distributed by groupes of thirty or forty into agaliks, the most considerable of which are those of Drama, of Zigna, and of Seres. The aga of Seres maintains in his service 5000 men, and is reckoned the most powerful bey in Macedonia."* The whole of this valley is laid out in cotton plantations, which, as being the most profitable species of cultivation, have greatly increased of late years in Macedonia, and occupy the best lands in the district.† The annual produce of the valley of Seres is estimated by Beaujour at 70,000 bales.

Seres (*Sirræ*),‡ which gives its name to the plain, is a considerable town, tolerably well built, and with a population estimated at 30,000 souls. It is the residence of a Greek archbishop, and is noted for its linen and cotton stuffs. Its market, M. Beaujour says, is the richest in all European Turkey. When Dr. Hol-

* Beaujour. *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, i. 55. "These agas," he adds, "live in their towers (*donjons*) always surrounded with a guard of Albanians; and they make war on each other, like our ancient feudal chieftains. The victor burns the plantations of the vanquished, carries off his women and his cattle, and only ceases his ravages at certain Mohammedan festivals, when hostilities are suspended by a sort of *trêve de Dieu*. The Porte secretly foments these divisions of agas, and, when obliged to interfere, sends the bow-string to the weakest party and the tails to the strongest."

† "An *arpent* (100 square perches) of good land produces annually from 2 to 300 okes of cotton, which, at a piaster the oke, yields a revenue of between 2 and 300 piasters. The best corn land yields only from 25 to 30 quintals of wheat, worth from 100 to 130 piasters."—Beaujour, i. 63.

‡ Belon mentions a town of Ceres, which was the *Cranon* of the ancients; but that town is stated to have been in Thessaly. Dr Clarke would derive the name from Σηρος, the silk-worm. Dr. Holland supposes Seres to be the ancient *Sintice*.

land visited Salonica (in 1813), Ismael Bey, of Seres, the father of Yusuf Pasha of Salonica, had long possessed authority over the great plains of this country. "His present jurisdiction," says Dr. H., "is said to extend over a district stretching five days' journey to the north of Salonica. This, according to the common estimation, gives a distance of 100 or 120 miles, but with a very small breadth. The city of Seres, the seat of his government, contains between 5 and 6000 houses and many wealthy inhabitants. Ishmael, now an old man, is a native of this country. His power, which has progressively increased during the last forty years, is maintained by a considerable military force; partly also, it would seem, by the attachment of his population; and still more, perhaps, by the wealth he has derived from the revenues of a fertile country and a flourishing sea-port. His jurisdiction is uncontrolled by that of the neighbouring pashas, and derives authority from the recognition of the Porte, with which he is said to maintain a good understanding."* Seres is forty-five miles N.E. of Salonica, which it supplies with its principal exports. The tobacco of the districts of Cavalla and Yenige is not less esteemed than the cotton of Seres. That of *Yenidge-Kara-su*, in particular, is preferred even to that of Latakia, having the same softness and perfume, with more sap and fragrance: it is almost all sent to Constantinople, where it is destined for the use of the Seraglio and of the grandees.

* Holland's Travels, vol. ii. p. 69. It would seem that this same Yusuf had succeeded his father in his little principality at the commencement of the Greek Revolution, as we find a Yusuf Pasha, of Seres, commanding a division of the Turkish army which marched on Livadia in 1821. Mahmoud Pasha, of Drama, was at the head of the army which entered the Morea the preceding year. See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. pp. 179—198.

An ancient paved road, about four feet wide, leads down from the heights above Pravista, to a groupe of six or seven fountains shaded by venerable plane-trees, near the entrance of the fertile plain of Mestania. Beyond them is a khan called Kunarga, near which are fragments of ancient columns; and Dr. Clarke observed several columns in some Turkish cemeteries near the road, indicating the neighbourhood of some ancient site. The plain is bounded, north and south, by two chains of mountains. "We saw," says the learned Traveller, "some neat plantations of tobacco and corn: the wheat looked uncommonly well. Upon the northern side of our route were many Turkish villages upon the mountains, situate towards their base, and distinguished as Turkish by their mosques and minarets rising amid groves of cypress and poplar." At the end of four hours from the khan (crossing the plain in a direction W.S.W.), is Orphano, a Turkish village of about fifty houses, nearly a mile from the sea, on a small river which here falls into the Gulf. There is a small fortress upon the side of the hill, above the village, with about twenty other dwellings. The road lies over this hill,* and then descends to the ruins of the ancient Amphipolis, now called *Palaio Orphano* and *Eski Kalch* (the old fortress). They consist chiefly of walls, with more of Roman than of Greek masonry, composed of round stones and tiles cemented together. There is also part of an aqueduct, and upon the hills to the east, are seen foundations of an acropolis.

About a mile S.W. of the ruins, is a small port where vessels still come to take in corn and other pro-

* Probably, a promontory. We find, in an old map, the eastern point of the Gulf of Contessa, called Cape *Stylori*, evidently the same as Orfano.

duce. The Strymon, which encircled the ancient Amphipolis, here falls into the sea. The Turks give to this place, as well as to the river, the name of Emboli or Yemboli; a corruption, apparently, of Amphipoli. The shore is flat and sandy, full of stagnant pools, and the insalubrity of the air has probably occasioned the relinquishment of the ancient site.* The river is crossed at a ferry near a large *khan*; and the road then lies under the cliffs, close to the sea, rounding a point of land, to another *khan*, near a *derveni*, or custom-house. Two hours further, proceeding through a maritime plain, covered with the plane and various species of oak, is another *derveni* and *khan*, called *Khan Erenderi Bauz*, placed at the commencement of a narrow defile, between lofty rocks of clay slate, covered with forests of oak and plane.† A river flows through

* Amphipolis was an Athenian colony; it was previously called Acra, and its other names were Myrica, Cradenna, and Anadremon. On being rebuilt in the time of the lower empire, it took the name of Chrysopolis, and is said to have been known by that name so late as the sixteenth century. "It was also called Eion, out of which," adds the learned Traveller, "the Greeks made Iampolis, and the Turks Iamboli or Emboli." Whether all these names belonged to the same city, may be questioned. Contessa, which gives its modern name to the Gulf, and which is situated on a small island near one of the mouths of the Strymon, was doubtless the site of an ancient port.

† "This defile," says Dr. Clarke, "seems to offer a natural boundary between Macedonia and Thrace; and the appearance of the *derveni* induced us to suppose that it was now considered as a frontier pass; but, upon inquiry, they told us, that the Strymon, four hours further eastward, is considered as the boundary; which, in fact, was the ancient limit between the two countries." This latter assertion, however, requires to be qualified; and it is strange that the learned author should have cited no ancient authorities to substantiate it. It was certainly not the boundary of the Roman province, since Philippi is far to the eastward of any part of this stream; and Neapolis, eight miles eastward of its mouth, is also in Macedonia. Pococke is strangely incorrect when he says, that

the defile, and on the left hand, above the precipices, is a ruined monastery. On issuing from this pass, the road lies along a valley, having the mountains on the right, and on the left, two beautiful lakes, the scenery of which, Dr. Clarke says, has something of the fine character of that of Switzerland. Of these lakes, the most easterly, now called Lake *Beshek*, is between twelve and fifteen miles in length, by five or six in breadth; the other appeared to be about twelve miles in circumference. Many kinds of fish are caught in them, in sufficient abundance to supply Salonika and all the neighbouring villages. Dr. Clarke supposes that of Beshek to be the Bolbæan Lake, described by the ancient geographers as lying between Arethusa and Apollonia;* but this conjecture is not supported by any clear evidence, and D'Anville places it much nearer the *Sinus Strymonicus*, or Bay of Emboli. The village of *Micra Beshek* (Little Beshek) stands upon a promontory stretching into the lake. *Trana Beshek* (Great Beshek) is about a mile and a half further, and within two miles of Clissele (or Klissala). The mountains here are of granite, containing masses of diallage porphyry, the *bianco-e-nero* of Italian lapidaries. They are covered to their summits with olive-trees,

"the river Strymon bounds Macedonia on the north;" but he adds: "To the north-east of the Strymon was the country called *Macedonia Adjecta*, inhabited by the Edones: it extended to the Nestus, and was a part of Thrace conquered by King Philip, and added to Macedonia." It was of this district that Philippi was the capital; and the sacred historian evidently alludes to the distinction, when he describes Philippi as "the chief city of *that part* of Macedonia;" that is between the Strymon and the Nestus or Karasu.

* In the valley of Arethusa, near Bromiscus, in Macedonia, at the confluence of two streams, (one of which was poisonous and the other salubrious,) stood the tomb of Euripides. This site is well deserving of investigation.

and the Vallonia oak and plane-tree add to the beauty of the scene. Near Clissele, some remarkable porphyritic rocks rise perpendicularly out of the plain, having, at a distance, the appearance of a castellated building or a cromlech.* Clissele is a poor village, distant seven hours from Salonica, situated on some hills which divide the plain of *Seraivashtchi* or *Gulvashtchi* from those of *Baleftchino* and *Lagadus*. These are fertile and well-cultivated tracts, but marshy, and the air is very bad. The lake of St. Basil is seen on the left of the road, which runs N.W., and after passing over the plains, enters a defile leading out into the plain of Salonica.

SALONICA (THESSALONICA).

For the fullest and most recent description of this city, we are indebted to Dr. Holland, who visited it in the year 1812. He arrived by sea; and, as approached from the gulf, its appearance is very imposing, being seen from a great distance, placed on the acclivity of a steep hill, environed with lofty stone walls,† which ascend in a triangular form from the sea, and surmounted by a fortress with seven towers. The domes and minarets of numerous mosques rise from among the other buildings, and surrounded with cypresses, give a general air of splendour to the place, which, as usual, is in striking contrast to the aspect of the interior. The port, crowded with shipping, which

* "Mount Athos is known to be composed of primitive rocks; marble, a compound of hornblende and felspar, &c. The hill on which Salonica is built, appears to be entirely composed of mica-slate."—HOLLAND's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Dr. Clarke says they are "white-washed, and, what is still more extraordinary, they are also painted."

affords proof of its flourishing commerce, adds not a little to the beauty of the spectacle.

"The most ancient name of this celebrated city was Therma, derived, in common with that of the Gulf, from the hot springs which still exist in several places upon the coast. The Macedonian Cassander, who enlarged and embellished the city, so as to merit the title of its founder, gave it the name of Thessalonica, in compliment to his wife, the daughter of Philip of Macedon. Cicero resided here some time during his banishment from Rome; and many of his letters to Atticus, who was then at his estate in Epirus, are dated from Thessalonica. At the period when the Apostle Paul visited the place, it appears to have been large, populous, and wealthy; and the Byzantine historians speak much of its splendour and importance.* The massacre of 15,000 of its inhabitants, from the sudden fury of Theodosius, is well known to history; as well as the severe expiation required of that monarch by the intrepid Ambrose. In the decline of the Greek empire, the city was taken by William of Sicily, and at a still later period, was made over by one of the Paleologi to the Venetians. The latter, however, enjoyed their possession but a few years, Thessalonica falling into the power of the Turks in 1431, to whose empire it has ever since been subject.

"In its present state, Salonica is exceeded in population only by Constantinople, and possibly by Adrianople, among the cities of European Turkey; and in the extent of its commerce, is probably second to the

* "See the description of Thessalonica by Ioannes Cameniates, in his narrative of the capture of the city by the Saracens (during the *time of* Leo *V*). Also the exclamatory eulogy of Demetrius Cydonius in describing the same event. Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, speaks of Thessalonica as πολλὰ λαμπρύνασα."

capital alone. The circumference of the city, as determined by the walls, probably exceeds five miles. This included area has the form of an irregular triangle; the sea-wall being the base, and the apex of the triangle being formed by the castle, which surmounts and commands the town. Nearly the whole of this area is occupied by buildings, only a small interval of rocky ground being left between the city and the fortress. The interior of Salonica presents the same irregularity, and many of the same deformities, which are common in Turkish towns. The rapid ascent of the hill diminishes this evil in the upper part of the town; and on the whole, as respects cleanliness and internal comfort, Salonica may contrast favourably with most other places in Turkey of large size and population. It certainly gains greatly in the comparison, if activity of business be admitted as a criterion of superiority. Except in those quarters where the principal Turks reside, there is a general appearance of life and movement, which forms a striking contrast to the monotony of a Turkish town. The quays are covered with goods; numerous groupes of people are occupied about the ships or the warehouses; and the bazars are well stocked and perpetually crowded with buyers and sellers. They are in fact chiefly Greeks or Jews who are thus occupied; people ever ready to seize any opening which may be offered to commercial industry, and ever ingenious in meeting and frustrating the political oppressions under which they labour. At the time when we visited Salonica, the great and sudden influx of trade to that port had afforded an opening of the most favourable kind; and the character of Yusuf Bey's government was such as not in any material degree to check the progress of industry.

"The style of building in Salonica is entirely Turkish; and as in Ioannina, the houses of the principal inhabitants, Greeks as well as Turks, have small areas connected with them, generally occupied by a few trees. The foliage intermixed with the buildings, however, forms a much less striking object here than in Ioannina; and the general appearance of the city is that of greater compactness and uniformity. The bazars, which are situated in the lower part of the town, are very extensive, forming several long but narrow streets. As is common in this country, they are shaded either by trellises with vines, or by projecting wooden sheds, with branches of trees thrown across. The dealers, as I have already stated, are principally Greeks and Jews, with a large proportion of the latter nation. The shops are well filled with manufactured goods and colonial produce; but, in jewellery, shawls, and the richer articles of Oriental dress, they appear to be somewhat inferior to those of Ioannina.

"Some of the mosques are worthy of notice from their size and antiquity: we visited the two most considerable, formerly the Greek churches of Santa Sophia and St. Demetrius, but now converted to the purposes of the Mohammedan worship. The Santa Sophia was erected by the command of Justinian: the model of the edifice, though on a much larger scale, being the celebrated church of that name at Constantinople, and Arthemius the architect of both. There is something venerable and imposing in the approach to this building. It stands in the midst of an area shaded by cypresses and other ancient trees; a large marble fountain is opposite to the great door of the church; and detached portions of the original edifice, now partly in a ruinous state, are seen at intervals

through the trees. The interior, in its present state, exhibits but few of those decorations which gave splendour to the edifice in its original character of a Greek church. A sort of stone rostrum, however, is shewn here, reputed by the Christians of the city to be that from which St. Paul preached to the Thessalonians. I am not aware on what this tradition is founded.

"The mosque, once the Greek church of St. Demetrius, is of large size, and remarkable for the number and beauty of the ancient columns which support and adorn it. The loftiness of the building has admitted two heights of gallery; each, as well as the roof, supported by a tier of columns passing round the church. The total number is said to be three hundred and sixty. Some of these columns are of marble, some of verde-antique, others of sienite and porphyry. We visited the stone sepulchre of St. Demetrius in a cell adjoining the church, where a lamp is kept always burning; chiefly, as it seems, to enable the Turk who shews the place, to require a few coins from the visiter of the tomb. St. Demetrius was the patron saint of the city; famed for his martyrdom, and for various miracles which are recorded in the Byzantine history. A subterranean church is connected with the mosque; erected, it is said, on the site of the Jewish synagogue, where St. Paul preached to the people of Thessalonica."

Another remarkable edifice, called the Rotunda, which, after having successively served as a heathen temple* and a Christian church, has been converted into a mosque, is described in his own clumsy

* Beaujour asserts, that he was able to "prove by medals, that this temple is that of the Cabiri, and that it was constructed in the time of Trajan. It is evident from its form that it was built on the model of the Pantheon at Rome."

manner by Pococke. "The walls are very thick, and built of good brick: the chapels round it are arched over with double arches of brick, excepting the two entrances to the west and south. In them are oblong square niches which appear like windows, and are now filled up: above these, the wall is not, I suppose, so thick by twelve feet; and over every one of these apartments there is an arched niche. The cupola is adorned with mosaic work appearing like eight frontispieces of very grand buildings, the perspective of which seemed to be very good. The apartment opposite the entrance is lengthened out to twenty-seven paces, and ends in a semicircle, which, if it was a temple, must have been added by the Christians for the altars." In the beautiful dome, there is a circular aperture, as in that of the Pantheon, designed, Beaujour contends, to let the smoke of the victims escape, which were consumed on the altar immediately beneath; and under the place where it stood, may yet be seen, he says, the vast stone reservoirs which received the blood. In front of the building, Dr. Clarke "saw a magnificent marble *bema* or pulpit ornamented in *bas-relief*;" * and, at a fountain, "part of an inscription, mentioning the name either of Cassander or of some citizen of Cassandria upon the Isthmus of Pallene."

There is a fourth mosque, Pococke says, "which was the church of St. Pantaleemon." Beaujour men-

* Pococke seems to refer to this same rostrum or pulpit as placed before the "fourth mosque," which "was the church of St. Pantaleemon." He describes it as "a sort of pulpit, with winding steps up to it, all of one block of white marble: on the sides of it are cut three arches, supported by Corinthian pillars, under which are mezzo-relievos of the Virgin Mary and other saints. I saw such another (he adds) at one of the mosques. These seem to have been made in the very earliest times of Christianity, before the art of sculpture was entirely lost."

tions a fourth, called by the Turks *Eski Djouma* (Old Friday), which was once a temple dedicated to the Thessean Venus, to whom Friday (*Dies Veneris*) was sacred. "The Greeks," he adds, "spoiled it by attempting to make it cruciform. It was originally a perfect parallelogram, 70 feet by 35, supported by twelve columns of the Ionic order of the most elegant form. The six columns of the *Pronaos* still remain, although concealed by the walls of the mosque. If the country were in the possession of a civilized people, it would be easy to strip the temple of Venus of the Gothic masonry which disguises it; and this edifice would then, next to the Theseum at Athens, be of all the chaste monuments of antiquity, the one in the most perfect preservation. Now, it can only be seen through its plaster covering; and I passed three years at Salonica without suspecting its real character."

There are few remains here, belonging to a more remote antiquity. "A triumphal gate," says Dr. Holland, "erected after the battle of Philippi, in honour of Augustus, has lost its former splendour by being made a part of the modern walls of the city. A work of greater magnificence is a triumphal arch of Roman brick, cased with marble, which traverses one of the principal streets. This is said to have been erected in honour of the first Constantine. Originally, there was a small arch on each side; but these are now blocked up; and in other respects, the work is much defaced by time. Some fine bas-relief groupes still, however, remain on the piers of the arch; one representing a triumphal procession; a lower compartment describing the events of a battle,—the sculpture not without a good deal of spirit."

The Augustan gate, which is at the western

extremity of the city, is now called the Vardar gate, as leading to that river. Dr. Clarke says, that, although less noticed than the other, it is a work far superior in point of taste. Its present height is 18 feet, the lower part being buried to the depth of 27 feet more. The span of the arch is 12 feet. The masonry consists of square blocks of white marble six feet thick; and upon one side is an inscription containing the names of all the magistrates then in office. A bas-relief on each side represents the two conquerors, Octavius and Mark Anthony, each standing before a horse led by a boy. The arch of Constantine is on the western side of the town, and originally terminated a street that ran from the Vardar Gate through the whole city. It yet remains entire, except that its marble covering has been in great measure removed. Its original height was 60 feet, but not much more than 40 feet are now above the soil. The span of the main arch is about 30 feet. It consisted originally of three arches built of brick, and cased with marble, and there were niches in front between the arches, which of course were filled with statues. The piers all round were adorned with three compartments of *basso relievos* one above another, each relief being four feet two inches deep, divided by others that were twelve inches deep, covered with foliage and flowers. Pococke believed the arch to be of the age of the Antonines, and he represents it as rivalling any similar structure in the perfection of the sculpture and the coolness of the work. Beaujour depreciates the execution, describing the figures with which the bas-relief is overloaded, as without expression, and the ornaments as in bad taste. Dr. Clarke was convinced that the work is not older than the time of Constantine, the sculpture being evidently that of a period when

the arts were in their decline, and, in some parts of it, inferior to what we often see in our country churches."

"In the middle of the city," continues Dr. Holland, "a singular ruined structure is seen, forming, in its present state, the entrance to the area of a Greek house;—a Corinthian colonnade, of which four columns now remain, supporting an entablature, on which are corresponding pilasters, six feet in height. On each side of this upper colonnade are four figures in full length, now so far defaced by time, that it is not easy to make out all their characters. It seems probable, however, that three of those on one side represent Victory, Bacchus, and Ganymede; while on the other are the figures of Leda and Ariadne, a male figure, and that of a female in profile. This edifice is supposed to have been the entrance of the ancient circus of Thessalonica; and if so, the scene of the dreadful massacre directed by Theodosius. It is stated, though I know not on what authority, to have been built in the time of Nero. It does not appear that the columns ever exceeded five in number."

This building is called by the Spanish Jews of Salonica, the *Incantadas*, or Enchanted Figures, and by the Turks, *Sareth-maleh*. The figures are as large as life, and parts of the sculpture are very fine; but M. Beaujour, Dr. Holland says, "is far too luxuriant" in his description of them.* The whole is executed in Pentelican marble, and, Dr. Clarke supposes, was probably brought from Athens.

The walls of the castle are lofty and well-built.†

* See an accurate representation of this supposed propylæum in Stuart's Athens, vol. iii. c. 9.

† "The walls, flanked with turrets, and raised upon huge stones of enormous size, are of brick-work and of Greek construc-

The castle forms a large distinct area, separated from the city by a transverse wall, the greater part of which enclosure is either vacant or occupied with irregular buildings. At its highest point stands the fortress, surmounted by seven towers, like that of Constantinople, and called by the Turks in like manner *Yedi-koule*, and by the Greeks Επταπυργιον. It is the site of the old acropolis, but its towers are said to have been built by the Venetians. Towards the west, opposite to a small monastery of dervishes, is a tower called *Vavaria-koule*, from a colossal *torso* of a female statue, supposed to be that of Thessalonica, in honour of whom the city received its name. At the foot of the figure is represented the stern of a ship. The hill on which the citadel is built, is joined, on the north-east, by lower ground, to Mount Kourtiach; and the castle, being commanded by all the heights on the north, has become useless, since the invention of artillery, for the defence of the place. The view from the castle, Dr. Holland describes as extensive and magnificent. "The city and its numerous minarets are immediately below the eye; beyond these, the expanse of the gulf, and the vast barrier of the Olympus chain towards the west; and in a northerly direction, the widely spreading plains of Macedonia, and the rivers which pursue a tortuous course through them towards the sea. Pella, the ancient capital of the Macedonian kings, stood upon these plains; and its situation, even from this distance, is marked with such certainty, as well by the course of the rivers, as

tion, and they present in every part, fragments of columns confusedly mixed with ancient fragments."—Beaujour. Dr. Clarke speaks of "old Cyclopean masonry" in the lower part, ascribing the upper structure to the time of the Greek emperors.

by the eminence on which stood the fortress of the city, described by Livy to be like an island rising out of the surrounding marshes. Towards the north of this tract of level country, a lofty range of mountains occupies part of the horizon; the modern name of which is said to be Xerolivado. In the same direction from Salonica is the large and populous city of Seres, the residence of Ishmael Bey, and the seat of his local government.

"The view from the castle of Salonica, towards the peninsula of the ancient Pallene, is limited by the mountain called Chortchadje, a few miles to the south-east of the city; on the sides of which hill, ice is preserved in wells during the whole year for the use of the inhabitants of Salonica. This mountain is probably the ancient Birnium, at the foot of which stood the city of Berrœa. Edessa was situated beyond Pella in the same district."

The population of the city has been estimated as high as 90,000 souls, but Dr. Holland considers this as an exaggerated estimate, although he thinks it exceeds 70,000. "It is certain, however," he adds, "that the number of inhabitants has been much increased within the last few years, owing in part to the extended commerce of the place, partly to the settlement of numerous emigrants who have fled hither to shun the power or the vengeance of Ali Pasha of Joannina. The Turks probably form somewhat less than half the population." Beaujour states, that Salonica could furnish 7000 Janissaries, which would give a population of from 28 to 30,000 Turks. Though thus intermixed with other communities, they preserve, we are told, all their peculiar natural habits, with "a greater facility of exercising them than is pos-

sessed by their countrymen of Ioannina." In walking through their quarter of the city, Dr. Holland was repeatedly insulted by the Turkish boys.*

"The number of Greek families is said to be about 2000. The greater part of this population is engaged in commerce; and many of the Greek merchants resident here, have acquired considerable property from this source. The trade they carry on, is in some measure subordinate to that of the Frank merchants of Salonica; but they have likewise extensive independent connexions with Germany, Constantinople, Smyrna, Malta, and various parts of Greece. They do not possess so much reputation in literature as their countrymen of Ioannina, owing, perhaps, to the difference which their situation produces in the nature of their commercial concerns. I have visited, however, the houses of some of the Salonica merchants, in which there were large collections of books, including as well the Romaic literature as that of other parts of Europe. Salonica is one of the Greek metropolitan sees, to which eight suffragan bishopries are annexed. The Greeks have a number of churches in the city, the principal of which is called the Rotunda, rendered remarkable by the domes which rise from its roof, giving an air of splendour to its external appearance.

* When Dr. Clarke was at Salonica in 1801, Mr. Charnaud, the English consul, estimated the population at only 55,000, of whom 15,000 were supposed to be Jews, 8000 Greeks, and the rest Turks. Beaujour states it at 60,000, including about 15,000 Greeks, 12,000 Jews, 30,000 Turks, and 2000 Franks, Tchingenes (gipsies), Slacks, and Manotes, "a race half Turks half Jews." The Jews appear to have been relatively more numerous in Pococke's time. He says, that their number was supposed to exceed the number of Christians and Turks put together, and that they had great influence.

"The Jews form a large portion of the population of the city, and the number of houses occupied by this people is estimated at between three and four thousand. The community is of Spanish descent, and settled here under certain conditions of protection and privilege, which appear to have been faithfully executed on the part of the Turks. The Jews of higher class obtain a livelihood chiefly as brokers, or retail-dealers in the bazars: the greater number are employed as porters on the quays, and in other similar offices. They exhibit the same active diligence here as elsewhere; but the repute of fraudulent habits goes along with that of industry; and the Jews of Salonica are characterised in a saying of the country, as a people whom it is the business of every stranger to avoid.* The Frank population of Salonica is confined to the lower quarter of the city, but has latterly been much extended in number by the increasing commerce of the place. The German and French residents are more numerous than the English; and the former in particular have made several large establishments here within the last two years, in reference to the transit trade with the interior of Germany."

This Traveller was present at a sort of *conversazione* given by the Austrian Consul, M. Cosh. The company consisted of Greeks, Germans, English, and a few French residents. The ladies of the Consul's family, and the lady and daughter of M. Charnaud, the English Consul, were the only females present. The Austrian Consul and Mr. Charnaud had married sisters of a Greek family, and their daughters, who formed the most cultivated part of the female society

* "This saying conveys the caution 'to shun the Greek of Athens, the Turk of Negropont, and the Jew of Salonica.'"

at Salonica, spoke the Romaic with fluency, using it as their ordinary medium of intercourse. In their costume and manners also, they were more allied to the Greek than to the European character. After some solicitation, the young ladies gave the party a number of songs in the Romaic and Turkish languages. "The style of music," says Dr. H., "was much alike in both, and more interesting from the peculiarity than from the harmony of these national airs. One Romaic song, composed by the unfortunate Rigs at the time when the French Revolution gave a passing impulse to the spirits of the Greeks, was sung to the well-known air (of Mozart), 'Life let us cherish.' In listening to this, my memory was carried back for a moment, with a singular shifting of the scene, to the shores of the Faxe Fiord, in Iceland; where, two years before, I had unexpectedly caught the sounds of this very air, played on the chords of the Icelandic *langspiel*."

"Till within the last three or four years," continues this Traveller, "the commerce of Salonica was limited to a certain average amount of exports and imports, which will hereafter be mentioned, and to a small overland traffic with Germany, chiefly for the conveyance of the manufactures of Thessaly. The obstacles opposed to the commerce of Europe by the continental system of Napoleon, while creating an extreme scarcity of colonial produce and British manufactures through the interior of the Continent, had the natural effect of conducting the merchant to more remote channels of intercourse, the increased price of his goods compensating for the greater risk of the enterprise. The port of Salonica formed one of these new channels of commerce, and the progressive extension of the French system during the years 1810, 1811,

and 1812, produced an increase in the import trade of this place, depending on the demand in Germany for articles, to which an access was denied by the accustomed routes. To conduct the overland traffic, the partners or agents of various German houses settled themselves at Salonica. The English intercourse with this port had hitherto been carried on through Malta, and in Maltese or Greek vessels; but the increasing demands for goods led to a more immediate communication, and during the year 1812, nearly thirty cargoes arrived here direct from England, besides a still greater number of vessels, under the English flag, from Malta and Gibraltar. The imports by these various cargoes were principally sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-twist; with a smaller quantity of other articles of miscellaneous kind. The goods thus forwarded to Salonica, were received by the German agents there, transmitted by land-carriage through Turkey, and the payments made in bill transactions between the commercial houses in Germany and their connexions in England.

"The most singular feature in this trade, is the long and laborious journey by which the goods are transported from the shores of the Archipelago to the very centre of the continent of Europe. Such a journey, indeed, will not compare in length or difficulty with many of those performed by the caravans of the East; but it is nevertheless interesting, both from the nature of the road, and as an evidence of what commerce can rapidly accomplish in removing the impediments to which it may be exposed. From Salonica to the Austrian dominions there are two or three principal routes: one through the province of Bosnia; another through Bulgaria by Widin and Ossova; a third, which deviates from the last at the

city of Sophia, taking the direction of Belgrade. The Bosnian route conducts the traveller through Seraglio, a city said to contain more than 50,000 people; but the country to be traversed is so mountainous, that it is comparatively not much frequented. The second route, or that of Bulgaria, is the one which has been adopted for the transit of the overland commerce from Salonica. Pursuing a course nearly due north by Seres, Sophia, and Widin, it enters the Austrian territory at Ossova, and is thence continued through the Bannat of Hungary, by Temeswar, to Pest, Raab, and Vienna. In the subjoined note, some further details are given respecting this road, which seems on the whole to be the most advantageous for the purposes of transit commerce; though, in the present state of Turkey, liable, like others, to interruption from internal feuds and warfare." *

"The goods landed at Salonica for carriage into Germany, are chiefly transported upon the horses of the country. They are made up into packages, each weighing in general 1¼ cwt., and of these packages, two are carried by every horse. The cavalcades for this inland journey are of various size, some consisting of one or two hundred, others even exceeding a thousand horses. A few days preceding our arrival, Mr. Leoghley, a German merchant, had despatched one of nearly eleven hundred horses; the greatest number, it is said, which ever departed at one time from the

* "Some of the principal stages upon the Bulgarian route, setting out from Salonica, are, Klissoli, Seres, Dimirissar, Melenico, Doupnitza (in this vicinity is the great mountain-pass of Krosna), Sophia, Bereoftza (here there occurs a high mountain district), Losum-Widin, Sambe, Ossova, Machadia, Terogova, Matina, Karamschebes, Zugosch, Kisgeto, Bekas, Temeswar (the capital of the Bannat), Bukerck, Kemlas, Mokrin, &c."

city. The property transported by this single conveyance, at a moderate estimate, must have been worth 30,000*l.* on its arrival in Germany. The time occupied in the journey from Salonica to Vienna is in general about thirty-five days, exclusively of the quarantine at Ossova, which at this time was extended to twenty-eight days. The cavalcades usually travel eight hours in the twenty-four. In the evening, they halt in the neighbourhood of some town or village; the packages are taken off the horses and placed in a central spot, with guards around them during the night; the horses pasture in the vicinity, and the men attending the cavalcade supply themselves with provisions from the villages. These men vary in number according to the size of the caravan; one man being commonly attached to every five horses, besides the guards who watch over the security of the whole. It is worthy of remark, that as far down as the close of 1812, no predatory attempt had been made upon these caravans, nor any material loss sustained by petty pillage during this long overland journey."

"Camels are sometimes, but more rarely, employed for the inland carriage of goods to a certain distance from Salonica. Their load is double that of the horse, but the progress they make in a country like European Turkey is slow, and subject to numerous obstacles. We fortunately happened to see in the suburbs of Salonica a train of thirty or forty camels, just arrived from a journey; an interesting spectacle, as well in the magnificent size and attitudes of the animal, as in the connexion it has with the tales and scenery of the East.

"In their passage through the Turkish dominions, the goods are subject to various duties paid to the pashas and other local authorities on the route; but

these are for the most part of small account, often not exceeding a few *paras* on each package. They are said to be most considerable at Widin, the Pasha of which place has derived large sums from the passage of the caravans through his territory. I have heard it estimated that the total expense of the transit of sugar and coffee to Vienna was about cent. per cent. on their import value at Salonica, and it is easy to credit this statement. It has not been usual to effect insurances on the overland transport: this risk, as well as the expenses of the journey, being compensated by the great demand for, and high price of colonial articles in Germany. In the autumn of 1812, coffee was selling at Vienna at a common price of 15*l.* per cwt.; sugar and other produce in the same proportion. It was found necessary, in carrying on this trade, to send down from Germany specie sufficient to pay the transit expenses of the goods; no house at Salonica having means to afford accommodation of this kind.

"The return cargoes from Salonica, during this period of its augmented commerce, have been chiefly of grain and timber; the former, in particular, rendered valuable by its deficiency at this time, not only in Spain, but even in Sicily, the ancient granary of Rome. Some obstacles were offered to this export of grain by the French influence operating through Constantinople; but the authority of the Porte in its provinces is too limited to oppose itself to an impulse powerful as that of gain. Shipments of corn, prohibited in appearance, were made with facility during the night; nor was it easy to raise impediments where the local government was the party chiefly concerned in these transactions.

"The restoration of European commerce by the

events of the last two years, has had the effect of superseding this transit trade, and of reducing the commerce of Salonika to narrower limits. There is reason, however, to believe that it will still be greater than it was ten years ago; the low price which our colonial produce, &c. for some time bore, having led to an increased demand among Turks as well as Greeks; which demand is likely in part to be continued, though the articles are again raised in value. Still, it may be considered that the trade of the place is now returning to its former level."

What effect the revolution has had upon the commerce and population of Salonika, we have not the means of ascertaining; but its remoteness from the seat of warfare has been a favourable circumstance. In the year 1800, the exports were estimated as follows: wheat 1,000,000 *kiles* (of 55lbs. each); barley, 500,000 *kiles*; Indian corn, 100,000 *kiles*; cotton, 110,000 bales; tobacco, between 35 and 40,000 bales (of 270lbs. each); wool nearly, 1,000,000 lbs.; besides timber for ship-building, which is obtained from the shores of the Gulf, particularly near Katrina.* The ordinary imports consist of clayed sugars, Mocha and West Indian coffee, dye-woods, indigo, cochineal, muslins, printed calicoes, iron, lead, tin, watches, and various articles of a miscellaneous kind. The quantity of none of these articles is very great, but, Dr. Holland says, the trade seems capable of extension,

* The cottons of Macedonia, Dr. H. states, are fine, though inferior, perhaps, to those of Thessaly. The produce of tobacco he states to have decreased, owing to an interruption of the demand by political events. About 35,000 bales annually were sent to Egypt, but a considerable proportion of this was of inferior quality, the first not exceeding nine or ten piastres a bale, while that of the Yenidje tobacco was upwards of 40 piastres.

and the demand both for colonial and manufactured goods will probably increase. The ordinary import and export duties of the place, are those common to foreign trade in Turkey, viz. 3 *per cent. ad valorem*, which duties are always farmed by the Porte to the pasha or governor of the city. The shipping lie at anchor before the town, but "the form of the Gulf renders the harbour a safe one, and the access to it is by no means difficult."

As Salonika is stated by Beaujour to be the principal seat of Greek commerce, we have entered the more particularly into these commercial details. The common complaint attaches to the city, of being extremely unhealthy in the autumnal months, owing to the vicinity of the great marshes at the head of the Gulf: intermittent and remittent fevers are then exceedingly common, as well as chronic visceral complaints, the result of repeated attacks of those diseases.

Salonica is reckoned a fifteen days' journey with a caravan from Constantinople, and three days from Cavalla, Monte Santo, and Larissa.

MOUNT ATHOS.

The rugged promontory of Mount Athos which divides the Gulf of Contessa from that of Monte Santo,* forming the south-eastern point of the

* This promontory is joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, "through which, some historians say, Xerxes cut a channel in order to carry his army from one bay to the other: which seems very improbable," adds Pococke, "nor could I see any sign of such a work." The Gulf of Contessa is the ancient *Sinus Strymonicus*; that of Monte Santo, is the *Sinus Singiticus*, "by the Greeks of the present day called *Amoniaca*, from an island of that name at the bottom of it." Between this and the Gulf of Salonica is the Gulf of Cassandra, the ancient *Sinus Terunaeus*; now called, Pococke says, *Ilaia Mamma* (Αγια Μαμμα).

Macedonian peninsula, is the holy land of the Greek Church. It is called both by Greeks and by Turks, *Hagion Horos* (Ἅγιον Ὄρος), "by reason," as Pococke says, "that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs." Of this singular territory and its monastic proprietors, he gives the following description.

"There are on Monte Santo twenty convents, ten on the north side and ten on the south, most of them near the sea, there being only two on the east side and three on the west, that are above a mile from the water, the cape itself not being two leagues wide. Many of these convents are very poor. Some, indeed, have estates abroad, and most of them send out priests to collect alms: the one who is most successful is usually, on his return, made *goumenus*, or abbot, until another brings in a larger sum. They pay a certain price for their lands, and a bostangi resides in their town to receive it, and to protect them against injuries. Every convent also pays a poll-tax for a certain number. It is thought that they are obliged to give lodging and provisions to all comers; but the fact is, that they always expect the benefactions of those who can afford to give. Their manner of living is much the same as that of the monks of Mount Sinai: they never eat meat. The priests and waiters, when in their refectory, wear the hood on their head and a long black cloak; and while they are eating, a person in a pulpit reads some book in the vulgar Greek. In every convent, they have many chapels adjoining their rooms, probably fitted up by particular persons out of devotion to some saint. There are also houses with chapels to them all over the lands of the convents, which they call Kellia, and which might formerly be the cells of hermits; but they are now inhabited only

by a caloyer or two, who take care of the adjacent gardens or vineyards. Those houses which are on their estates at a distance from the convents, they call Metokia. Besides their lay caloyers, they have also hired servants to labour, called men of the world [κοσμικοι.] They have no kind of learning among them, nor do they even teach the ancient Greek, so that the priests lead very idle unprofitable lives. Some of their convents have been founded by princes of Bulgaria, Servia, and Wallachia, and are filled with people of those countries; and these priests are so extremely ignorant, that they can neither speak nor read the vulgar Greek. The convents are built round a court, with a church in the centre. Four of them on the east side are the largest and richest, and of these, Laura is the chief, and has the most powerful interest and command over the rest: the monks of this convent are esteemed the most polished as well as the most politic. Ieronè and Vatopede are the most beautiful, both in their building and their situation on the water: the fourth is Calandari. Four or five convents on the west side are very singularly situated, being built on high rocks over the water.

"The only town on Monte Santo is Cares, situated about the middle of it, towards the summit, on the northern side, and occupying the most pleasant part of all the mountain. The land of this place belongs to several convents, and most of them have houses and gardens here. The town is inhabited by caloyers, who have their shops, and sell such things as there is a demand for. The only artists they have, are those who make cutlery-ware and beads, and carve reliefs very curiously in wood, either in crosses or historical pieces. Here, they have a market every Saturday, when the people at the distance of three or four days'

journey bring in corn and other provisions; all they send out from their mountain being those trinkets they make, together with walnuts, chestnuts, common nuts, and some black cattle, which they buy in order to sell them, when they are fit for the market. They are also in part supplied with wine from abroad, the cold, as it happened this year, very often destroying their grapes. Many houses and gardens in Caves are purchased of the convents by two or three caloyers for their lives: they cultivate their gardens, make images, and lead very agreeable, independent lives."

The monasteries of Mount Athos have been supposed to be very rich, both in manuscripts and in treasures. "Every monastery," says Ricaut, "hath its library of books, which are kept in a lofty tower, under the custody of one whom they call Χαρτοφύλαξ, who is also their steward; but they are piled one on the other, without order or method, covered with dust and exposed to the worm..... He that sees the various coverings they have for their altars, the rich ornaments they have for their churches, will not apprehend those people to be very poor.. Their basons, ewers, dishes, plates, candlesticks, and incense-pots, of precious metal, are not to be reckoned, many of which are of pure gold or of silver gilt. They have crosses of a vast bigness, edged with plates of gold, and studded with precious stones, whence hang strings of oriental pearls." Dr. Clarke states the number of the monks at 6000, "of whom about two thousand are abroad, begging for their lazy brethren at home." This is probably an exaggerated estimate. The contribution annually paid to the Turkish government as a fine or rent, is about 1000 dollars; "not amounting," adds the learned Traveller, "to a thousandth part of the gifts annually made to them by the

princes and priests of Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Georgia."

It is much to be regretted, that we have no competent or satisfactory account of these establishments. The only modern traveller who has visited Mount Athos, is the late Mr. Tweddell, who fell a sacrifice to the undertaking: he died at Athens of a fever which was attributed to the excessive fatigue attending this journey. Whether any ancient manuscripts of value yet remain concealed amid the lumber of these monastic libraries, still remains to be ascertained, as Mr. Tweddell's discoveries, if he made any, have perished with him. Few parts of the country hold out a stronger invitation to the adventurous traveller. The scenery, the geological phenomena, the possible discoveries of a literary nature which may remain to be made, and the ancient sites * which the monasteries may, perhaps, conceal or occupy, to say nothing of the worthy caloyers themselves, all combine to present the strongest inducement to explore the recesses of the Holy Mountain. According to the sketches made by the artist who accompanied Mr. Tweddell, the monasteries, Dr. Clarke says, are like so many little fortresses in the midst of the most sublime solitudes, Mount Athos being as craggy and rugged as one of the peaks of Caucasus. All the other parts of the peninsula, though hilly, are low in comparison with the mountain, described by Pococke as a very steep, rocky height, covered with pines. The appearance of

* Within the peninsula and upon the mountain, there were no fewer than five cities in the time of Strabo, mentioned also by Herodotus and Thucydides; namely, Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoön, Thyssus, and Cleonæ. The mineralogy of Macedonia, a province which once yielded such enormous wealth, the Mines Geron of the ancients, has never yet been investigated.

the peninsula from the Gulf of Salonika, is thus described by Dr. Holland.*

"The day after our departure from Salonika, we proceeded slowly down the gulf with little wind, but a heavy and lurid sky, with broken masses of dark cloud, from which our captain derived evil prognostics. The interesting character of the shores was not lessened to us however, by this state of the weather. On our right hand were the richly-wooded plains of Katrina, and those of the mouth of the Peneus, with the heights of Olympus and Ossa forming a magnificent barrier behind. On the opposite side, the eye reposed first on the peninsula anciently called Pallene: the promontory of Psalidium was distinctly to be seen as we sailed along the coast; and the observation of the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the main-land, allowed us to discern more remotely the general situation of Potidæa and Olynthus, cities which gained celebrity in the wars between Philip and the Athenians. The peninsula of Pallene, which no where rises into lofty hills, is fertile and well cultivated, yielding a considerable quantity of grain for exportation. Beyond the Gulf of Cassandra (the Toronaic of the ancients), which forms its eastern boundary, another low and narrow peninsula stretches in a south-east direction into the Archipelago. Over these peninsulas and two intermediate gulfs, we saw the lofty pinnacle of Mount Athos rising in the distance, appearing from this point of view as a vast is-

* This Traveller proceeded by sea from Salonika to Zeitun, to escape the difficulties and perils of the journey to Larissa. Owing to contrary winds, he was thirteen days upon the sea, and narrowly escaped shipwreck; it is, in fair weather, a voyage of two days.

saluted cone, with a smaller conical eminence arising from one of its sides."

Pliny speaks of the shadow of this mountain as stretching to Myrrhina in Lemnos, when the sun is going down, which is computed to be above twenty leagues distant; and the island of Skiathos is stated to derive its name from the fact, that at sunrise in the summer solstice, the shadow is projected thus far over the intervening sea. We are not aware that modern observation has either verified or disproved the correctness of this statement, which would give the mountain a very considerable elevation.

FROM SALONICA TO LARISSA.

The route from Salonica to Larissa is not much frequented, most persons embarking here for some Thessalian port. Dr. Holland crossed the gulf from near Leuterochori (the free-village—pronounced Levtskoi), situated on an eminence two miles from the coast, and occupying the site of the ancient Methone, in besieging which Philip lost his right eye. That city was the last town of Pieria, upon leaving which the traveller entered Bottiæa; and here, it is remarkable that the district of the Bey of Seres begins, the territory of Ali Pasha of Epirus having extended thus far eastward over the ancient Macedonia. The distance of Kitros, a small town five miles further inland, exactly answers to the forty stadia between Methone and Pydna, on or near the site of which Kitros is built. The distance of Salonica from this point does not exceed twenty miles; but calms or contrary winds detained Dr. Holland eight hours on the passage. "Our course," he says, "lay at a short distance from the head of the Gulf, where the great plains of

Macedonia terminate in extensive marshes and lagoons, through which the two large rivers, the Vardari and the Vistritza, flow to the sea. Of these rivers, the Vardari is the most considerable, rising from the mountains in the centre of the continent of Turkey, and bringing down a large and constant body of water. This was the Axius of antiquity, to which Homer applies the name of the *wide-flowing*, and on which stood Pella, the capital of the Macedonian kings, at the distance of about fourteen miles from its mouth. The Vistritza seems to have been either the Lydias or the Erigon; but now, as formerly, the rivers communicate by different branches, while flowing through these marshy plains; and, not impossibly, have undergone many changes in their course. The head of the gulf is rendered very shallow by the alluvial depositions, which are doubtless still going on in this situation, and which eventually may much impede the navigation of the port. At present, the shoals form good fishing-grounds, and numerous boats are constantly engaged in this occupation for the supply of Salonica and other towns on the coast."

Dr. Clarke proceeded from Leuterochori by land, halting for the night at the khan of Lebasa. Continuing his journey at some distance from the sea, to avoid the swampy shore and the mouths of rivers, which were all inundated, he crossed, in four hours, the *Fuge Mauro* at a ferry. In three hours more, proceeding over muddy plains, he crossed in the same manner, another large river called *Karasmak* (or *Mauro-fluvi*) which the learned Traveller supposes to be the Lydias.* Two hours further, he saw, to the left, a village called Yanitza, at the base of a moun-

* Apparently the Vistritza of Dr. Holland.

tals, by the foot of which flows the Vardar or Axius.* He crossed this river by a bridge of planks, a quarter of a mile in length; and in two hours beyond, arrived at a miserable village called Tekale, where some granite columns and the *epistylium* of an immense marble area, indicated the vicinity of some ancient edifice. In two hours more, he arrived at Salonica.

We return to Kitros, "indisputably the ancient Kydna, or Pydna," in the valley before which P. Æmilius, the Roman general, gained the memorable victory over Perseus, king of Macedon, which cost him his kingdom. From that time, B.C. 168, Macedonia was reduced to a Roman province. Kitros stands on a low ridge overlooking a valley of some breadth, watered by two small rivers, the ancient names of which were the Æson and the Lycus. The nature of the ground in its present state, we are told, accurately accords with the narrative, and illustrates

* In a note taken from Mr. Cripps's MS. Journal, it is stated, on the authority of some shepherds, that the source of this river is a spring which rises in the midst of a swamp or bog, and forms a river upon the spot eleven yards in width. Soon afterwards it becomes augmented by seven tributary streams. This swamp is several days up the country. Almost the whole of Macedonia is a blank in Geography. "We know nothing," remarks Dr. Clarke, "of Pæonia or of Pelagonia, or of the whole region westward to the borders of Illyria. Some traces of communication must still exist along the *Via Ignatia*, from the north of the Thermaic Gulf to the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic." In this route occurs the ancient Ægæ, Palæbotira, or Edessa, the ancient capital and burial place of the Macedonian kings. The place is now called Vodina, and has been visited by an English traveller, Dr. Pliott Lee, who thus describes it. "It is a delightful spot. There are sepulchres cut in the rock, which the superstitious inhabitants have never plundered, because they are afraid to go near them. I went into two, and saw the bodies in perfect repose, with some kinds of ornaments, and clothes, and vases, but touched them not. There is a beautiful inscription in the town. The fall of waters is magnificent."—MS. Letter in Clarke, vol. vii. p. 435.

the circumstances of the event.* Dr. Clarke noticed near the village, the ruins of a chapel, "perhaps the site of an ancient temple;" but the only decided vestige of antiquity is an immense tumulus, which forms a conspicuous object towards the sea, and is supposed by the learned Traveller to be the *polyandrium* erected in memory of those who perished in that battle. Three hours from Kitros, proceeding southward, is Katarina, a post town of between 2 and 300 houses, inhabited chiefly by Greeks; it is situated in the midst of a plain, surrounded with woods of chestnut and plane. It is from this part of the coast that the greater part of the timber is obtained, which forms so important a branch of the export trade of Salonica. The country between Kitros and Katarina is described by Dr. Clarke as "a wretched sandy common, covered with brake (*pteris aquilina*)."† Dr. Holland states, that the roads are very bad, and the country uninteresting,

* "The Macedonian army, retiring from their fortresses on the Enipeus, in apprehension of Scipio's coming upon their rear, took post on the northern side of this valley, in front of Pydna. The Roman army arrived soon afterwards on the southern bank of the river, and one night intervened in this relative position, before the battle took place. This night was signalled by a total eclipse of the moon; an event for which the sagacity of P. Emilius had already prepared his army, but which was unexpected by the Macedonians, and produced great terror in their ranks. The battle took place the next day on the banks of the river. The enthusiasm of the Romans, seconded by the prudence of their general, speedily overcame the enemy, and the Macedonian army was almost wholly destroyed. We are told that 20,000 were slain on the field, and that the number of prisoners exceeded 20,000. Perseus himself fled through the forests of Paria to Pella, and was soon after afterwards made a prisoner in Samothrace."—Holland's Travels, vol. ii. p. 36.

† In these plains, Dr. Clarke says, are pastured sheep, hogs, buffaloes, and oxen. The dogs of the Arnaout shepherds wear body clothes, which has a strange effect.

but adds, that it appeared to be of calcareous formation, was well cultivated, and produces much grain; "the general surface is plane, intersected, however, by many small valleys, descending towards the sea, which is no where distant more than five miles from the road." From this plain, the ancient Pieria, the termination of Olympus is seen towards the W.S.W., and beyond it, in the same direction, rises another lofty mountain, continuing the great mountain barrier between Macedonia and Thessaly: these two, with Ossa, Dr. Clarke describes as having the appearance of a vast wall, reaching to the clouds. The mountains extending west and north of Olympus are supposed to be the Cambunian, over which a narrow defile conducted from Pieria into Perrhæbia and Thessaly.

Between two and three miles south of Katarina, proceeding towards Larissa, a large and rapid river, descending from the mountains to the N. W. of Olympus, is crossed at a ford. This is supposed to be the Haliacmon of the ancients, which, according to Strabo, bounded Pieria on the south, as the Axius did on the north; and Dr. Clarke supposes Katarina to be Dium; but the topography of the whole of this part is involved in great obscurity.* Two miles beyond this river, an extensive marsh is formed by another stream, which "may be the Baphyris of Livy;" and near its mouth is a little *scala* or port, where small vessels take in the wool produced by the

* About half way between Platamoona and Katarina, where the plain bears the name of Kallidia or Kallithia, Dr. Clarke crossed by a bridge, the Malatheria river, flowing from Olympus: and just before he reached Katarina, he forded the *Mauro-nero* and the *Peleo*, which unite before they fall into the Gulf, and form, the learned Traveller thinks, the Baphyrus.

flocks of Olympus and the northern part of Thessaly. At twelve miles from Katarina, is the wretched town of Litochori, consisting of houses scattered over a rugged and uneven surface, at the very foot of Olympus, and almost overhung by the precipices of the mountain. Nearly opposite the town, a vast ravine penetrates into the interior of the mountain, through the opening of which may be seen what Dr. Holland supposes to be the summit,—"an obtuse cone, with a somewhat concave ascending line on each side; the sides exhibiting mural precipices of extraordinary height." The thick fog which overspread the country, prevented him from making any very accurate observations; but the transient view he obtained from this point, exhibited a line of precipices of vast height, forming the eastern front of the mountain towards the sea, broken at intervals by deep ravines richly clothed with forest trees. The base and skirts of the mountain are covered with oak, chestnut, beech, and plane, while towards the summit of the first ridge, dark forests of pine spread along the acclivities, giving that character to the face of the mountain which is so often alluded to by the poets.* Behind this first ridge, others rise up and recede towards the loftier central heights of Olympus, then covered with the snows of winter.

Few of the Grecian mountains rise to the height of Olympus, which is never entirely free from snow. Its elevation has never been barometrically ascertained. Plutarch states, that the philosopher Xenagoras ascertained it to be rather more than ten stadia, and M. Bernoulli gives the height at 1017 toises

* Seneca calls it *pinifer Olympus*; Virgil speaks of the *frondosum Olympum*; and Horace has *opaco Olympo*. Statius applies to it the epithet *nigrus*.

(6300 feet). The summit is inaccessible in winter, but the ascent is perfectly practicable in the summer season; and once a year, on the 20th of June,* the priests of a village called Scamnia, (situated to the right of the road from Katarina to Platamonos,) repair to a small Greek chapel near the highest point, to perform mass. This is one of the many curious instances of the adoption, by the Christian natives, of the ancient ceremonies of the pagan worship. Possibly, the old altar may yet remain, on which sacrifices were offered to the Olympian deity. The highest habitation on the mountain is the monastery of St. Dionysius, on its eastern side, and in the route which conducts to the summit.

A narrow strip of open country, descending from the base of Olympus to the sea, and intersected by several valleys which bring down the waters from the eastern side, extends from Litochori to Platomana, the ancient Heraclea. This is the grand passage from Thessaly into Macedonia. The most considerable of these valleys, which opens out from a deep rocky ravine, is probably that of the Enipeus, in which Perseus had strongly entrenched himself when he was compelled to retire, on being taken in rear by a detachment sent round over the mountain. Platomana is still the seat of a Greek bishopric, extending to Ampelachia, Rapshani, and the neighbouring Greek towns. There is a khan here, containing several Doric pillars with their capitals inverted; and Dr. Clarke mentions an ancient aqueduct sup-

* Probably a mistake for the 24th, St. John's day. From Scamnia, which is five hours and a half from Platamona, the ascent takes between four and five hours; but the best and easiest ascent, Dr. Clarke was told, is from the village of Carrah, distant six hours from Platamona.

plying a marble reservoir. The modern castle, a large and irregular groupe of buildings surrounded with a lofty wall, is built on a rocky promontory overhanging the sea, commanding the narrow pass between it and the hills. On the south side of this promontory, a stream, flowing in a deep channel, falls into the sea. A Turkish cemetery is below the fortress, close to the village. The road now runs along the coast for some time, and then turns up into the plains through which the Peneus, after winding through the defile of Tempe, finds its way, in a N.E. direction to the sea. "The appearance of this plain," Dr. Holland says, "is rich and luxuriant in the extreme; and what is uncommon in Greece, it is divided in part by small enclosures. It is richly wooded over its whole extent, the trees being chiefly the plane and mulberry, and many of the former are remarkable for their large and venerable growth. A great part of the plain is occupied in the culture of maize and wheat, which are principally conveyed to Salonica for exportation." * On the north-eastern declivity of Mount Ossa, the southern boundary of Tempe, are several towns and villages, some of considerable size, almost entirely peopled at that time by Greeks.

Dr. Holland crossed the Peneus (now called the Salymbria,) at a horse-ferry, "an unworthy substi-

* How are we to account for the singularly different description given by Dr. Clarke? "As soon as the gorge (of Tempe) opens and a view of the Pierian (Peneus) plain is exhibited, the traveller beholds a disagreeable, swampy flat, covered with dwarf-trees, reeds, and thorns." Again: "In journeying along the western side of the Thermaean Gulf, the whole district, from the mouth of the Peneus to that of the Axius, is one swampy plain, bounded on the west by the chain of Olympus. There are no hills to form subdivisions; so that, whether called Bottiea, Pieria, or Pelasgia, it is all one and the same plain."—vol. viii. pp. 284, 285.

tute for a bridge, half a mile below, which, two winters before, had been broken by a winter's flood." On gaining the southern bank, the traveller is in Thessaly. For the best description of the celebrated defile, so well known under the name of the Vale of Tempe,* we shall have recourse to the pages of Dr. Clarke.

TEMPE.

"THE Peneus occupies the whole of the valley from side to side, with the exception only of the narrow pass afforded by the old paved causeway of the military way, which extends along the right bank of the river. Fragments of the Atracian marble appeared in different parts of this pavement: to afford space for it, even the solid rocks were cut away from the side of the Peneus. Here the scenery possesses the utmost grandeur. The precipices consist of naked perpendicular rocks, rising to a prodigious height, so that the spectator can scarcely behold them from below without giddiness. Livy's description, therefore, in addition to its intrinsic grandeur, has all the majesty of truth. The various colours which adorn the surfaces of these rocks, can only be expressed by painting; and how beautiful would the effect be, if these masses were faithfully delineated in all their distinct or blended hues, of ashen grey, and green, and white, and ochreous red and brown, and black, and yellow! Such description by the pen, suggests

* According to Suidas, the word τῳμπη was applicable to all wooded glens, although pre-eminently to that between Ossa and Olympus. It is at present called Τζομπη, an apparent corruption of the ancient name; but the modern Greeks would pronounce this Zombe, which bears no resemblance to the original.

no distinct Image to the mind. Upon their utmost peaks, both to the right and left, we saw the ruins of an ancient fortress, once the bulwark of the defile, whose walls were made to traverse the precipices in a surprising manner, quite down to the road. The cliffs are so perpendicular, and the gorge is so narrow, that it would be absolutely impossible for an army to pass while the strait was guarded by these fortifications."

The learned Traveller describes the defile as bearing some resemblance to the pass of Killicrankie in Scotland, and to Dovedale in Derbyshire, but upon a much grander scale. Owing to some tremendous convulsion of nature, it is supposed that Olympus and Ossa have been separated from each other by the formation of this vast cleft, at the bottom of which the Peneus obtains its outlet. "If ever the waters of the Black Sea should be so far drained as to leave only a river flowing through the canal of Constantinople, then the Thracian Bosphorus will become what Tempe is now. That a sea like the Euxine, once covering the whole of Thessaly, was drained by the opening of this chasm, is not only evident from the position of the strata on either side, but the fact has always been traditionally transmitted, so as to become a theme of poetical allusion, if not a portion of history."* Dr. Holland says, that St. Vincent's Rocks near Bristol, convey a correct idea of the scenery of Tempe, taking into account the difference of the scale. The Peneus, as it flows through the defile, is not much wider than the Arve, and the channel between the cliffs is of equally con-

* Neptune is fabled to have opened this outlet for the river, by striking the mountains with his trident; a Greek periphrase for an earthquake. This event is conjectured to have happened about B.C. 1503.

tracted dimensions; but the cliffs of the Thessalian mountains are very much loftier and more precipitous, towering, in some places on the northern side, to six or eight hundred feet above the river, and projecting their vast masses with more extraordinary abruptness over the hollow beneath.

"Where the surface renders it possible, the summits and ledges of the rocks are for the most part covered with small wood, chiefly oak, with the arbutus and other shrubs. On the banks of the river, wherever there is a small interval between the water and the cliffs, it is covered with the rich and widely-spreading foliage of the plane, the oak, and other forest trees, which in these situations have attained a remarkable size, and in various places extend their shade far over the channel of the stream. The ivy winding round many of them, may bring to the mind of the traveller, the beautiful and accurate description of Ælian, who has done more justice to the scenery of Tempe than any other writer of antiquity."

The length of the defile, taken in its whole extent from the Pierian to the Pelasgic plain, is reckoned an hour's distance "to a horse walking moderately fast;" which corresponds to Pliny's statement of five Roman miles. At the western extremity stands the Turkish village of Baba, on the southern bank of the river, from which an irregular cork-screw road, in some places cut in the rock,* in others, carried along the channel of mountain torrents, conducts the traveller to the Greek

* The rock is paved, and is full, Dr. Clarke says, of a green chloritic schistus, containing veins of white marble and white quartz. "Quarries of *verde antico* (*Marmor Atracium*) might now be wrought in Mount Ossa." The rocks on each side the defile are described by Dr. Holland, as a coarse bluish-grey marble with veins of a finer quality.

town of Ambelachia, supposed to be the ancient Atrakia. This remarkable place, consisting of about 400 houses, is described as literally hanging upon the side of Mount Ossa. "Nothing," says Dr. Holland, "can be more picturesque than the various groupes of buildings which compose it. Rising out of the thick foliage of woods, overhanging the deep ravines of the mountain, their open galleries and projecting roofs render the effect of situation still more singular and imposing to the eye. The oak, olive, and cypress spread over the broken surface on which the town stands, and intermix with the foliage of vineyards; while the loftier ridges of the mountain, receding towards the south, are covered with long rows of pines. A few of the houses are built and furnished in the European manner.

"Ampelachia is interesting in its inhabitants, as well as in the scenery which surrounds it. These are almost exclusively Greeks; and what may seem singular in a place thus situated, have been noted, for some years past, for the extent of their commercial undertakings, and for a character of active intelligence and enterprise, which has procured them a high repute among the communities of modern Greece. Most of the merchants of Ampelachia have visited or resided in the great commercial cities of the continent, and established connexions there, the extent and success of which are testified in the wealth many of them have acquired. These connexions are chiefly with Germany; but also with Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places of trade in the Levant. The commerce of the place has its basis in manufacture; and the population of the town, like that of Tornavo and other places in the surrounding country, is actively engaged in the various processes of making and dyeing

cotton thread, the staple commodity of the country. A great part of the cotton grown on the plains of Thessaly, is brought to this district for the use of its manufacturers. It is estimated that the town of Ampelachia furnishes annually about 3000 bales of dyed cotton thread, each bale being calculated at 250 lbs. Of this quantity nearly the whole is transmitted by land carriage to Germany; a traffic which is well regulated, and carried on with much activity by the Ampelachian merchants.

"It may be added regarding the inhabitants of this town, that while thus reputed in their commercial character, they have acquired much respect from their general cultivation of mind, and from the aids they have afforded to the literature of their country. There is a considerable Greek school here, which is said to be in a flourishing state."

LARISSA.

TWENTY miles from Ampelachia, ascending the Salympria through the Pelasgic plain, is Larissa (called by the Turks, Yeniseri), a town containing between 20 and 30,000 Moslems, with a few Greeks and Jews, twenty-six mosques, and one Greek church, the catholicon or cathedral.* This place is still, as formerly, the capital of Thessaly: a hundred villages are comprised within its jurisdiction. It seems remarkable, however, for nothing so much as the savage bigotry of the inhabitants, who bore a bad character so far back as when Pococke travelled, in the middle of the

* Dr. Holland states the number of houses at 4000; Dr. Clarke at 7000; Pococke at 15,000 Turkish, 150 Greek, and 300 Jewish families. The Greek archbishop was residing here by a sort of sufferance.

last century. The town is between three and four miles in circuit; the market is well supplied, and the surrounding territory is very productive, particularly in corn and cotton; but the air is reckoned insalubrious. Many of the Turks of Larissa are very powerful and opulent. There are no mosques in Greece, Mr. Dodwell says, so grand as those in this city, and they probably contain rich marbles and ancient inscribed fragments; but he was not permitted to enter any of them.* Dr. Holland was surprised at observing the large number of negroes in the population, which was much greater than he had remarked in any of the Turkish towns.

About six miles to the N.W. of Larissa, is the large town of Ternavo, the principal seat of a large manufactory of cotton stuffs, which are exported to various parts of the Levant, and even to Malta. Many of the Greek inhabitants of this place, are stated to have acquired considerable wealth from this branch of commerce.

Twelve hours W.S.W. of Larissa, is the city of Trikala, the Trikka of the ancients, situated on the eastern side of a low ridge, at a short distance from the banks of the Salympria. This city is of considerable extent, containing more than 2000 houses, and between 10 and 12,000 inhabitants, of whom, by Turkish, the number of Greek families not exceeding 600 or 700. It is the residence of a Greek bishop, whose diocese extends over the other part of the plains of Thessaly, and

* A large mosque, which stands upon the eminence immediately the bridge over the Peneus, (the site, probably, of the ancient Gyrtone,) has a portico supported by ancient columns of marble. In another part of the city, Dr. Holland observed the remains of a marble statue fixed as a corner-stone to the pavement, and other stones exhibiting illegible inscriptions.

who is subject to the metropolitan of Larissa. Like many other towns in Turkey, it seems to stand in a wood, and the lofty minarets of seven mosques, rising up among the trees, have a very picturesque effect; there are also ten Greek churches, and two synagogues. On a hill above the city, and near the extremity of the ridge on which it is built, are the ruins of a castle, apparently of the age of the Greek emperors, commanding a fine view of the opening of the Thessalian plains. The vale of the Salympria, which, opposite the city, is about ten miles wide, expands further down to little less than twenty; while, in a longitudinal direction, towards the S.E., the eye ranges over, probably, fifty miles of pasture land, or richly cultivated plain. In this vast landscape, little wood is seen, and there are scarcely any inclosures, the lands being divided chiefly by ditches; but at intervals, towns or villages are descried, with their houses scattered amid groupes of trees. The manufacture of blankets and course woollens, from the wool supplied by the large flocks which pasture on these plains during winter, occupies a considerable number of the inhabitants of Trikala.

The Salympria is formed by the confluence of two streams flowing from Pindus, which unite at the Khan of Malakassi, near the site of the ancient Æginium. The most northern of these is supposed to be the Ion of Strabo. The valley of the Peneus, throughout its whole course, is extremely picturesque and interesting; but the most extraordinary scenery which it presents, is in the vicinity of Kalabaka or Stagi (the Stagos of the Byzantine writers), a small town of 200 houses, twelve miles above Trikkala, in a N. W. direction. Of this singular spot, Dr. Holland gives the following description:—

METEORA (THORE).

"Long before we reached the town of Kalaluka," (approaching it from the N.W.), "our attention was engaged by the distant view of the extraordinary rocks of Meteora, which give to the vicinity of this place a character perfectly unique to the eye, and not less remarkable in the reality of the scene. These rocks are seen from a great distance in descending the valley of the Salympria; but it was not until we had forded over to the left bank of the river, a short distance above Kalaluka, that we became aware of all the singularity of their situation and character. On this side of the Salympria, and about a mile distant from the river, they rise from the comparatively flat surface of the valley,—a group of insulated masses, cones, and pillars of rock, of great height, and for the most part so perpendicular in their ascent, that each one of their numerous fronts seems to the eye as a vast wall, formed rather by the art of man than by the more varied and irregular workings of nature. In the deep and winding recesses which form the intervals between these lofty pinnacles, the thick foliage of trees gives a shade and colouring, which, by its subdued contrast, does not diminish the effect of the great masses of naked rock impending above. When we approached this spot, the evening was already far advanced, but the setting sun still threw a gleam of light on the summits of these rocky pyramids, and showed us the outline of several Greek monasteries in this extraordinary situation, as if entirely separated from the reach of the world below. For the moment, the delusion might have been extended to the monastic character of these institutions, and the fancy might

MONASTERY OF METEORA THESSALY.

have framed to itself a purer form of religion amidst this insulated magnificence of nature, than when contaminated by worldly intercourse and admixture. How completely this is delusion, it requires but a hasty reference to the present and past history of monastic worship, sufficiently to prove. It is the splendour of nature alone, which is seen in the rocks of Meteora; and the light of the sun lingering on their heights, shows only those monuments of mingled vanity and superstition, which have arisen from the devices of selfish policy, or of mistaken religion.

"The most striking part of the scenery of Meteora is that to the north-west of this elevated point, and within the area of the supposed triangle. Following, for more than a mile, a narrow path, which conducted us below its precipitous front, and amidst other insulated masses of less considerable height, we entered one of the deep valleys or recesses, which lead to the interior of the groupe, and continued our progress along it, by a gradual ascent through the forest of wood which occupies this intervening space. On each side of us were lofty pinnacles of rock of the most extraordinary kind; some of them entirely conical, others single pillars of great height, and very small diameter; others masses very nearly rhomboidal in form, and seeming inclining over their base; others, again, perfect cylinders or oblongs, with perpendicular sides and level summits. Nor by the term masses, are mere fragments of rock to be understood. It is the [illegible] mountain which is cleft and divided in this wonderful manner; by what agency it might be difficult to determine, but perhaps by the conjoint operation of earthquakes, and of that progressive detritus and decay which proceed perpetually over the face of the globe. The height of these insulated rocks is

varions. The greater number rise more than 100 feet from the level of the valley of the Salympria; several reach the height of 2 and 300 feet; and that of which I have already spoken, above Kalabáka, appears to be about 500 feet in height.

"The Greek monasteries of Meteora are variously situated, either on the summits of these pinnacles, or in caverns, which nature and art have united to form in parts of the rock that seem inapproachable by the foot of man. Their situation, indeed, is more extraordinary than can be understood from description alone. Four of the monasteries actually occupy the whole summit of the insulated rocks on which they stand; a perpendicular precipice descending from every side of the buildings into the deep wooded hollows which intervene between the heights. The only access to these aërial prisons is by ropes and nets, or by ladders fixed firmly to the rock, in those places where its surface affords any points of suspension; and these ladders, in some instances, connected with artificial tunnels, which give a passage of easier access to the buildings above. The monastery called by distinction the Meteora, which is the largest of the number, stands in the remarkable situation just described, and is accessible only in this manner. Still more extraordinary is the position of another of these buildings, on the left hand of the approach from the former. It is situated on a narrow rectangular pillar of rock apparently about 120 feet in height, the summit of which is so limited in extent, that the walls of the monastery seem on every side to have the same plane of elevation as the perpendicular faces of the rock.

"The number of monasteries at Meteora is said to have been formerly twenty-four; but at present, owing partly to the wearing away of the rocks on

which they stood, and partly to the decay of the buildings themselves, only ten of these remain, of which the following are inhabited: Meteora or Meteoron, Aios Stephanos, Barlaam, Ais Trisla, Aios Nicholas, Rosaria, and Ais Mone.

"Aios Stephanos, which we visited, is among the most extraordinary of the number: its height is upwards of 180 feet. To arrive at the foot of the pinnacle on which it stands, we proceeded up the recess among the rocks by a steep and rugged path, winding underneath the foliage of the ancient trees which spread their roots among the vast masses detached from the rocks above. The path conducts you through a defile, not more than twenty or thirty yards in width, between two rocks, each probably more than 300 feet in height, the intervening space filled up by trees and vast detached fragments. On the summit of one of these rocks stands the monastery to which it was our intention to ascend.

"Passing through the ravine just mentioned, we wound round the base of the rock, gradually ascending till we came to the foot of a perpendicular line of cliff, and looking up, saw the buildings of the monastery immediately above our heads. A small wooden shed projected beyond the plane of the cliff, from which a rope, passing over a pulley at the top, descended to the foot of the rock. A man was seen looking down from above to whom our Tartar shouted loudly, ordering him to receive us into the monastery; but at this time the monks were engaged in their chapel, and it was ten minutes before we could receive an answer to his order and our request. At length, we saw a thicker rope coming down from the pulley, and attached to the end of it a small rope net, which, we found, was intended for our conveyance

to this aërial habitation. The net reached the ground; our Tartar, and a peasant whom we had with us from Kalabaka, spread it open, covered the lower part with an Albanese capote, and my friend and I seated ourselves upon this slender vehicle. As we began to ascend, our weight drew close the upper aperture of the net, and we lay crouching together, scarcely able, and little willing, to stir either hand or foot. We rose with considerable rapidity; and the projection of the shed and pulley beyond the line of the cliff, was sufficient to secure us against injury from striking upon the rock. Yet the ascent had something in it that was formidable, and the impression it made, was very different from that of the descent into a mine, where the depth is not seen, and the sides of the shaft give a sort of seeming security against danger. Here we were absolutely suspended in the air; our only support was the thin cordage of a net, and we were even ignorant of the machinery, whether secure or not, which was thus drawing us rapidly upwards. We finished the ascent, however, which is 156 feet, in safety, and in less than three minutes.* When opposite the door of the wooden shed, several monks and other people appeared, who dragged the net into the apartment, and released us from our cramped and uncomfortable situation. We found, on looking round us, that these men had been employed in working the windlass which raised us from the ground; and in observing some of their feeble and decayed figures, it was impossible to suppose that the danger of our ascent had been one of appearance alone. Our servant Demetrius, meanwhile,

* The passage through the air, at the monastery of Barlaam, is nearly 200 feet.

had been making a still more difficult progress upwards, by ladders fixed to the ledges of the rock, conducting to a subterranean passage which opens out in the middle of the monastery.

"The monks received us with civility, and we remained with them more than an hour in their extraordinary habitation. The buildings are spread irregularly over the whole summit of the rock, enclosing two or three small areas: they have no splendour, either external or internal, and exhibit only the appearances of wretchedness and decay. There were only five monks, with a few attendants, resident in the monastery when we visited it; all of them miserable in their exterior, and with conceptions as narrow and confined as the rocks on which they live. Even their insulated and almost inaccessible situation has not secured these poor people from plunder and outrage. The property belonging to the several monasteries is in the valleys below, and the inhabitants of a small village underneath their rocks, supply food to these aërial habitations. The Albanian soldiers have frequently plundered this village; and depending either on the mandate of their superiors, or on other less licensed means, occasionally compel an entrance into the monasteries themselves, the miserable proprietors of which have little security against such acts of outrage."

These remarkable rocks appear to have been known to the ancients, under the name of Ithmoe; and they probably exhibited, even at the remotest period, something of their present extraordinary character; but within a comparatively recent period, they have undergone a considerable change in their size and form. They are composed entirely of conglomerate, comprising fragments of granite, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, steatite, green stone, and quartz pebbles,

most of these stones having the appearance of being water-worn.* From their very nature, they are extremely liable to dilapidation and decay; yet it is difficult, Dr. Holland remarks, to conceive how they should have assumed their present abrupt and precipitous forms, otherwise than from the agency of earthquakes, or some other convulsion of nature. They must, he thinks, "have been somewhat less abrupt than they now are, at the time the monasteries were built, to admit of their being constructed. That of Meteora was founded in 1371, by John Palæologus, of the imperial family; that of Barlaam, by Nectarius of Ioannina, in 1536; that of *Agia Triada* in 1476.† It is certain, at all events, that the work of decomposition is going on. "Many of the religious edifices on their summits have disappeared; others are rapidly sinking into decay; and some centuries hence, the monasteries of Meteora may exist but as a name and tradition of past times." ‡

Our contracting limits admonish us, that we must here terminate our topographical description of the

* As a geological phenomenon, the rocks of Montserrat in Castella, which in like manner are entirely conglomerate, come the nearest to those of Meteora; their composition and form, however, are different.—See Mod. Trav., Spain, vol. i. p. 91. Dr. Holland enters into some further geological details, for which we must refer the scientific reader to his interesting volume.

† "One of the monasteries, in its original establishment by Maria, the sister of John Palæologus, was founded for the reception of women alone; but this female population eventually died out, and was replaced by the other sex, till the institution became entirely of monks. In this convent, however, as well as in that of Aios Stephanos, some women are still retained as a part of the household; but the entrance of any female is rigidly forbidden by the regulations of Meteora, Barlaam, and others of these establishments."

‡ Holland's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 322—30.

ancient Thessaly. Since the travellers whose steps we have been pursuing, visited these regions, convulsions, not of nature, but of a political kind, have desolated the fertile plains, swept away the villages and towns, and changed the whole state of things as regards the population. We could not, therefore, with the accuracy that is desirable, at present complete our survey. Our readers will, we hope, be better satisfied to have a complete and correct account of the countries we have been describing, than a meagre sketch of a larger tract. In devoting this volume chiefly to the topography of Thrace, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, we have aimed to connect with a general view of the Turkish empire, a description of the capital and of those provinces which formed the original seat and limits of the Ottoman power in Europe. The volumes on Syria and Asia Minor contain an account of the Asiatic provinces, the native dominions and earliest conquests of its founders. Greece, though still a word of doubtful import in geography, has received the separate attention which it demands, in the volumes descriptive of the Morea and Livadia. There yet remains a large tract of territory nominally Turkish, on the coast of the Ionian Sea and Adriatic Gulf, which, together with the Islands of both seas and of the Mediterranean, would furnish a volume of equal interest, and of a very distinct character from either the Grecian, Thracian, or Anatolian provinces of this vast empire *. The greater part of this territory might once have been termed Venetian; it is rapidly becoming British. As the capital of Ali Pasha's dominions has, however, been so frequently referred to, and Roumelia was for so long a

* Egypt and Arabia also belong to the series requisite to complete a description of the Turkish empire.

time subject to the Vizier of Epirus, we shall close our account of European Turkey with a description of Ioannina as it appeared at the time of Dr. Holland's journey in 1812.

IOANNINA.

This traveller entered Epirus by the Gulf of Arta. When within ten miles of the city, he entered on a tract of extended plain, gradually widening as he advanced northwards, but bounded on each side by mountain barriers so lofty and precipitous as to diminish much of its apparent breadth. On the eastern side the great chain of Pindus (or Metzovo) towered in all its majesty behind an intermediate range, while, on the western side, the more graceful and picturesque range of Olitaka, the Cassiopean mountains of ancient times, limited the view. The intense clearness of the sky increased the effect, and heightened the enjoyment of the stupendous landscape. There is, however, a nakedness in the plain, arising from the great deficiency of wood. The low eminences by which it is traversed, conceal the city in this direction till the traveller is little more than two miles distant, when a magnificent scene suddenly bursts upon him.

"A large lake spreads its waters along the base of a lofty and precipitous mountain, which forms the first ridge of Pindus on this side, and which, as I had afterwards reason to believe, attains an elevation of more than 2,500 feet above the level of the plain. Opposed to the highest summit of this [illegible] and to a small island which lies at its base, a peninsula stretches forwards into the lake, from its western shore, terminated by a perpendicular face of rock. This peninsula forms the fortress of Ioannina; a lofty wall is its barrier on the land side; the waters which lie

around its outer cliffs, reflect from their surface the irregular yet splendid outline of a Turkish seraglio, and the domes and minarets of two Turkish mosques, environed by ancient cypresses. The eye, receding backwards from the fortress of the peninsula, reposes upon the whole extent of the city, as it stretches along the western borders of the lake. Repose, indeed, it may not unfitly be called, since both the reality and the fancy combine in giving to the scenery the character of a vast and beautiful picture spread out before the sight. No volumes of smoke, nor even the sounds of carriages and men, break into this delusion of the distant view: the tranquillity of the Turkish character is conveyed to the Turkish city also, and even to the capital of the chief who governs the warlike and half-civilized Albanian tribes. You are not here looking merely upon a lengthened and uniform mass of buildings, as often the only characteristic of an European town; but there is before the eye a variety and a richness in the grouping of the objects, which is peculiarly a feature in the cities of the east. The lofty palaces of the Vizier and of his sons, the minarets of numerous mosques, each surrounded by its grove of cypresses, which give something of appropriate sanctity to these places; the singular intermixture of houses and trees throughout every part of the city, a circumstance more striking from the want of wood in the general landscape; these, together with the noble situation on the lake, and the magnificence of the surrounding mountains, are the features which will most impress the stranger in approaching the capital of Ali Pasha."*

Joannina may be described as standing in a great

* Approached from the north and west, Dr. Holland says, the effect is still finer.

basin, environed by mountains, the city itself stretching along the western shores of a lake, which, on its opposite side, washes the foot of one of these mountain boundaries. The length of this lake may be about six miles; its breadth nowhere exceeds two miles; and near the central part of the city, its channel is much narrowed by the projecting peninsula which forms the fortress of Ioannina, and by the small island which is opposed to it on the other shore: these two features add greatly to the beauty of the scenery from every point of view. The peninsula of the fortress, widening as it advances into the lake, is terminated by two distinct promontories of rock; on one of which stands a large Turkish mosque, its lofty minaret and extensive piazzas shaded by the cypresses surrounding it; on the other promontory, the old Seraglio of the Pashas of Ioannina, a large building, with all that irregular and indescribable magnificence which belongs to Turkish architecture; the minaret and cypresses of a second mosque rising above its projecting roofs and painted walls. The area of the fortress, which forms a small town in itself, is insulated from the rest of the city, by a lofty stone wall and a broad moat which admits the waters of the lake.

"The island opposite the city is picturesque in its outline, and embellished by a small palace of the Vizier's, which is seen upon its shore. A village on its northern side is almost hidden by the luxuriant foliage of the chestnut and pine trees growing among its habitations. The traveller will do well to ascend the highest point of the isle, whence there is a most imposing view of the city and the buildings on the cliffs of the fortress.

"The banks of the lake present many other objects to engage the eye;—the great Seraglio, which, from

some points of view, seems to rise from its shore; a painted Kiosck, projecting over the waters, below the rocks of the old Seraglio; a convent of dervishes, shaded by trees, further to the north; but above all, the mountain ridge of Metzouket, which, with a height probably between 2,500 and 3,000 feet above the lake, forms, almost as far as the view extends, a continuous and unbroken boundary to the valley; rising from the water's edge, opposite to Ioannina, with an abruptness and majesty of outline, the effect of which is highly magnificent. Its precipitous front is intersected by the ravines of mountain torrents; which, expanding as they approach the lake, are covered with wood, and form the shelter to many small villages. It is said that formerly there were more extensive forests on this mountain ascent; but that they were destroyed, as being the resort of bands of robbers who infested the tranquillity of the city. Considering the general absence of wood from the landscape, the scenery of Ioannina is, perhaps, less perfect than had these forests been still preserved: still, it is such as may be considered to have few equals in variety and magnificence.

"The extent of the city, as it stretches backwards and laterally from the fortress, is greater than the same population would occupy in the towns of other parts of Europe. Besides the vacant spaces of the mosques and Turkish burying-grounds, all the better houses, both of Turks and Greeks, have areas attached to them, in which there generally grow a few trees, adding to the general view of the place that singular intermixture of buildings and wood which has already been noticed. The central part of the city, occupied in great part by the streets forming the bazars, is the only one where much continuity is preserved; and

here the houses are, in general, much lower and smaller than elsewhere. The breadth of the town, which nowhere exceeds a mile and a half, is defined by a range of low eminences, running parallel to the shore of the lake, and affording, from their summit, one of the most striking views of the city, the lake, and the distant heights of the Pindus chain.

"The interior aspect of Ioannina, except where there is some opening to the landscape that surrounds it, is gloomy and without splendour. Few of the streets preserve an uniform line; a circumstance which makes the topography of the place very difficult to the stranger. Those inhabited by the lowest classes consist, in great part, of wretched, mud-built cottages, and are chiefly in the outskirts of the city: the middle ranks dwell in a better description of buildings, the upper part of which is constructed of wood, with a small open gallery under the projecting roof: the higher classes, both of Greeks and Turks, have, in general, very large houses, often forming two or three sides of the square attached to them, and with wide galleries which go along the whole front of the building, taken as it were from the first floor, and sheltered under the roofs. In this style of building, which is common throughout the Turkish towns, there is something picturesque in the distant effect, which is lost by the nearer approach. In the best streets of Ioannina there is an air of heaviness: and the most respectable houses have the aspect of prisons; presenting, externally, little more than lofty walls, with massive doors, gates, and the windows, if such at all, at the top of the building.

"The bazars form the most interesting part of the city. They consist of ten or twelve streets, intersecting each other at irregular angles; very narrow; and

still further darkened by the low, projecting roofs and large, wooden booths, in which the goods are exposed to sale.

"The Seraglio of Ali Pasha is an immense pile of building, lofty in itself, and situated on an eminence which gives it command over every part of the city. It may not unfitly be termed a palace upon and within a fortress. High and massive stone walls, on different parts of which cannon are mounted, support a superstructure of wood, of great extent, but apparently without any regularity of plan: the several portions of the edifice seem to have been successively added, as a necessity was found for its enlargement. Yet, notwithstanding this irregularity, the magnitude and character of the building give it an air of magnificence, which is not always obtained by a more rigid adherence to architectural rules. The style of construction is entirely Turkish; the roofs projecting far beyond the face of the buildings, the windows disposed in long rows underneath; the walls richly decorated with painting, occasionally landscape, but more generally what is merely ornamental, and without uniform design. The access to the Seraglio is exceedingly mean. It is surrounded by narrow and gloomy streets, without any circumstance to mark the approach to the palace of the Albanian ruler."

Ioannina contained at this time, sixteen mosques, seven or eight Greek churches, and a motley population,—Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Franks, Jews, Arabs, Moors, and Negroes, amounting to upwards of 50,000 persons, exclusive of the Albanian soldiers quartered there. The Greeks were at once the most numerous, the most respectable, and the oldest inhabitants of the city, many of their families having been established there for centuries. But Ioannina, at least

the Ionanina of Ali Pasha, is no more, having been pillaged and burnt by his own orders, in 1820, to prevent its affording a shelter and triumph to his enemies.* The Athens of Modern Greece, the capital of the transitory kingdom of the new Epirus, has passed away; and this portion of Ancient Greece has been thrown back again into Albanian barbarism. Happily, the islands of the Ionian Sea, which have been so singularly rescued from Turkish and Russian despotism, and preserved from the exterminating fury of the revolutionary contest, offer an asylum to the ancient literature of Modern Greece, while they will prove, we trust, at all events, the nursery as well as bulwark of Grecian civilization and freedom. The language of Shakspeare, and Milton, and Byron,—the only one fit for a Greek except his own,—will ere long diffuse itself over the Levant, and with it a renovating spirit, the influence of English laws, and the light of Scriptural Christianity. The Turkish empire is tottering to its fall, and a nobler race is rising, to justify hereafter their claim to the long-dishonoured name of Greeks.

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. I., p. 108.

THE END.

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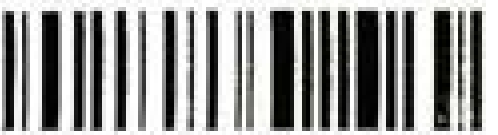
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